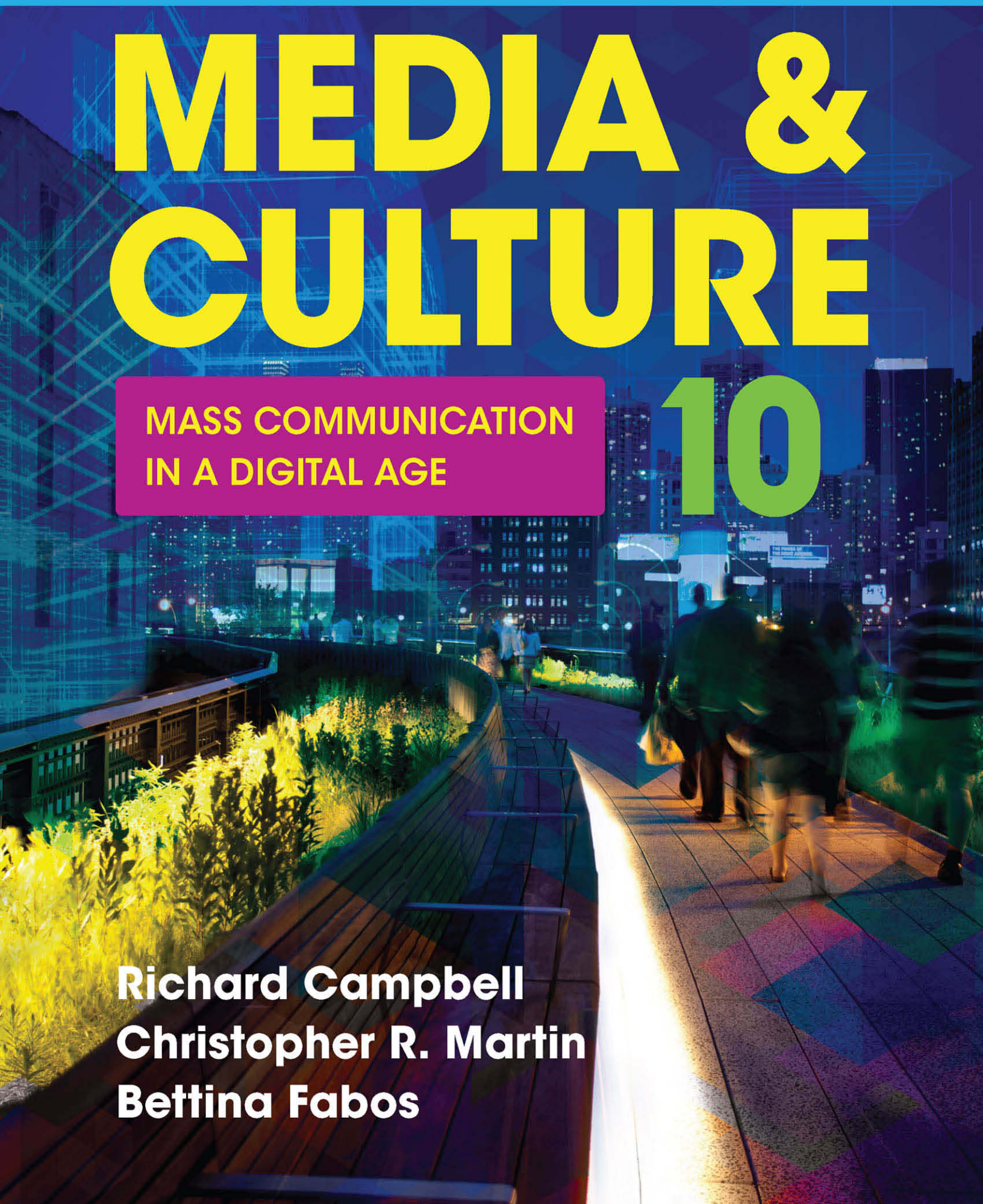
2016 UPDATE

MEDIA & CULTURE 10

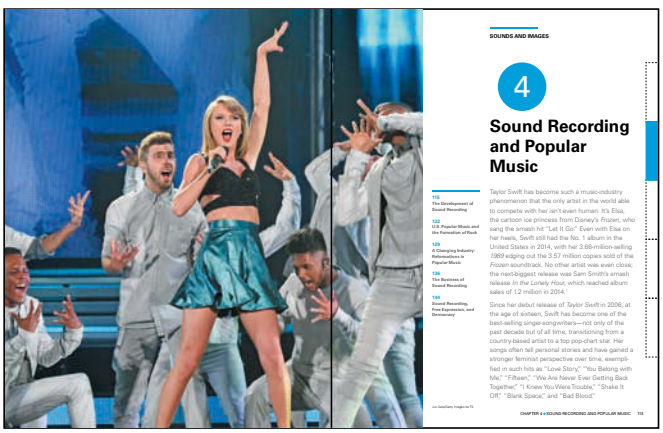
MASS COMMUNICATION IN A DIGITAL AGE



Richard Campbell
Christopher R. Martin
Bettina Fabos

See what's new in the 2016 update.

Media & Culture will enhance your understanding of where the digital turn has taken us—and where media is headed in the future.



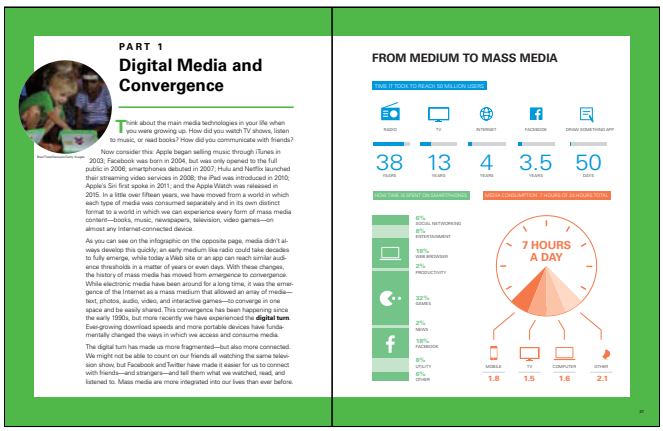
New coverage of important developments in mass media including social TV viewing, online hacktivism and harassment, Taylor Swift taking on Apple Music, the 2016 presidential race, net neutrality laws, and more, along with fully updated charts, graphs, and statistics.

An all-new Extended Case Study examines the media's role in covering police violence through the book's trademark five-step critical process—asking students to examine their own relationship with the media while posing critical-thinking questions that can be used throughout their lives.

LaunchPad
macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

Breaking Barriers with *12 Years a Slave*
Visit LaunchPad to view a short clip from the Oscar-winning movie from director Steve McQueen.
Discussion: How do you think *12 Years a Slave* differs from previous depictions of black history in America?

LaunchPad for *Media & Culture* is Bedford/St. Martin's learning platform that merges and converges print and the Web with video clips, interviews, discussion questions, activities, and LearningCurve adaptive quizzing for each chapter.



◀ Part-opening infographics

showcase enlightening statistics about how we use digital media as well as the connections between the media industries. Statistics throughout the book have been updated to reflect the most recent data, trends, and developments in the world of the media.

Digital Job Outlook boxes in each media industry chapter feature advice and wisdom from media professionals about what employers are looking for in the fields of gaming, television, advertising, PR, and more. ▶

The critical and cultural perspective illustrates how the mass media and our shared culture fit together, addressing digital-age convergence and media literacy.

For more information about *Media & Culture*, Tenth Edition, 2016 Update, please visit **macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate**.

Praise for *Media & Culture*

The updated material in each edition makes the thought-provoking text relevant and offers plenty of resources for students considering a communications-related career.

ARNOLD MACKOWIAK,
EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Excellent and well-researched materials, excellent writing, and strong ideas for stimulating critical thinking for students.

DAVID BRADFORD,
EASTERN FLORIDA STATE COLLEGE

The text consistently reminds us of the strands that weave their way through the material—regularly pointing out how all of the information is intimately connected.

MARCIA LADENDORFF,
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

It is simply the best intro to mass communication book available.

MATTHEW CECIL,
SOUTH DAKOTA STATE UNIVERSITY

I think the Campbell text is outstanding. It is a long-overdue media text that is grounded in pressing questions about American culture and its connection to the techniques and institutions of commercial communication. It is, indeed, an important book. At the undergraduate level, that's saying something.

STEVE M. BARKIN,
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Media & Culture **respects students' opinions, while challenging them to take more responsibility and to be accountable for their media choices. This text is essential for professors who are truly committed to teaching students how to understand the media.**

DREW JACOBS,
CAMDEN COUNTY COLLEGE

The critical perspective has enlightened the perspective of all of us who study media, and Campbell has the power to infect students with his love of the subject.

ROGER DESMOND,
UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD

I will switch to Campbell because it is a tour de force of coverage and interpretation, it is the best survey text in the field hands down, and it challenges students. Campbell's text is the most thorough and complete in the field. . . . No other text is even close.

RUSSELL BARCLAY,
QUINNIPIAC UNIVERSITY

I love ***Media & Culture*****! I have used it since the first edition.** ***Media & Culture*** **integrates the history of a particular medium or media concept with the culture, economics, and the technological advances of the time. But more than that, the authors are explicit in their philosophy that media and culture cannot be separated.**

DEBORAH LARSON,
MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY

The feature boxes are excellent and are indispensable to any classroom.

MARVIN WILLIAMS,
KINGSBOROUGH COMMUNITY COLLEGE

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Media & Culture

Mass Communication in a Digital Age

Tenth Edition

2016 Update

Richard Campbell
Miami University

Christopher R. Martin
University of Northern Iowa

Bettina Fabos
University of Northern Iowa

bedford/st.martin's
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Boston | New York

"WE ARE NOT ALONE."
For my family—Chris, Caitlin, and Dianna

"YOU MAY SAY I'M A DREAMER, BUT I'M NOT THE ONLY ONE."
For our daughers—Olivia and Sabine

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About the Authors

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Christopher R. Martin is Professor and Head of the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Northern Iowa and author of *Framed! Labor and the Corporate Media* (2003). He has written articles and reviews on journalism, televised sports, the Internet, and labor for several publications, including *Communication Research*, *Journal of Communication*, *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *Labor Studies Journal*, *Culture, Sport, and Society,* and *Perspectives on Politics*. He is also on the editorial board of the *Journal of Communication Inquiry*. Martin holds a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan and has also taught at Miami University.

Bettina Fabos, an award-winning video maker and former print reporter, is an associate professor of visual communication and interactive digital studies at the University of Northern Iowa. She is the author of *Wrong Turn on the Information Superhighway: Education and the Commercialized Internet* (2004). Her areas of expertise include critical media literacy, Internet commercialization, the role of the Internet in education, and media representations of popular culture. Her work has been published in *Library Trends*, *Review of Educational Research*, and *Harvard Educational Review*. She is also a recipient of Fulbright and Spencer Fellowships. Fabos has taught at Miami University and has a Ph.D. from the University of Iowa.

Brief Contents

1 Mass Communication: A Critical Approach 3

DIGITAL MEDIA AND CONVERGENCE

2 The Internet, Digital Media, and Media Convergence 39
3 Digital Gaming and the Media Playground 73

SOUNDS AND IMAGES

4 Sound Recording and Popular Music 113
5 Popular Radio and the Origins of Broadcasting 149
6 Television and Cable: The Power of Visual Culture 187
7 Movies and the Impact of Images 231

WORDS AND PICTURES

8 Newspapers: The Rise and Decline of Modern Journalism 269
9 Magazines in the Age of Specialization 309
10 Books and the Power of Print 341

THE BUSINESS OF MASS MEDIA

11 Advertising and Commercial Culture 375
12 Public Relations and Framing the Message 413
13 Media Economics and the Global Marketplace 443

DEMOCRATIC EXPRESSION AND THE MASS MEDIA

14 The Culture of Journalism: Values, Ethics, and Democracy 477
15 Media Effects and Cultural Approaches to Research 511
16 Legal Controls and Freedom of Expression 537
Extended Case Study: Mobile Video Reveals Police Brutality and Racism 569

Preface

The digital future of mass media is here—we're living it right now. E-books are outselling print books on Amazon, digital album sales and streaming songs dominate the music industry, and social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter reach hundreds of millions of users worldwide. As mass media converge, the newest devices multitask as e-readers, music players, Web browsers, TV and movie screens, gaming systems, and phones.

But while many of today's students have integrated digital media into their daily lives, they may not understand how the media evolved to this point; how technology converges text, audio, and visual media; and what all these developments mean. This is why we believe the critical and cultural perspectives at the core of *Media & Culture*'s approach are more important than ever. *Media & Culture* pulls back the curtain to show students how the media really work—from the roots and economics of each media industry to the implications of today's consolidated media ownership to how these industries have changed in our digital world. By looking at the full history of media through a critical lens, students will leave this course with a better understanding of the complex relationship between the mass media and our shared culture.

The tenth edition of *Media & Culture* confronts the digital realities of how we consume media—and how students learn in today's classroom. Throughout the book, new "Elsewhere" pages cross-reference media stories and statistics, showing the Web-like connections between media industries and key issues. New part-opening infographics convey complex media relationships with eye-catching statistics and factoids about shifts in media consumption, ownership, and the most important and vital digital companies. New "Digital Job Outlook" boxes offer perspectives from industry insiders on how media jobs actually work. And a heavily revised Chapter 13, "Media Economics and the Global Marketplace," addresses the new economic realities of the media world with more visuals and greater digital savvy.

Media & Culture shares stories about the history of media, the digital revolution, and ongoing convergence—and the book itself practices convergence, too. The tenth edition is available packaged with LaunchPad, combining print and digital media together in an interactive e-book featuring video clips of media texts, links to streaming media, and an insider's look at the media industries—along with quizzes, activities, and instructor resources—free to the student with purchase of the book.

Of course, *Media & Culture* retains its well-loved and teachable organization that supports instructors in their quest to provide students with a clear understanding of the historical and cultural contexts for each media industry. Our signature five-step approach to studying the media has struck a chord with hundreds of instructors and thousands of students across the United States and North America. We continue to be enthusiastic about—and humbled by—the chance to work with the amazing community of teachers that has developed around *Media & Culture*. We hope the text enables students to become more knowledgable media consumers and engaged, media-literate citizens who are ready to take a critical stake in shaping our dynamic world.

The 2016 Update Keeps *Media & Culture* Current

Media & Culture has taken the digital turn, and the new 2016 updated edition continues to keep pace with the technological, economic, and social effects of today's rapidly changing media landscape. Since the publication of the tenth edition, we've seen more changes than ever: revisions in net neutrality laws, shifts in viewing habits, new forms of online activism,

and the kickoff of a new, media-saturated presidential race. The new 2016 update of *Media & Culture* covers all of this and more. It features:

- **New coverage of important developments in mass media.** All of the chapters have been updated, with new information and analysis of social TV viewing, online "hacktivism" and harassment, Taylor Swift taking on Apple Music, the 2016 presidential race, net neutrality laws, and more, along with fully updated charts, graphs, and statistics.
- **An all-new Extended Case Study that examines media roles in police violence.** This case study takes students through recent stories of police violence and accompanying protests, and how these stories are told through both social and mainstream media outlets. Through the book's trademark five-step critical process, this section has students examine their own relationships with both digital and traditional media while asking critical-thinking questions about the media world in which we live.
- **New "Elsewhere" pages cross-reference and converge related topics.** As the mass media continue to converge, overlap, and influence one another, *Media & Culture* highlights those connections with new "Elsewhere" pages. Each of the book's five parts includes a page telling students where to find related information in other sections of the book, connecting the inner workings of media industries like video games, music, and movies with concepts like media effects studies, monopolies, and government regulation.
- **New Digital Job Outlook boxes give students the inside scoop.** *Media & Culture* takes students behind the scenes of the media with the brand-new Digital Job Outlook feature. Each of the chapters on media industries includes a box highlighting real advice and observations from media professionals, explaining what they look for, how they find those qualities in employees, or how they got where they are today.
- **Print and media converge with LaunchPad.** LaunchPad for *Media & Culture* merges and converges the book with the Web. A variety of video clips for each chapter gets students to think critically about media texts. Clips of movies and TV shows, streaming links, and videos provide an insider's look at the media industries through the eyes of leading professionals, including Noam Chomsky, Amy Goodman, and Junot Díaz. These clips are showcased throughout the book and are easily accessible through LaunchPad, where accompanying questions make them perfect for media response papers and class discussions. For more ideas on how using LaunchPad can enhance your course, see the Instructor's Resource Manual. For a complete list of available clips and access information, see the inside back cover of the book or visit **macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10e**.

The Best and Broadest Introduction to the Mass Media

- **A critical approach to media literacy.** *Media & Culture* introduces students to five stages of the critical thinking and writing process—description, analysis, interpretation, evaluation, and engagement. The text uses these stages as a lens for examining the historical context and current processes that shape mass media as part of our culture. This framework informs the writing throughout, including the "Media Literacy and the Critical Process" boxed features in each chapter.
- **A cultural perspective.** The text focuses on the vital relationship between mass media and our shared culture—how cultural trends influence the mass media and how specific historical developments, technical innovations, and key decision makers in the history of the media have affected the ways our democracy and society have evolved.
- **Comprehensive coverage.** The text supports the instructor in providing students with the nuts-and-bolts content they need to understand each media industry's history, organizational structure, economic models, and market statistics.

- **An exploration of media economics and democracy.** *Media & Culture* spotlights the significance and impact of multinational media systems throughout the text. It also invites students to explore the implications of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 and other deregulation resolutions. Additionally, each chapter ends with a discussion of the effects of various mass media on the nature of democratic life.
- **Compelling storytelling.** Most mass media make use of storytelling to tap into our shared beliefs and values, and so does *Media & Culture*. Each chapter presents the events and issues surrounding media culture as intriguing and informative narratives, rather than as a series of unconnected facts and feats, and maps the uneasy and parallel changes in consumer culture and democratic society.
- **The most accessible book available.** Learning tools in every chapter help students find and remember the information they need to know. Bulleted lists at the beginning of every chapter give students a road map to key concepts, annotated time lines offer powerful visual guides that highlight key events and refer to more coverage in the chapter, Media Literacy and the Critical Process boxes model the five-step process, and the Chapter Reviews help students study and review for quizzes and exams and set them up for success.

Student Resources

For more information on student resources or to learn about package options, please visit the online catalog at **macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture/catalog**.

Your E-Book. Your Way.

A variety of e-book formats are available for use on computers, tablets, and e-readers, featuring portability, customization options, and affordable prices. For more information, see **macmillanhighered.com/ebooks**.

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Media Career Guide: Preparing for Jobs in the 21st Century, Tenth Edition

Sherri Hope Culver, *Temple University;* ISBN: 978-1-319-01953-2

Practical, student-friendly, and revised with recent trends in the job market (like the role of social media in a job search), this guide includes a comprehensive directory of media jobs, practical tips, and career guidance for students who are considering a major in the media industries. *Media Career Guide* can also be packaged for free with the print book.

Instructor Resources

For more information or to order or download the instructor resources, please visit the online catalog at **macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture/catalog**.

Instructor's Resource Manual

Bettina Fabos, *University of Northern Iowa*; Christopher R. Martin, *University of Northern Iowa*; and Marilda Oviedo, *University of Iowa*

This downloadable manual improves on what has always been the best and most comprehensive instructor teaching tool available for introduction to mass communication courses. This extensive resource provides a range of teaching approaches, tips for facilitating in-class discussions, writing assignments, outlines, lecture topics, lecture spin-offs, critical-process exercises, classroom media resources, and an annotated list of more than two hundred video resources.

Test Bank

Christopher R. Martin, *University of Northern Iowa*; Bettina Fabos, *University of Northern Iowa;* and Marilda Oviedo, *University of Iowa*

Available as software formatted for Windows and Macintosh, the Test Bank includes multiple choice, true/false, matching, fill-in-the-blank, and short and long essay questions for every chapter in *Media & Culture*.

PowerPoint Slides

PowerPoint presentations to help guide your lecture are available for downloading for each chapter in *Media & Culture*.

Questions for Classroom Response Systems

Questions for every chapter in *Media & Culture* help integrate the latest classroom response systems (such as i>clicker) into your lecture to get instant feedback on students' understanding of course concepts as well as their opinions and perspectives.

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Please feel free to e-mail us at **mediaandculture@bedfordstmartins.com** with any comments, concerns, or suggestions!

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Scott Shaw/For the Washington Post via Getty Images

Contents

ABOUT THE AUTHORS iii
BRIEF CONTENTS iv
PREFACE v

1 Mass Communication: A Critical Approach 3

Culture and the Evolution of Mass Communication 5
Oral and Written Eras in Communication 6
The Print Revolution 7
The Electronic Era 8
The Digital Era 8
The Linear Model of Mass Communication 9
A Cultural Model for Understanding Mass Communication 9

The Development of Media and Their Role in Our Society 10
The Evolution of Media: From Emergence to Convergence 10
Media Convergence 11
Stories: The Foundation of Media 13
The Power of Media Stories in Everyday Life 14
Agenda Setting and Gatekeeping 15

Surveying the Cultural Landscape 16
Culture as a Skyscraper 17
EXAMINING ETHICS Covering War 18
Culture as a Map 21
CASE STUDY Is *Anchorman* a Comedy or a Documentary? 22
Cultural Values of the Modern Period 26
Shifting Values in Postmodern Culture 27

Critiquing Media and Culture 29
Media Literacy and the Critical Process 30
Benefits of a Critical Perspective 30
GLOBAL VILLAGE Bedouins, Camels, Transistors, and Coke 31
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS 32

CHAPTER REVIEW 34
LaunchPad 35

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PART 1: DIGITAL MEDIA AND CONVERGENCE 36

2 The Internet, Digital Media, and Media Convergence 39

The Development of the Internet and the Web 41

The Birth of the Internet 41
The Net Widens 43
The Commercialization of the Internet 44

The Web Goes Social 47

Types of Social Media 47
***The Net* (1995)** 47
Social Media and Democracy 49
EXAMINING ETHICS "Anonymous" Hacks Global Terrorism 50

Convergence and Mobile Media 53

Media Converges on Our PCs and TVs 53
Mobile Devices Propel Convergence 53
The Impact of Media Convergence and Mobile Media 54
The Next Era: The Semantic Web 56

The Economics and Issues of the Internet 57

Ownership: Controlling the Internet 57
Targeted Advertising and Data Mining 60
GLOBAL VILLAGE Designed in California, Assembled in China 61
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS Tracking and Recording Your Every Move 63
Security: The Challenge to Keep Personal Information Private 64
Appropriateness: What Should Be Online? 64
Access: The Fight to Prevent a Digital Divide 65
Net Neutrality 66
Net Neutrality: Maintaining an Open Internet 66
Alternative Voices 67

The Internet and Democracy 68

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 69

CHAPTER REVIEW 70
LaunchPad 71

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3 Digital Gaming and the Media Playground 73

The Development of Digital Gaming 75

Mechanical Gaming 76
The First Video Games 78
Arcades and Classic Games 78
Consoles and Advancing Graphics 79
Gaming on Home Computers 80

The Internet Transforms Gaming 81

MMORPGs, Virtual Worlds, and Social Gaming 81
Convergence: From Consoles to Mobile Gaming 83

The Media Playground 84

Video Game Genres 84
CASE STUDY *Watch Dogs* Hacks Our Surveillance Society 85
Communities of Play: Inside the Game 90
Communities of Play: Outside the Game 90

Trends and Issues in Digital Gaming 92

Electronic Gaming and Media Culture 92
Video Games at the Movies 92
Electronic Gaming and Advertising 93
Addiction and Other Concerns 94
GLOBAL VILLAGE Global Controversy: The Gender Problem in Digital Games 96
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
First-Person Shooter Games: Misogyny as Entertainment? 98
Regulating Gaming 98
The Future of Gaming and Interactive Environments 99

The Business of Digital Gaming 99

The Ownership and Organization of Digital Gaming 100
The Structure of Digital Game Publishing 103
Selling Digital Games 104
Alternative Voices 105

Digital Gaming, Free Speech, and Democracy 106

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 107

CHAPTER REVIEW 108
LaunchPad 109

Jun Sato/Getty Images for TS

PART 2: SOUNDS AND IMAGES 110

4 Sound Recording and Popular Music 113

The Development of Sound Recording 115

From Cylinders to Disks: Sound Recording Becomes a Mass Medium 116
From Phonographs to CDs: Analog Goes Digital 118
Convergence: Sound Recording in the Internet Age 119
Recording Music Today 120
The Rocky Relationship between Records and Radio 121

U.S. Popular Music and the Formation of Rock 122

The Rise of Pop Music 122
Rock and Roll Is Here to Stay 123
Rock Muddies the Waters 124
Battles in Rock and Roll 126

A Changing Industry: Reformations in Popular Music 129

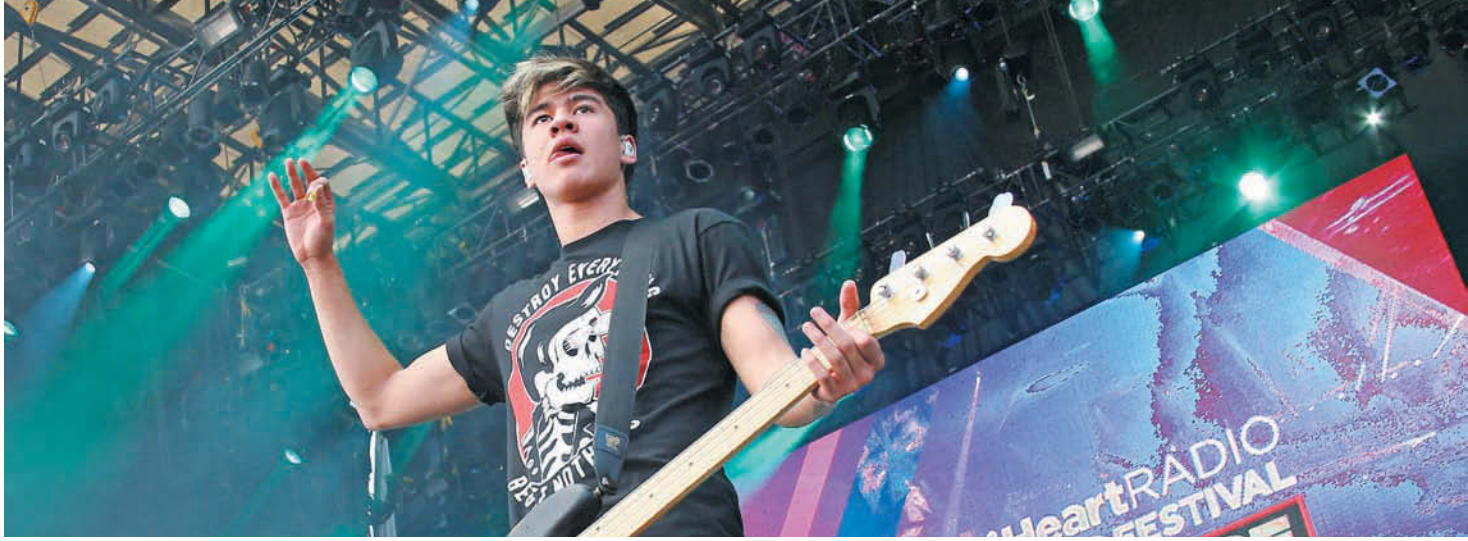
The British Are Coming! 129
Motor City Music: Detroit Gives America Soul 130
Folk and Psychedelic Music Reflect the Times 130
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS Music Preferences across Generations 132
Punk, Grunge, and Alternative Respond to Mainstream Rock 133
Hip-Hop Redraws Musical Lines 134
The Reemergence of Pop 135

The Business of Sound Recording 136

Music Labels Influence the Industry 137
TRACKING TECHNOLOGY The Song Machine: The Hitmakers behind Rihanna 138
Making, Selling, and Profiting from Music 139
Alternative Strategies for Music Marketing 141
CASE STUDY Psy and the Meaning of "Gangnam Style" 142
Alternative Voices 143
Streaming Music Videos 144

Sound Recording, Free Expression, and Democracy 144

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 145



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CHAPTER REVIEW 146
LaunchPad 147

5 Popular Radio and the Origins of Broadcasting 149

Early Technology and the Development of Radio 151
Maxwell and Hertz Discover Radio Waves 152
Marconi and the Inventors of Wireless Telegraphy 152
Wireless Telephony: De Forest and Fessenden 154
Regulating a New Medium 156

The Evolution of Radio 157
Building the First Networks 158
Sarnoff and NBC: Building the "Blue" and "Red" Networks 159
Government Scrutiny Ends RCA-NBC Monopoly 160
CBS and Paley: Challenging NBC 161
Bringing Order to Chaos with the Radio Act of 1927 161
The Golden Age of Radio 163

Radio Reinvents Itself 165
Transistors Make Radio Portable 166
The FM Revolution and Edwin Armstrong 166
The Rise of Format and Top 40 Radio 167
Resisting the Top 40 168

The Sounds of Commercial Radio 169
Format Specialization 169
CASE STUDY Host: The Origins of Talk Radio 171
Nonprofit Radio and NPR 173
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
Comparing Commercial and Noncommercial Radio 174
New Radio Technologies Offer More Stations 175
Radio and Convergence 175
Going Visual: Video, Radio, and the Web 175
GLOBAL VILLAGE Radio Goes Local, Global, and Local Again 176
Radio: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow 178

The Economics of Broadcast Radio 178
Local and National Advertising 178
Manipulating Playlists with Payola 179

Ali Goldstein/© Comedy Central/Everett Collection

Radio Ownership: From Diversity to Consolidation 179
Alternative Voices 181

Radio and the Democracy of the Airwaves 182

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 183

CHAPTER REVIEW 184
LaunchPad 185

6 Television and Cable: The Power of Visual Culture 187

The Origins and Development of Television 189
Early Innovations in TV Technology 190
Electronic Technology: Zworykin and Farnsworth 190
Controlling Content—TV Grows Up 193

The Development of Cable 195
CATV—Community Antenna Television 195
The Wires and Satellites behind Cable Television 195
Cable Threatens Broadcasting 196
Cable Services 197
CASE STUDY ESPN: Sports and Stories 198
DBS: Cable without Wires 199

Technology and Convergence Change Viewing Habits 199
Television Networks Evolve 199
Home Video 200
The Third Screen: TV Converges with the Internet 200
Fourth Screens: Smartphones and Mobile Video 202

Major Programming Trends 203
TV Entertainment: Our Comic Culture 203
TV Entertainment: Our Dramatic Culture 205
Television Drama: Then and Now 206
TV Information: Our Daily News Culture 207
Reality TV and Other Enduring Genres 208
Public Television Struggles to Find Its Place 209
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
TV and the State of Storytelling 210

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Regulatory Challenges to Television and Cable 211
Government Regulations Temporarily Restrict Network Control 211
What Makes Public Television Public? 211
Balancing Cable's Growth against Broadcasters' Interests 212
Franchising Frenzy 214
The Telecommunications Act of 1996 215

The Economics and Ownership of Television and Cable 216
Production 217
Distribution 218
Syndication Keeps Shows Going and Going . . . 218
Measuring Television Viewing 220
TRACKING TECHNOLOGY Binging Gives TV Shows a Second Chance—and Viewers a Second Home 222
The Major Programming Corporations 223
Alternative Voices 225

Television, Cable, and Democracy 225
DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 227

CHAPTER REVIEW 228
LaunchPad 229

7 Movies and the Impact of Images 231

Early Technology and the Evolution of Movies 233
The Development of Film 234
The Introduction of Narrative 237
The Arrival of Nickelodeons 237

The Rise of the Hollywood Studio System 238
Production 239
Distribution 239
Exhibition 240

The Studio System's Golden Age 241
Hollywood Narrative and the Silent Era 242
The Introduction of Sound 242
The Development of the Hollywood Style 243
Outside the Hollywood System 246
Breaking Barriers with *12 Years a Slave* 246

AP Photo/John Minchillo

CASE STUDY Breaking through Hollywood's Race Barrier 247

GLOBAL VILLAGE Beyond Hollywood: Asian Cinema 250

The Transformation of the Studio System 251

The Hollywood Ten 251

The Paramount Decision 252

Moving to the Suburbs 252

Television Changes Hollywood 253

Hollywood Adapts to Home Entertainment 254

The Economics of the Movie Business 255

Production, Distribution, and Exhibition Today 255

The Major Studio Players 258

MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
The Blockbuster Mentality 259

Convergence: Movies Adjust to the Digital Turn 260

Alternative Voices 261

Popular Movies and Democracy 262

More Than a Movie: Social Issues and Film 262

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 263

CHAPTER REVIEW 264

LaunchPad 265

PART 3: WORDS AND PICTURES 266

8 Newspapers: The Rise and Decline of Modern Journalism 269

The Evolution of American Newspapers 271

Colonial Newspapers and the Partisan Press 272

The Penny Press Era: Newspapers Become Mass Media 274

The Age of Yellow Journalism: Sensationalism and Investigation 276

Competing Models of Modern Print Journalism 278

"Objectivity" in Modern Journalism 278

Interpretive Journalism 280

Literary Forms of Journalism 281

Contemporary Journalism in the TV and Internet Age 282

Newspapers and the Internet: Convergence 284

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The Business and Ownership of Newspapers 284

Consensus versus Conflict: Newspapers Play Different Roles 285

Newspapers Target Specific Readers 285

MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
Covering the News Media Business 286

Newspaper Operations 291

CASE STUDY Alternative Journalism: Dorothy Day and I. F. Stone 292

Newspaper Ownership: Chains Lose Their Grip 294

Joint Operating Agreements Combat Declining Competition 295

Challenges Facing Newspapers Today 296

Readership Declines in the United States 296

Going Local: How Small and Campus Papers Retain Readers 297

Blogs Challenge Newspapers' Authority Online 297

Community Voices: Weekly Newspapers 298

Convergence: Newspapers Struggle in the Move to Digital 298

New Models for Journalism 301

Alternative Voices 302

Newspapers and Democracy 303

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 305

CHAPTER REVIEW 306

LaunchPad 307

9 Magazines in the Age of Specialization 309

The Early History of Magazines 311

The First Magazines 311

Magazines in Colonial America 312

U.S. Magazines in the Nineteenth Century 313

National, Women's, and Illustrated Magazines 314

The Development of Modern American Magazines 315

Social Reform and the Muckrakers 316

The Rise of General-Interest Magazines 317

The Fall of General-Interest Magazines 319

CASE STUDY The Evolution of Photojournalism 320

Convergence: Magazines Confront the Digital Age 324

The Domination of Specialization 325

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TRACKING TECHNOLOGY Paper Still Dominates Magazines in the Digital Age 326

Men's and Women's Magazines 327

Sports, Entertainment, and Leisure Magazines 327

Magazine Specialization Today 327

Magazines for the Ages 328

Elite Magazines 329

Minority-Targeted Magazines 329

MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
Uncovering American Beauty 330

Supermarket Tabloids 331

Narrowcasting in Magazines 332

The Organization and Economics of Magazines 332

Magazine Departments and Duties 332

Major Magazine Chains 334

Alternative Voices 335

Magazines in a Democratic Society 336

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 337

CHAPTER REVIEW 338

LaunchPad 339

10 Books and the Power of Print 341

The History of Books, from Papyrus to Paperbacks 344

The Development of Manuscript Culture 345

The Innovations of Block Printing and Movable Type 346

The Gutenberg Revolution: The Invention of the Printing Press 346

The Birth of Publishing in the United States 347

Modern Publishing and the Book Industry 348

The Formation of Publishing Houses 348

Types of Books 348

CASE STUDY Comic Books: Alternative Themes, but Superheroes Prevail 352

Trends and Issues in Book Publishing 355

Based On: Making Books into Movies 356

Influences of Television and Film 356

Audio Books 357

Convergence: Books in the Digital Age 357

Kevin Mazur/BET/Getty Images for BET

Books in the New Millennium 357
Preserving and Digitizing Books 358
GLOBAL VILLAGE Buenos Aires, the World's Bookstore Capital 359
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS Banned Books and "Family Values" 360
Censorship and Banned Books 360

The Organization and Ownership of the Book Industry 361
Ownership Patterns 361
The Structure of Book Publishing 362
Selling Books: Brick-and-Mortar Stores, Clubs, and Mail Order 364
Selling Books Online 365
Alternative Voices 366

Books and the Future of Democracy 367
DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 369

CHAPTER REVIEW 370
LaunchPad 371

PART 4: THE BUSINESS OF MASS MEDIA 372

11 Advertising and Commercial Culture 375

Early Developments in American Advertising 378
The First Advertising Agencies 379
Advertising in the 1800s 379
Promoting Social Change and Dictating Values 381
Early Ad Regulation 382

The Shape of U.S. Advertising Today 383
The Influence of Visual Design 383
Types of Advertising Agencies 384
The Structure of Ad Agencies 386
Trends in Online Advertising 390
Advertising in the Digital Age 391

Persuasive Techniques in Contemporary Advertising 393
Conventional Persuasive Strategies 393
The Association Principle 394

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CASE STUDY Hey, Super Bowl Sponsors: Your Ads Are Already Forgotten 395
Advertising as Myth and Story 396
Product Placement 397
EXAMINING ETHICS Do Alcohol Ads Encourage Binge Drinking? 398
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS The Branded You 399

Commercial Speech and Regulating Advertising 399
Critical Issues in Advertising 400
Advertising and Effects on Children 401
GLOBAL VILLAGE Smoking Up the Global Market 404
Watching Over Advertising 405
Alternative Voices 407

Advertising, Politics, and Democracy 408
Advertising's Role in Politics 408
DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 409
The Future of Advertising 409

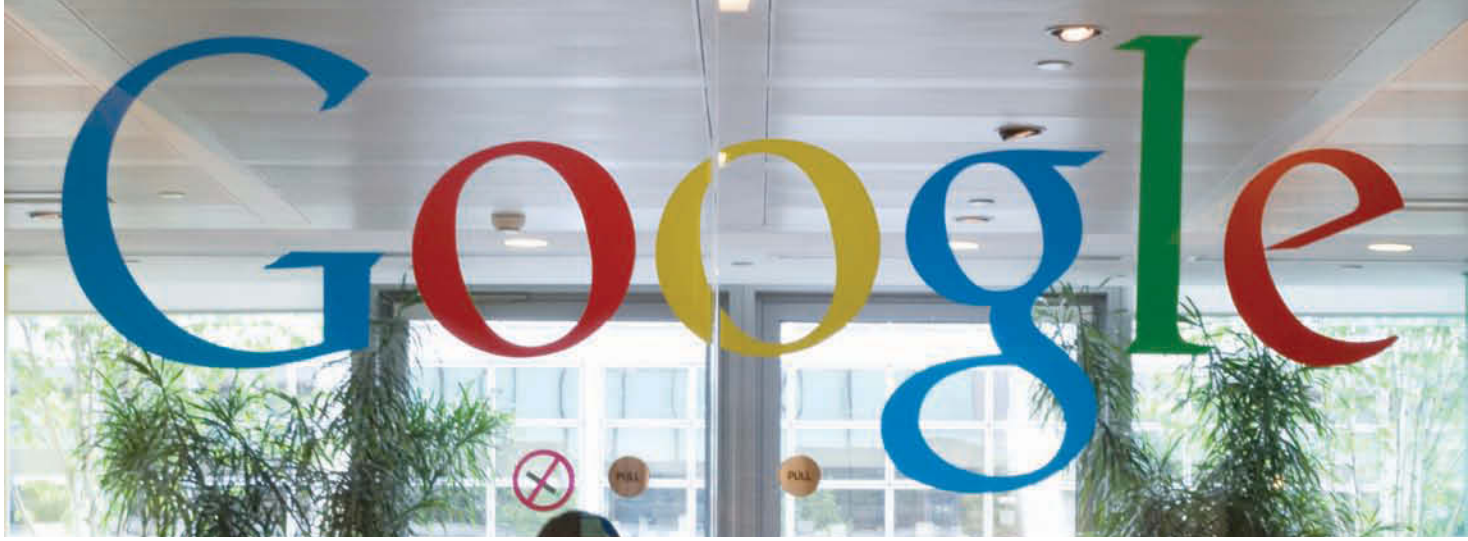
CHAPTER REVIEW 410
LaunchPad 411

12 Public Relations and Framing the Message 413

Early Developments in Public Relations 416
P. T. Barnum and Buffalo Bill 416
Big Business and Press Agents 418
The Birth of Modern Public Relations 418

The Practice of Public Relations 421
Approaches to Organized Public Relations 422
Performing Public Relations 423
CASE STUDY The NFL's Concussion Crisis 426
EXAMINING ETHICS Public Relations and Bananas 428
Public Relations Adapts to the Internet Age 431
Public Relations during a Crisis 431

Tensions between Public Relations and the Press 433
Elements of Professional Friction 433
Give and Take: Public Relations and Journalism 434



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Shaping the Image of Public Relations 435
Alternative Voices 436

Public Relations and Democracy 436

MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
The Invisible Hand of PR 437

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK 439

CHAPTER REVIEW 440
LaunchPad 441

13 Media Economics and the Global Marketplace 443

Analyzing the Media Economy 445
The Structure of the Media Industry 446
The Performance of Media Organizations 446

The Transition to an Information Economy 448
Deregulation Trumps Regulation 449
Media Powerhouses: Consolidation, Partnerships, and Mergers 450
Business Tendencies in Media Industries 451
Economics, Hegemony, and Storytelling 453

Specialization, Global Markets, and Convergence 455
The Rise of Specialization and Synergy 455
Disney: A Postmodern Media Conglomerate 456
Disney's Global Brand 456

CASE STUDY Minority and Female Media Ownership: Why It Matters 458
Global Audiences Expand Media Markets 460
The Internet and Convergence Change the Game 460

MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
Cultural Imperialism and Movies 461

Social Issues in Media Economics 463
The Limits of Antitrust Laws 465
The Impact of Media Ownership 465

CASE STUDY From Fifty to a Few: The Most Dominant Media Corporations 466
The Fallout from a Free Market 467
Cultural Imperialism 468

The Media Marketplace and Democracy 469
The Effects of Media Consolidation on Democracy 470
The Media Reform Movement 471

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CHAPTER REVIEW 472
LaunchPad 473

PART 5: DEMOCRATIC EXPRESSION AND THE MASS MEDIA 474

14 The Culture of Journalism: Values, Ethics, and Democracy 477

Modern Journalism in the Information Age 479
What Is News? 479
Values in American Journalism 481
CASE STUDY Bias in the News 484

Ethics and the News Media 485
Ethical Predicaments 485
Resolving Ethical Problems 488

Reporting Rituals and the Legacy of Print Journalism 490
Focusing on the Present 490
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
Telling Stories and Covering Disaster 491
Relying on Experts 492
Balancing Story Conflict 494
Acting as Adversaries 494

Journalism in the Age of TV and the Internet 495
Differences between Print, TV, and Internet News 495
Pundits, "Talking Heads," and Politics 497
The Contemporary Journalist: Pundit or Reporter? 498
Convergence Enhances and Changes Journalism 498
The Power of Visual Language 499
Fake News/Real News: A Fine Line 499

Alternative Models: Public Journalism and "Fake" News 500
The Public Journalism Movement 500
CASE STUDY A Lost Generation of Journalists? 501
"Fake" News and Satiric Journalism 503

Democracy and Reimagining Journalism's Role 505
Social Responsibility 505

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Deliberative Democracy 505

EXAMINING ETHICS WikiLeaks, Secret Documents, and Good Journalism 506

CHAPTER REVIEW 508

LaunchPad 509

15 Media Effects and Cultural Approaches to Research 511

Early Media Research Methods 513

Propaganda Analysis 514

Public Opinion Research 514

Social Psychology Studies 515

Marketing Research 516

CASE STUDY The Effects of TV in a Post-TV World 517

Research on Media Effects 518

Media Effects Research 518

Early Theories of Media Effects 518

Conducting Media Effects Research 520

MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS
Wedding Media and the Meaning of the Perfect Wedding Day 523

Contemporary Media Effects Theories 523

Evaluating Research on Media Effects 526

Cultural Approaches to Media Research 526

Early Developments in Cultural Studies Research 527

Conducting Cultural Studies Research 527

CASE STUDY Our Masculinity Problem 529

Cultural Studies' Theoretical Perspectives 530

Evaluating Cultural Studies Research 531

Media Research and Democracy 532

CHAPTER REVIEW 534

LaunchPad 535

16 Legal Controls and Freedom of Expression 537

The Origins of Free Expression and a Free Press 539

Models of Expression 540

The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution 541

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Censorship as Prior Restraint 542
Unprotected Forms of Expression 543
MEDIA LITERACY AND THE CRITICAL PROCESS Who Knows the First Amendment? 544
CASE STUDY Is "Sexting" Pornography? 550
First Amendment versus Sixth Amendment 551

Film and the First Amendment 553
Social and Political Pressures on the Movies 554
Self-Regulation in the Movie Industry 554
The MPAA Ratings System 556

Expression in the Media: Print, Broadcast, and Online 557
The FCC Regulates Broadcasting 559
Dirty Words, Indecent Speech, and Hefty Fines 559
Political Broadcasts and Equal Opportunity 561
Bloggers and Legal Rights 562
The Demise of the Fairness Doctrine 562
Communication Policy and the Internet 562
EXAMINING ETHICS A Generation of Copyright Criminals? 564

The First Amendment and Democracy 565

CHAPTER REVIEW 566
LaunchPad 567

Extended Case Study: Mobile Video Reveals Police Brutality and Racism 569

Step 1: Description 571
Step 2: Analysis 572
Step 3: Interpretation 572
Step 4: Evaluation 573
Step 5: Engagement 573

Notes N-1
Glossary G-1
Credits C-1
Index I-1

How to Use This Timeline

This timeline pairs world events with developments in *all* the media and explains how media advances interact with the surrounding culture. Use it to learn more about the intersections among history, media, and culture from the birth of print to the digital age.

The timeline is set up as follows:

- The "Historical Context" row lists major events in U.S. and world history.
- The "Media and Culture" row shows the connections between media advances and broad social trends.
- Below "Media and Culture," media industry rows show major advances. An arrow indicates each industry's starting point.

Read the timeline vertically to contextualize a given time period in terms of history, culture, and the media spectrum. Read it horizontally to understand the developments within individual industries. Because media forms have exploded over time, the timeline becomes denser as it moves toward the present.

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Timeline: Media and Culture through History

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Columbus lands in the West Indies

Protestant Reformation begins

Landing at Jamestown

Industrial Revolution begins

American Revolution begins

Mexican-American War

Civil War begin

2400 B.C.E. | 1453 C.E. | 1800 | 1840 | 1860

MEDIA AND CULTURE

2400 B.C.E.–C.E. 1453: Oral communication reigns supreme. The introduction of papyrus brings portability to written symbols. In the Middle Ages, scribes formalize rules of punctuation and style, create illuminated manuscripts, and become the chief recorders of history and culture.

1453–1840: Gutenberg's printing press with movable type allows books to become the first mass medium. Information spreads, and the notion of a free press becomes a foundation for democracy. The printed word inspires new mass media: newspapers and magazines.

1840s: The telegraph us new For t mes faste trans allow com acro tances. Literacy rates b newspapers, and maga a vital part of American

BOOKS

- **2400 B.C.E.** Papyrus
- **1000 B.C.E.** Earliest books
- **400 C.E.** Codex
- **600 C.E.** Illuminated manuscripts
- **1453** Printing press by Gutenberg
- **1640** First colonial book
- **1836** McGuffey publishes *Eclectic Reader*
- **1852** *Uncle Tom's Cabin* publis

NEWSPAPERS

- **1690** First colonial newspaper
- **1734** Press freedom precedent is set
- **1827** First African American newspaper
- **1848** First wire service
- **186** Inc circ

MAGAZINES

- **1821** National magazines. *The Saturday Evening Post* is launched
- **1850s** Engravings an illustrations ar added to magazines

RADIO

- **1844** First telegraph line set by Samuel Morse

MUSIC

- **1850s** First experiments with sound by de Martinville

MOVIES

TELEVISION AND CABLE

INTERNET AND DIGITAL GAMING

War ins | Emancipation Proclamation | Civil War ends | Spanish-American War | World War I begins | World War I ends | Women receive the right to vote | Beginning of the Great Depression | World War II begins | World War II ends | Cold War begins

1880 | 1900 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950

ushers in a
v era in 1844.
the first time,
ssages travel
ter than human
nsportation,
wing instant
nmunication
oss great dis-
boom—books,
azines become
n society.

1880–1920: The Industrial Revolution gains full steam, and the majority of the U.S. population shifts from rural to urban areas. As urban centers grow, muckraking journalists focus on social issues and big business. Media formats explode: Nickelodeons bring film to cities, recorded music is popularized, and radio becomes a full-fledged mass medium. The U.S. becomes an international power, advertising fuels the booming consumer economy, and public relations spurs the U.S. into World War I.

1920–1936: Networks take hold of radio broadcasting, uniting the U.S. with nationwide programming and advocating an ad-based system. But as the Roaring Twenties turn into the Great Depression of the 1930s, many Americans grow distrustful of big business. Citizens' groups push to reserve part of the airwaves as nonprofit, but commercial broadcasters convince Congress that their interests best represent the public interest.

1937–1945: Public relations shapes world events through print, radio, and movies. In Europe, fascism rises with overwhelming propaganda campaigns, while in the U.S., Edward Bernays and others use the "engineering of consent" to sell consumer products and a positive image of big business. Movies offer both newsreels and escape from harsh realities.

1945–1960: M

content to dra
mass media ta
for the first tim
rock and roll a
40 radio.

• **1870** Mass market paperbacks
• **1880** Linotype and offset lithography
• **1884** *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* published
• **1906** *The Jungle* published
• **1925** *The Great Gatsby* published
• **1926** Book clubs
• **1940** *Native Son* published
• **1951** *Catch Rye* p

60 creasing rculation
• **1880s–1890s** The age of yellow journalism
• **1914** First U.S.-based Spanish paper, *El Diario-La Prensa*
• **1930** Syndicated columns flourish

nd re
• **1879** Postal Act increases magazine circulation
• **1903** *Ladies' Home Journal* circulation hits 1 million
• **1922** *Reader's Digest* launched
• **1923** *Time* magazine launched
• **1936** *Life* magazine launched

• **1894** Marconi experiments on wireless telegraph
• **1912** *Titanic* lives saved by onboard wireless operators
• **1922** First commercial radio advertisements
• **1927** Congress issues radio licenses
• **1930s** Golden age of radio
• **1933–1944** FDR's Fireside Chats

1877 • Edison's wax cylinder phonograph
• **1889** First flat disk and gramophone by Berliner
• **1910** Phonographs enter homes
• **1920s** Electricity and microphones introduced
• **1940s** Audiotape developed in Germany
• **1950s** Rock and roll emerges

1889 • Celluloid, a transparent film, developed by Hannibal Goodwin
• **1895** Film screenings in Paris by Lumière brothers
• **1907** Nickelodeons—storefront theaters
• **1910s** Movie studio system develops
• **1927** Sound comes to movies
1947 • HUAC convicts 10 men from film industry of alleged communist sympathies
• **1948** Supreme Court forces studios to divest their theaters in the Paramount Decision

• **Late 1880s** Cathode ray tube invented
• **1927** First TV transmission by Farnsworth
• **1935** First public demonstration of television
• **1940s** Community antenna television systems
• **1941** FCC sets TV standards
• **1950** Audience developed Nielsen M Research

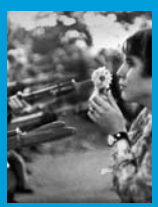
• **1880s** Penny arcades
• **1940s** Digital technology developed
• **1945** Modern pinball machines
Cathode ray tube

Berlin Wall erected
Civil Rights March on Washington
JFK assassinated
MLK and RFK assassinated
Man on the moon
Vietnam War ends
Reagan and the rise of conservatism
Equal Rights Amendment fails to be ratified
Fall of Comm and Berlin W

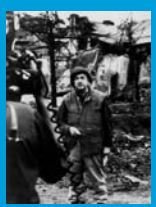
1960 1970 1980

any American families make an exodus to the suburbs, and television becomes the electronic hearth of homes. As TV becomes the dominant medium, movies diversify their w new audiences. The arget teenagers as a group ne; teens lead the rise of nd the sounds of Top

1960s: As the Cold War fuels the space race, defense research leads to communications satellite technology and the beginnings of the Internet. Domestically, television's three main networks promote a shared culture and, with news images of racism in the South and war in Vietnam, social movements. An active FCC prevents media mergers and manages competition in radio and TV broadcasting.



1970s: Social issues take the forefront in broadcast television, with TV shows broaching topics such as race, class, politics, and prejudice. The popularization of the VCR, the expansion of cable, the invention of the microprocessor, and the new musical forms of hip-hop and punk rock set the stage for major media trends in the 1980s and 1990s.



1980s: Cable television explodes. MTV changes the look and sound of television, music, advertising, and our overall attention spans. CNN offers 24/7 news to viewers, while *USA Today* brings color and bite-sized reports to readers. The Reagan administration deregulates the mass media, and media fragmentation emerges—people seek their own niche media through cable channels, talk radio, and magazines.

1957 *On the Road* published
1960 *To Kill a Mockingbird* published
1965 *In Cold Blood* published
1971 Borders established as first superstore
1987 *Beloved* published

1955 *Village Voice*— first underground paper
1972 First Watergate article in the *Washington Post*
1980 First online paper—the *Columbus Dispatch*
1982 *USA Today* launched

1953 *TV Guide* launched
1971–1972 *Look* and *Life* shut down
1974 *People* magazine launched

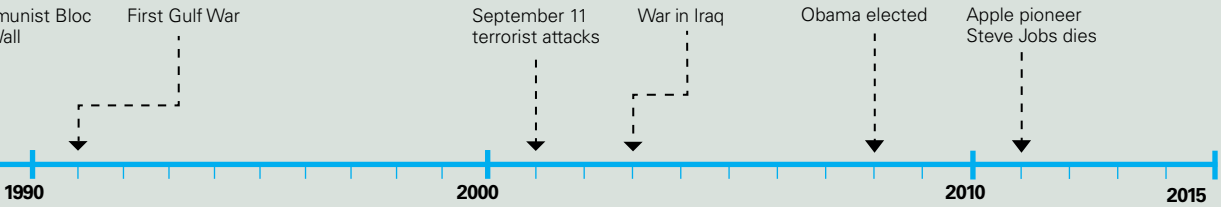
1952 RCA debuts transistor radio
1960s FM radio format gains popularity
1970 NPR first airs

1955 Carl Perkins writes "Blue Suede Shoes"
1960s Cassettes introduced as new format
1967 Beatles release *Sgt. Pepper*
1970s Hip-hop emerges
1983 CDs introduced as new format

1950s Visual gimmicks such as 3-D begin to attract viewers
1966 Studio mergers begin with Gulf & Western buying Paramount
1977 Video transforms the industry with VHS-format videocassettes

1954 Color TV system approved by the FCC
1960 Telstar satellite relays telephone and TV signals
1967 Congress creates the Corporation for Public Broadcasting
1975 HBO uplinks to satellite, becoming the first premium channel
1975–1976 Consumer VCRs begin to sell to public
1980 CNN premieres
1981 MTV launches
1983 *M*A*S*H** finale becomes highest-rated program in modern TV
1987 Fox network launches *The Simpso*

1960s ARPAnet research begun for the Internet
1970s E-mail developed
1971 Microprocessor developed
1975 *Pong* released
1980s Fiber-optic cable used to transmit information
1980s Hypertext enables users to link Web pages together
1985 *Super Mario Bros.* released
Web brow Inte



1990s: The digital era is in full swing. The Internet becomes a mass medium, computers become home appliances, and e-mail—born in the 1970s—revolutionizes the way people and businesses communicate around the world. CDs and DVDs deliver music, movies, and video games. Corporate media dominate through consolidation and the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which discards most ownership limits.

2000s: Media fragmentation deepens and political polarization divides the U.S. Cable and the Internet become important news sources but no longer require that we share common cultural ground, as did older forms of radio, TV, and the movies. E-commerce booms. Movies, TV shows, music, books, magazines, and newspapers converge on the Internet. The rise of smartphones and touchscreen devices makes it easier than ever to consume a variety of media at any time and in any place.

2010s: Devices like smartphones and touchscreen tablets become more prevalent, making it simpler to consume a wide variety of media at any time and in any place. In this emerging era of media convergence, it will be fascinating to see what the future of media holds.

1995 Amazon.com launched

1997 First Harry Potter book published

2003 *The Da Vinci Code* published

2007 Amazon introduces the Kindle e-book reader

2011 Borders declares bankruptcy and closes stores

2011 Amazon.com sells more e-books than print books

9 t vspaper d by meless

1995 Demise of many big-city dailies

2001 Dominance of newspaper chains

2006 Knight Ridder sold

2007 Tribune Co. sold

2007 News Corp. buys the *Wall Street Journal*

2008 Newspapers start rapid decline

2011 *New York Times* puts up paywall

2013 Jeff Bezos buys *Washington Post*

1995 Salon.com founded

2003 *AARP Bulletin* and *Magazine* top circulation

2008 *U.S. News* becomes a monthly magazine

2010 *Wired* sells 24,000 downloads of its iPad app on the first day

2009 Magazine ad pages drop 26%

1990s Talk radio becomes most popular format

1996 Telecommunications Act of 1996 consolidates ownership

2002 Satellite radio begins

2004 Podcasting debuts

2007 HD radio introduced

2008 Sirius and XM satellite radio companies merge

2010 Pandora brings back portable radio listening with an iPad app

1997 DVDs introduced

2000 MP3 format compresses digital files

2001 File sharing

2003 iTunes online music store

2014 iTunes celebrates its 35 billionth download

2011 Spotify debuts in the U.S.

1990s The rise of independent films as a source of new talent

1995 Megaplex cinemas emerge

1997 DVDs largely replace VHS cassettes

2000 Digital production and distribution gain strength

2006 Movie theaters continue to add IMAX screens to their megaplexes

2009 James Cameron uses specially created 3-D cameras (developed with Sony) to present a whole new world in *Avatar*

2015 International box office plays an increasing role in movie profits

1994 DBS, direct broadcast satellite, offers service

1996 Telecommunications Act of 1996 consolidates ownership

2002 TV standard changed to digital

2008 TV shows widely available online and on demand

2006 TV programs are available on iTunes

2009 Switch to DTV

2010 Hulu Plus debuts

2013 Netflix receives Emmy nomination for its original programming

1992 sers make the rnet navigable

1995 Amazon.com launches online shopping

1999 Blogger software released

2001 Instant messenger services flourish

2002 Xbox LIVE debuts

2004 *World of Warcraft* debuts

2008 Broadband in 60% of American homes

2006 Google buys YouTube.com

2010 Apple launches the iPad

2011 Wireless devices popularize cloud computing

2013 *Grand Theft Auto V* generates more than $1 billion in three days

2014 Facebook buys Oculus Rift for $2 billion

Media Ownership: Who Owns What in t

Media ownership affects the media you consume and how you receive that media.

While the media used to be owned by numerous different companies, today six large conglomerates—**Sony, Disney, Comcast/NBC Universal, News Corp., Time Warner, and CBS**—dominate. However, in the wake of the digital turn, several more companies have emerged as leaders in digital media. These five digital companies—**Apple, Amazon, Microsoft, Google,** and **Facebook**—began in software or as Web sites, but their reach has expanded to compete with traditional media companies in many areas as they have begun producing, distributing, and consuming content. This visualization breaks down the media holdings of these digital companies to help you understand their growing influence.

As you examine this information, think about how much of your daily media consumption is owned by these top digital companies (as well as more traditional conglomerates like Sony or Disney). Which companies have the most influence on your entertainment and news consumption? What about on the technology you use every day? What does it mean that so few companies own so much of the media? Are there areas where the newer digital companies have a weaker hold?

Top Digital Companies and Their 2014 Revenue

Apple
$182.8 billion

The company Steve Jobs built sells computers, iPods, iPads, iPhones—and the music, movies, and e-books you consume on them.

Amazon
$89 billion

What began as an online bookstore now commands a high share of printed and recorded media in traditional and digital forms—and dominates the e-reader market.

Microsoft
$86.8 billion

Thanks to their widely used Windows operating system and their Xbox gaming console, Microsoft is still a major force in the digital world.

Google
$66 billion

Still the most-used search engine, Google has branched out into other media with its Google Play service and the Android phone.

Facebook
$12.5 billion

Facebook doesn't yet have as broad a multimedia reach as Amazon or Apple, but it is easily the biggest and most powerful social networking site, which provides a platform for games, music, news feeds, and plenty of crowd-sourced content.

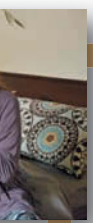
Photos: (Left top) © The Toronto Star/Zumapress.com; *(left center)* © Amazon Studios/Photofest; *(left bottom)* Dan R. Krauss/Getty Images; *(center top)* © Danny Mc

he Mass Media?

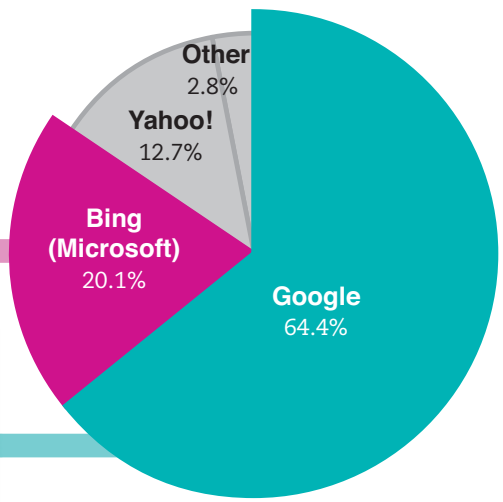
Top Music Retailers by Market Share

1. iTunes (Apple): 29%
2. Amazon/Amazon MP3: 19%
3. Walmart: 11%

Data from: "iTunes Continues to Dominate Music Retailing," NPD Group, September 19, 2012, https://www.npd.com/wps/portal/npd/us/news/press-releases/itunes-continues-to-dominate-music-retailing-but-nearly-60-percent-of-itunes-music-buyers-also-use-pandora/.



Search Engine Market Share

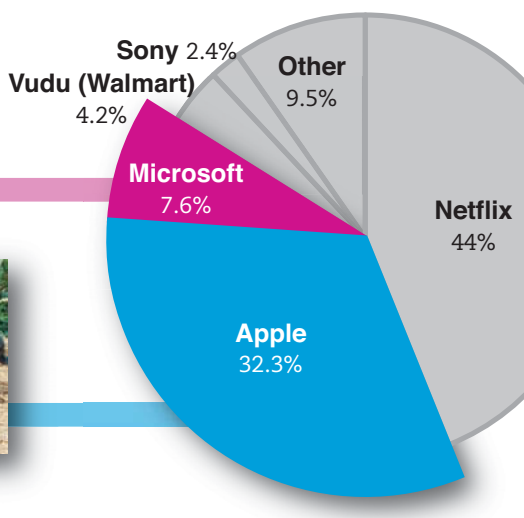


Top Book Retailers by Market Share

1. Amazon: 29%
2. Barnes & Noble: 20%
3. Other online stores: 10%
4. Independent brick-and-mortar store: 6%

Data from: "Amazon Picks Up Market Share," *Publishers Weekly*, July 27, 2012, http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/financial-reporting/article/53336-amazon-picks-up-market-share.html.

Top Online Movie Distribut Market Share



Data from: "Report: Netflix Beats Apple as No. 1 Online M paidcontent, June 1, 2012, http://paidcontent.org/2012/06-netflix-Beats-apple-as-no-1-online-movie-supplier/.

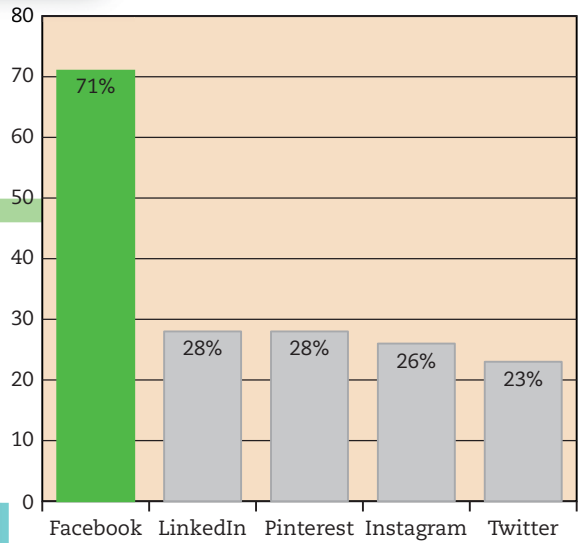
loshok/Reuters/Corbis; *(center center)* © Walt Disney Pictures/Everett Collection; *(center bottom)* © Universal Pictures/Everett Collection; *(right top)* Victor Idrogo/El Comercio de Peru/Newscom; *(right bottom)* Andrew Harrer/Bloomb

Estimated Revenue Share of Digital Ad Revenue in the U.S.

1. Google:	38.0%
2. Facebook:	10.0%
3. Microsoft:	6.0%
4. Yahoo!:	5.4%

Data from: Pew Research Center State of the News Media 2015.

Percentage of Online Adults Using . . .



Data from: "Social Media Update 2014," http://pewinternet.org/2013/12/30/social-media-update-2014

Most Popular News Sites

1.	Yahoo! News
2.	Google News
3.	Huffington Post
4.	CNN
5.	*New York Times*
6.	Fox News
7.	NBC News
8.	*Mail* Online
9.	*Washington Post*
10.	*The Guardian*

Data from: eBizMBA, "Top 15 Most Popular News Websites," www.ebizmba.com/articles/news-websites

Top-Selling Video Game Consoles in 2014

1. PlayStation 4 (Sony):	4.7 million
2. XboxOne (Microsoft):	4.2 million
3. 3DS (Nintendo):	2.7 million
4. Wii U (Nintendo):	1.6 million

Data from: "USA Yearly Chart," VGChartz, http://vgchartz.com/yearly/2014/USA

tors

Movie Supplier,"
5/01/report

erg via Getty Images.

Hov

$4
$2
$8
$1
$7
$7
$6
$4
$3
$2
$2
$2
$22
$18
$13
$10
$8,6
$1,50
$315
$40,0
$35,0
$1,50
$142,
$55,1

ow much do media companies make, really?

$495.6 billion Department of Defense proposed budget for 2015

$200 billion Facebook's estimated value in 2014

$85 billion Amount of 2008 U.S. government loan to insurance giant AIG

$79.3 billion Estimated worth of Bill Gates in 2013

$75.5 billion Sony's 2013 revenue

$74.2 billion Libya's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2013

$66 billion Google's 2014 revenue

$48.8 billion Disney's 2014 revenue

$35.7 billion Net worth of Mark Zuckerberg (CEO of Facebook) in 2015

$29 billion 21st Century Fox's 2014 revenue

$27.4 billion President's fiscal year budget for the U.S. Department of Justice in 2015

$27.3 billion Time Warner's 2014 revenue

$22.4 billion Total U.S. retail sales in the video game industry in 2014

$18.5 billion NASA proposed budget for 2016

$13.8 billion Viacom's 2014 revenue

$10.4 billion Total U.S. movie box-office receipts in 2014

$8.6 billion Environmental Protection Agency proposed budget for 2016

$1.5 billion Worldwide gross for *Furious 7*

$315 million Amount AOL paid for the *Huffington Post* in 2011

$40 million Estimated cost of the 2012 London Olympics opening ceremony

$35 million Amount News Corp. sold MySpace for in 2011

$1.5 million Amount *People* magazine paid for the exclusive photos from Kim Kardashian's wedding

$142,544 Average four-year tuition and room and board at a private university

$55,132 Median U.S. household income in 2015

Media & Culture

2016 Pregame
The Washington Post
JONES DAY

Scott Shaw/For the Washington Post via Getty Images

1

Mass Communication

A Critical Approach

5
Culture and the Evolution of Mass Communication

10
The Development of Media and Their Role in Our Society

16
Surveying the Cultural Landscape

29
Critiquing Media and Culture

Unlike any national election in recent memory, the 2016 presidential race started with a bang: a political campaign packaged as a reality show. With billionaire businessman Donald Trump taking the early lead in the crowded Republican field, the former host of NBC's *The Apprentice* seemed inoculated from the scrutiny most politicians face when they say things that cause voters to question their sanity, like "The beauty of me is that I'm very rich".[1] In Trump's case, his standing as a reality-show celebrity seemed to elevate, rather than sink, him in the early polls.

One of the appeals of reality TV, of course, is that viewers expect blunt opinions, outrageous actions, and crazy plot twists—and that's exactly what Donald Trump delivered to the 2016 campaign. He criticized other candidates for taking "special interest" money (including from him); he denigrated legal and illegal immigrants, promising to build a wall between the United States and Mexico—and make Mexico pay for it; and he retweeted comments labeling Fox News anchor Megyn Kelly a "bimbo." She had asked him tough questions during the first debate of the season—which, thanks to Trump's celebrity, drew a record twenty-four million viewers.

Particularly disheartening to many of the other Republican presidential candidates was the need to spend money on campaign ads to counter the Trump juggernaut. In response to Trump's critical remarks about him, fellow GOP candidate Jeb Bush had to pay for ads reminding voters that Trump used to be a Democrat. Trump's retort that President Ronald Reagan also started out as a Democrat, though, cost him nothing; his social media and TV interviews received so much attention that he didn't need to repeat his assertions in paid ads. Instead, his shocking comments about other candidates were picked up and recirculated—for free—by CNN, CBS, Fox News, NBC, the *New York Times*, and the *Wall Street Journal*, among others. At one point early in the campaign, the conservative Media Research Center reported in a study that "Donald Trump [had] received almost three times the network TV news coverage than all the other [sixteen] GOP candidates combined. . . ."[2]

Trump's candidacy demonstrated the power of social media to gain free publicity and cheap access. Recently, office seekers have depended on their parties and outside partisan groups to afford the expensive TV ads campaigning usually requires. Following the *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* ruling by the Supreme Court in 2010 (see Chapter 16), election campaigns now benefit from unlimited funds raised by wealthy individuals, corporations, and other groups, causing partisan pundits and concerned citizens alike to fret about rich donors dictating election outcomes.

For the 2016 election cycle, Donald Trump used social media to share his own criticisms of political ads and the "big money" that pays for them, thereby making candidates beholden to special interest groups. Though most media today communicate primarily to niche markets, Trump seemed to offer broad appeal at the time—even Democrats who said they would not vote for him enjoyed watching him make other GOP candidates squirm. So will Trump's TV strategies reshape political campaigning by forging a link with the sensibilities of reality television?

The fate of elections in the end increasingly rests with young voters and a candidate's ability to draw them into the election, which could make the rawness of reality TV enticing to some strategists. In election year cycles, news media often reduce the story of an election to two-dimensional narratives, obscuring or downplaying complex policy issues like climate change, economic recovery, campaign financing, immigration reform, and worldwide terrorism. To his credit, Trump's candid and controversial ideas during the 2016 presidential campaign forced the news media to pay closer attention. In a democracy, we depend on media to provide information to help us make decisions about our leaders. Despite their limitations, the media continue to serve as watchdogs for us over government and business. We must hope they are not too easily distracted by the power of celebrity to generate ratings and readers. As media watchdogs ourselves, we can point a critical lens back at the media and describe, analyze, and interpret news stories, reality TV shows, and political ads, arriving at informed judgments about the media's performance. This textbook offers a map to help us become more *media literate*, critiquing the media not as detached cynics or rabid partisans, but as informed citizens with a stake in the outcome.

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

SO WHAT EXACTLY ARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF NEWSPAPERS AND MEDIA IN GENERAL? In an age of highly partisan politics, economic and unemployment crises, and upheaval in several Arab nations, how do we demand the highest standards from our media to describe and analyze such complex events and issues—especially at a time when the business models for newspapers and most other media are in such flux? At their best, in all their various forms—from mainstream newspapers and radio talk shows to blogs—the media try to help us understand the events that affect us. But at their worst, the media's appetite for telling and selling stories leads them not only to document tragedy but also to misrepresent or exploit it. Many viewers and critics disapprove of how media, particularly TV and cable, hurtle from one event to another, often dwelling on trivial, celebrity-driven content.

In this book, we examine the history and business of mass media and discuss the media as a central force in shaping our culture and our democracy. We start by examining key concepts and introducing the critical process for investigating media industries and issues. In later chapters, we probe the history and structure of media's major institutions. In the process, we will develop an informed and critical view of the influence these institutions have had on national and global life. The goal is to become media literate—to become critical consumers of mass media institutions and engaged participants who accept part of the responsibility for the shape and direction of media culture. In this chapter, we will:

- Address key ideas, including communication, culture, mass media, and mass communication
- Investigate important periods in communication history: the oral, written, print, electronic, and digital eras
- Examine the development of a mass medium from emergence to convergence
- Learn about how convergence has changed our relationship to media
- Look at the central role of storytelling in media and culture
- Discuss two models for organizing and categorizing culture: a skyscraper and a map
- Trace important cultural values in both modern and postmodern societies
- Study media literacy and the five stages of the critical process: description, analysis, interpretation, evaluation, and engagement

As you read through this chapter, think about your early experiences with the media. Identify a favorite media product from your childhood—a song, book, TV show, or movie. Why was it so important to you? How much of an impact did your early taste in media have on your identity? How has your taste shifted over time? What do your current preferences indicate about your identity now? Do your current media preferences reveal anything about you? For more questions to help you think about the role of media in your life, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Culture and the Evolution of Mass Communication

One way to understand the impact of the media on our lives is to explore the cultural context in which the media operate. Often, culture is narrowly associated with art, the unique forms of creative expression that give pleasure and set standards about what is true, good, and beautiful. Culture, however, can be viewed more broadly as the ways in which people live and represent themselves at particular historical times. This idea of culture encompasses fashion, sports, literature, architecture, education, religion, and science, as well as mass media.

Krzysztof Dydynski/Getty Images

CULTURAL VALUES AND IDEALS are transmitted through the media. Many fashion advertisements show beautiful people using a company's products; such images imply that anyone who buys the products can obtain such ideal beauty. What other societal ideas are portrayed through the media?

Although we can study discrete cultural products, such as novels or songs from various historical periods, culture itself is always changing. It includes a society's art, beliefs, customs, games, technologies, traditions, and institutions. It also encompasses a society's modes of **communication**: the creation and use of symbol systems that convey information and meaning (e.g., languages, Morse code, motion pictures, and one-zero binary computer codes).

Culture is made up of both the products that a society fashions and, perhaps more important, the processes that forge those products and reflect a culture's diverse values. Thus **culture** may be defined as the symbols of expression that individuals, groups, and societies use to make sense of daily life and to articulate their values. According to this definition, when we listen to music, read a book, watch television, or scan the Internet, we are usually not asking "Is this art?" but are instead trying to identify or connect with something or someone. In other words, we are assigning meaning to the song, book, TV program, or Web site. Culture, therefore, is a process that delivers the values of a society through products or other meaning-making forms. The American ideal of "rugged individualism"—depicting heroic characters overcoming villains or corruption, for instance—has been portrayed on television for decades through a tradition of detective stories like HBO's *True Detective* and crime procedurals like CBS's *NCIS*. This ideal has also been a staple in movies and books, and even in political ads.

Culture links individuals to their society by providing both shared and contested values, and the mass media help circulate those values. The **mass media** are the cultural industries—the channels of communication—that produce and distribute songs, novels, TV shows, newspapers, movies, video games, Internet services, and other cultural products to large numbers of people. The historical development of media and communication can be traced through several overlapping phases or eras in which newer forms of technology disrupted and modified older forms—a process that many academics, critics, and media professionals began calling *convergence* with the arrival of the Internet.

These eras, which all still operate to some degree, are oral, written, print, electronic, and digital. The first two eras refer to the communication of tribal or feudal communities and agricultural economies. The last three phases feature the development of **mass communication**: the process of designing cultural messages and stories and delivering them to large and diverse audiences through media channels as old and distinctive as the printed book and as new and converged as the Internet. Hastened by the growth of industry and modern technology, mass communication accompanied the shift of rural populations to urban settings and the rise of a consumer culture.

Oral and Written Eras in Communication

In most early societies, information and knowledge first circulated slowly through oral traditions passed on by poets, teachers, and tribal storytellers. As alphabets and the written word emerged, however, a manuscript—or written—culture began to develop and eventually overshadowed oral communication. Documented and transcribed by philosophers, monks, and stenographers, the manuscript culture served the ruling classes. Working people were generally illiterate, and the economic and educational gap between rulers and the ruled was vast. These eras of oral and written communication developed slowly over many centuries. Although

exact time frames are disputed, historians generally consider these eras as part of Western civilization's premodern period, spanning the epoch from roughly 1000 B.C.E. to the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution.

Early tensions between oral and written communication played out among ancient Greek philosophers and writers. Socrates (470–399 B.C.E.), for instance, made his arguments through public conversations and debates. Known as the Socratic method, this dialogue style of communication and inquiry is still used in college classrooms and university law schools. Many philosophers who believed in the superiority of the oral tradition feared that the written word would threaten public discussion. In fact, Socrates' most famous student, Plato (427–347 B.C.E.), sought to banish poets, whom he saw as purveyors of ideas less rigorous than those generated in oral, face-to-face, question-and-answer discussions. These debates foreshadowed similar discussions in our time in which we ask whether TV news, Twitter, or online comment sections cheapen public discussion and discourage face-to-face communication.

The Print Revolution

While paper and block printing developed in China around 100 C.E. and 1045, respectively, what we recognize as modern printing did not emerge until the middle of the fifteenth century. At that time in Germany, Johannes Gutenberg's invention of movable metallic type and the printing press ushered in the modern print era. Printing presses and publications spread rapidly across Europe in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. Early on, the size and expense of books limited them to an audience of wealthy aristocrats, royal families, church leaders, prominent merchants, and powerful politicians. Gradually, printers reduced the size and cost of books, making them available and affordable to more people. Books eventually became the first mass-marketed products in history because of the way the printing press combined three necessary elements.

Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris/Scala–Art Resource, NY

EARLY BOOKS
Before the invention of the printing press, books were copied by hand in a labor-intensive process. This beautifully illuminated page is from an Italian Bible made in the early fourteenth century.

First, machine duplication replaced the tedious system in which scribes hand-copied texts. Second, duplication could occur rapidly, so large quantities of the same book could be reproduced easily. Third, the faster production of multiple copies brought down the cost of each unit, which made books more affordable to less-affluent people.

Since mass-produced printed materials could spread information and ideas faster and farther than ever before, writers could use print to disseminate views counter to traditional civic doctrine and religious authority—views that paved the way for major social and cultural changes, such as the Protestant Reformation and the rise of modern nationalism. People started to resist traditional clerical authority and also began to think of themselves not merely as members of families, isolated communities, or tribes but as part of a country whose interests were broader than local or regional concerns. While oral and written societies had favored decentralized local governments, the print era supported the ascent of more centralized nation-states.

Eventually, the machine production of mass quantities that had resulted in a lower cost per unit for books became an essential factor in the mass production of other goods, which led to the Industrial Revolution, modern capitalism, and the consumer culture of the twentieth century. With the revolution in industry came the rise of the middle class and an elite business class of owners and managers who acquired the kind of influence formerly held only by the nobility or the clergy. Print media became key tools that commercial and political leaders used to distribute information and maintain social order.

As with the Internet today, however, it was difficult for a single business or political leader, certainly in a democratic society, to gain exclusive control over printing technology (although

the king or queen did control printing press licenses in England until the early nineteenth century, and even today, governments in many countries control presses, access to paper, advertising, and distribution channels). Instead, the mass publication of pamphlets, magazines, and books in the United States helped democratize knowledge, and literacy rates rose among the working and middle classes. Industrialization required a more educated workforce, but printed literature and textbooks also encouraged compulsory education, thus promoting literacy and extending learning beyond the world of wealthy upper-class citizens.

Just as the printing press fostered nationalism, it also nourished the ideal of individualism. People came to rely less on their local community and their commercial, religious, and political leaders for guidance. By challenging tribal life, the printing press "fostered the modern idea of individuality," disrupting "the medieval sense of community and integration."[3] In urban and industrial environments, many individuals became cut off from the traditions of rural and small-town life, which had encouraged community cooperation in premodern times. By the mid-nineteenth century, the ideal of individualism affirmed the rise of commerce and increased resistance to government interference in the affairs of self-reliant entrepreneurs. The democratic impulse of individualism became a fundamental value in American society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Electronic Era

In Europe and the United States, the impact of industry's rise was enormous: Factories replaced farms as the main centers of work and production. During the 1880s, roughly 80 percent of Americans lived on farms and in small towns; by the 1920s and 1930s, most had moved to urban areas, where new industries and economic opportunities beckoned. The city had overtaken the country as the focal point of national life.

The gradual transformation from an industrial, print-based society to one grounded in the Information Age began with the development of the telegraph in the 1840s. Featuring dot-dash electronic signals, the telegraph made four key contributions to communication. First, it separated communication from transportation, making media messages instantaneous—unencumbered by stagecoaches, ships, or the pony express.[4] Second, the telegraph, in combination with the rise of mass-marketed newspapers, transformed "information into a commodity, a 'thing' that could be bought or sold irrespective of its uses or meaning."[5] By the time of the Civil War, news had become a valuable product. Third, the telegraph made it easier for military, business, and political leaders to coordinate commercial and military operations, especially after the installation of the transatlantic cable in the late 1860s. Fourth, the telegraph led to future technological developments, such as wireless telegraphy (later named radio), the fax machine, and the cell phone, which ironically resulted in the telegraph's demise: In 2006, Western Union telegraph offices sent their final messages.

The rise of film at the turn of the twentieth century and the development of radio in the 1920s were early signals, but the electronic phase of the Information Age really boomed in the 1950s and 1960s with the arrival of television and its dramatic impact on daily life. Then, with the coming of ever more communication gadgetry—personal computers, cable TV, DVDs, DVRs, direct broadcast satellites, cell phones, smartphones, PDAs, and e-mail—the Information Age passed into its digital phase, where old and new media began to converge, thus dramatically changing our relationship to media and culture.

The Digital Era

In **digital communication**, images, texts, and sounds are converted (encoded) into electronic signals (represented as varied combinations of binary numbers—ones and zeros) that are then reassembled (decoded) as a precise reproduction of, say, a TV picture, a magazine article, a

song, or a telephone voice. On the Internet, various images, texts, and sounds are all digitally reproduced and transmitted globally.

New technologies, particularly cable television and the Internet, developed so quickly that traditional leaders in communication lost some of their control over information. For example, starting with the 1992 presidential campaign, the network news shows (ABC, CBS, and NBC) began to lose their audiences, first to MTV and CNN, and later to MSNBC, Fox News, Comedy Central, and partisan radio talk shows. By the 2012 national elections, Facebook, Twitter, and other social media sites had become key players in news and politics, especially as information resources for younger generations who had grown up in an online and digital world.

Moreover, e-mail—a digital reinvention of oral culture—has assumed some of the functions of the postal service and is outpacing attempts to control communications beyond national borders. A professor sitting at her desk in Cedar Falls, Iowa, sends e-mail or Skype messages routinely to research scientists in Budapest. Moreover, many repressive and totalitarian regimes have had trouble controlling messages sent out over the borderless Internet, as opposed to hard copy "snail mail."

Oral culture has been further reinvented by the emergence of *social media*—such as Twitter and, in particular, Facebook, which now has nearly one billion users worldwide. Social media allow people from all over the world to have ongoing online conversations, share stories and interests, and generate their own media content. This turn to digital media forms has fundamentally overturned traditional media business models, the ways we engage with and consume media products, and the ways we organize our daily lives around various media choices.

The Linear Model of Mass Communication

The digital era also brought about a shift in the models that media researchers have used over the years to explain how media messages and meanings are constructed and communicated in everyday life. In one of the older and more enduring explanations of how media operate, mass communication has been conceptualized as a linear process of producing and delivering messages to large audiences. **Senders** (authors, producers, and organizations) transmit **messages** (programs, texts, images, sounds, and ads) through a **mass media channel** (newspapers, books, magazines, radio, television, or the Internet) to large groups of **receivers** (readers, viewers, and consumers). In the process, **gatekeepers** (news editors, executive producers, and other media managers) function as message filters. Media gatekeepers make decisions about what messages actually get produced for particular receivers. The process also allows for **feedback**, in which citizens and consumers, if they choose, return messages to senders or gatekeepers through phone calls, e-mail, Web postings, talk shows, or letters to the editor.

But the problem with the linear model is that in reality, media messages—especially in the digital era—do not usually move smoothly from a sender at point A to a receiver at point Z. Words and images are more likely to spill into one another, crisscrossing in the daily media deluge of ads, TV shows, news reports, social media, smartphone apps, and—of course—everyday conversation. Media messages and stories are encoded and sent in written and visual forms, but senders often have very little control over how their intended messages are decoded or whether the messages are ignored or misread by readers and viewers.

A Cultural Model for Understanding Mass Communication

A more contemporary approach to understanding media is through a cultural model. This concept recognizes that individuals bring diverse meanings to messages, given factors and differences such as gender, age, educational level, ethnicity, and occupation. In this model of mass communication, audiences actively affirm, interpret, refashion, or reject the messages and stories that flow through various media channels. For example, when controversial singer Lady Gaga released her nine-minute music video for the song "Telephone" in 2010, fans and critics

had very different interpretations of the video. Some saw Lady Gaga as a cutting-edge artist pushing boundaries and celebrating alternative lifestyles—and the rightful heir to Madonna. Others, however, saw the video as tasteless and cruel, making fun of transsexuals and exploiting women—not to mention celebrating the poisoning of an old boyfriend.

While the linear model may demonstrate how a message gets from a sender to a receiver, the cultural model suggests the complexity of this process and the lack of control that "senders" (such as media executives, moviemakers, writers, news editors, and ad agencies) often have over how audiences receive messages and interpret their intended meanings. Sometimes, producers of media messages seem to be the active creators of communication while audiences are merely passive receptacles. But as the Lady Gaga example illustrates, consumers also shape media messages to fit or support their own values and viewpoints. This phenomenon is known as **selective exposure**: People typically seek messages and produce meanings that correspond to their own cultural beliefs, values, and interests. For example, studies have shown that people with political leanings toward the left or the right tend to seek out blogs or news outlets that reinforce their preexisting views.

The rise of the Internet and social media has also complicated the traditional roles in both the linear and the cultural models of communication. While there are still senders and receivers, the borderless, decentralized, and democratic nature of the Internet means that anyone can become a sender of media messages—whether it's by uploading a video mash-up to YouTube or by writing a blog post. The Internet has also largely eliminated the gatekeeper role. Although some governments try to control Internet servers, and some Web sites have restrictions on what can and cannot be posted, for the most part, the Internet allows senders to transmit content without first needing approval from, or editing by, a gatekeeper. For example, some authors who are unable to find a traditional book publisher for their work turn to self-publishing on the Internet. And musicians who don't have deals with major record labels can promote, circulate, and sell their music online.

The Development of Media and Their Role in Our Society

The mass media constitute a wide variety of industries and merchandise, from moving documentary news programs about famines in Africa to shady infomercials about how to retrieve millions of dollars in unclaimed money online. The word *media* is, after all, a Latin plural form of the singular noun *medium*, meaning an intervening substance through which something is conveyed or transmitted. Television, newspapers, music, movies, magazines, books, billboards, radio, broadcast satellites, and the Internet are all part of the media, and they are all quite capable of either producing worthy products or pandering to society's worst desires, prejudices, and stereotypes. Let's begin by looking at how mass media develop, and then at how they work and are interpreted in our society.

The Evolution of Media: From Emergence to Convergence

The development of most mass media is initiated not only by the diligence of inventors, such as Thomas Edison (see Chapters 4 and 7), but also by social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances. For instance, both telegraph and radio evolved as newly industrialized nations sought to expand their military and economic control and to transmit information more rapidly. The Internet is a contemporary response to new concerns: transporting messages and sharing information more rapidly for an increasingly mobile and interconnected global population.

Media innovations typically go through four stages. First is the *emergence*, or *novelty*, *stage*, in which inventors and technicians try to solve a particular problem, such as making pictures move, transmitting messages from ship to shore, or sending mail electronically. Second is the *entrepreneurial stage*, in which inventors and investors determine a practical and marketable use for the new device. For example, early radio relayed messages to and from places where telegraph wires could not go, such as military ships at sea. Part of the Internet also had its roots in the ideas of military leaders, who wanted a communication system that was decentralized and distributed widely enough to survive nuclear war or natural disasters.

The third phase in a medium's development involves a breakthrough to the *mass medium stage*. At this point, businesses figure out how to market the new device or medium as a consumer product. Although the government and the U.S. Navy played a central role in radio's early years, it was commercial entrepreneurs who pioneered radio broadcasting and figured out how to reach millions of people. In the same way, Pentagon and government researchers helped develop early prototypes for the Internet, but commercial interests extended the Internet's global reach and business potential.

Finally, the fourth and newest phase in a medium's evolution is the *convergence stage*. This is the stage in which older media are reconfigured in various forms on newer media. However, this does not mean that these older forms cease to exist. For example, you can still get the *New York Times* in print, but it's also now accessible on laptops and smartphones via the Internet. During this stage, we see the merging of many different media forms onto online platforms, but we also see the fragmenting of large audiences into smaller niche markets. With new technologies allowing access to more media options than ever, mass audiences are morphing into audience subsets that chase particular lifestyles, politics, hobbies, and forms of entertainment.

Media Convergence

Developments in the electronic and digital eras enabled and ushered in this latest stage in the development of media—**convergence**—a term that media critics and analysts use when describing all the changes that have occurred over the past decade, and are still occurring, in media content and within media companies. The term actually has two meanings—one referring to technology and one to business—and describes changes that have a great impact on how media companies are charting a course for the future.

The Dual Roles of Media Convergence

The first definition of media convergence involves the technological merging of content across different media channels—the magazine articles, radio programs, songs, TV shows, video games, and movies now available on the Internet through laptops, tablets, and smartphones.

Culver Pictures/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY

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MEDIA CONVERGENCE
In the 1950s, television sets—like radios in the 1930s and 1940s—were often encased in decorative wood and sold as stylish furniture that occupied a central place in many American homes. Today, using our computers, we can listen to a radio talk show, watch a movie, or download a favorite song—usually on the go—as older media forms now converge online.

Such technical convergence is not entirely new. For example, in the late 1920s, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) purchased the Victor Talking Machine Company and introduced machines that could play both radio and recorded music. In the 1950s, this collaboration helped radio survive the emergence of television. Radio lost much of its content to TV and could not afford to hire live bands, so it became more dependent on deejays to play records produced by the music industry. However, contemporary media convergence is much broader than the simple merging of older and newer forms. In fact, the eras of communication are themselves reinvented in this "age of convergence." Oral communication, for example, finds itself reconfigured, in part, in e-mail and social media. And print communication is re-formed in the thousands of newspapers now available online. Also, keep in mind the wonderful ironies of media convergence: The first major digital retailer, Amazon, made its name by selling the world's oldest mass medium—the book—on the world's newest mass medium—the Internet.

A second definition of media convergence—sometimes called **cross platform** by media marketers—describes a business model that involves consolidating various media holdings, such as cable connections, phone services, television transmissions, and Internet access, under one corporate umbrella. The goal is not necessarily to offer consumers more choice in their media options but to better manage resources and maximize profits. For example, a company that owns TV stations, radio outlets, and newspapers in multiple markets—as well as in the same cities—can deploy a reporter or producer to create three or four versions of the same story for various media outlets. So rather than having each radio station, TV station, newspaper, and online news site generate diverse and independent stories about an issue, a media corporation employing the convergence model can use fewer employees to generate multiple versions of the same story.

Media Businesses in a Converged World

The ramifications of media convergence are best revealed in the business strategies of digital age companies like Amazon, Facebook, Apple, and especially Google—the most profitable company of the digital era so far (see Chapter 2). Google is the Internet's main organizer and aggregator because it finds both "new" and "old" media content—like blogs and newspapers—and delivers that content to vast numbers of online consumers. Google does not produce any of the content, and most consumers who find a news story or magazine article through a Google search pay nothing to the original media content provider or to Google. Instead, as the "middleman," or distributor, Google makes most of its money by selling ads that accompany search results. But not all ads are created equal; as writer and journalism critic James Fallows points out, Google does not necessarily sell ads on the news sites it aggregates: Almost all of the company's money comes from shopping-related searches, rather than from the information searches it is best known for. In fact, Fallows writes that Google, which has certainly done its part in contributing to the decline of newspapers, still has a large stake in seeing newspapers succeed online.[6] Over the last few years, Google has undertaken a number of experiments to help older news media make the transition into the converged world. Google executives believe that since they aren't in the content creation business, they are dependent on news organizations to produce the quality information and journalism that healthy democracies need—and that Google can deliver.

Today's converged media world has broken down the old definitions of distinct media forms like newspapers and television—both now available online and across multiple platforms. And it favors players like Google, whose business model works in a world where customers expect to get their media in multiple places—and often for free. But the challenge ahead in the new, converged world is to resolve who will pay for quality content and how that system will emerge. In the upcoming industry chapters, we take a closer look at how media convergence is affecting each industry in terms of both content production and business strategies.

Media Convergence and Cultural Change

The Internet and social media have led to significant changes in the ways we consume and engage with media culture. In the pre-Internet days (say, back in the late 1980s), most people would watch popular TV shows like *Dallas*, *Cheers*, or *Roseanne* at the time they originally aired. Such scheduling provided common media experiences at specific times within our culture. While we still watch TV shows, we are increasingly likely to do so at our own convenience through Web sites like Hulu and Netflix or DVR/On-Demand options. We are also increasingly making our media choices on the basis of Facebook, YouTube, or Twitter recommendations from friends. Or we upload our own media—from photos of last night's party to homemade videos of our lives, pets, and hobbies—to share with friends instead of watching "mainstream" programming. While these options allow us to connect with friends or family and give us more choices, they also break down shared media experiences in favor of our individual interests and pursuits.

The ability to access many different forms of media in one place is also changing the ways we engage with and consume media. In the past, we read newspapers in print, watched TV on our televisions, and played video games on a console. Today, we are able to do all these things on a computer, tablet, or smartphone, making it easy—and very tempting—to multitask. Media multitasking has led to growing media consumption, particularly for young people. A recent Kaiser Family Foundation study found that today's youth—now doing two or more things at once—packed ten hours and forty-five minutes worth of media content into the seven and a half hours they spent daily consuming media.[7] But while we might be consuming more media, are we really engaging with it? And are we really engaging with our friends when we communicate with them by texting or posting on Facebook? Some critics and educators feel that media multitasking means that we are more distracted, that we engage less with each type of media we consume, and that we often pay closer attention to the media we are using than to people immediately in our presence.

However, media multitasking could have other effects. In the past, we would wait until the end of a TV program, if not until the next day, to discuss it with our friends. Now, with the proliferation of social media, and in particular Twitter, we can discuss that program with our friends—and with strangers—as we watch the show. Many TV shows now gauge their popularity with audiences by how many people are "live-tweeting" it and by how many related trending topics they have on Twitter. In fact, commenting on a TV show on social media grew by 194 percent between April 2011 and April 2012.[8] This type of participation could indicate that audiences are in fact engaging more with the media they consume, even though they are multitasking. Some media critics even posit that having more choice actually makes us more engaged media consumers, because we have to actively choose the media we want to consume from the growing list of options.

Stories: The Foundation of Media

The stories that circulate in the media can shape a society's perceptions and attitudes. Throughout the twentieth century and during the recent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, for instance, courageous professional journalists covered armed conflicts, telling stories that helped the public comprehend the magnitude and tragedy of such events. In the 1950s and 1960s, network television news stories on the Civil Rights movement led to crucial legislation that transformed the way many white people viewed the grievances and aspirations of African Americans. In the late 1960s to early 1970s, the persistent media coverage of the Vietnam War ultimately led to a loss of public support for the war. In the late 1990s, news and tabloid magazine stories about the President Clinton–Monica Lewinsky affair sparked heated debates over private codes of behavior and public abuses of authority. In each of these instances, the stories told through a variety of media outlets played a key role in changing individual awareness, cultural attitudes, and public perception.

While we continue to look to the media for narratives today, the kinds of stories we seek and tell are changing in the digital era. During Hollywood's Golden Age in the 1930s and 1940s, as many as ninety million people each week went to the movies on Saturday to take in a professionally produced double feature and a newsreel about the week's main events. In the 1980s, during TV's Network Era, most of us sat down at night to watch the polished evening news or the scripted sitcoms and dramas written by paid writers and performed by seasoned actors. But in the digital age, where reality TV and social media now seem to dominate storytelling, many of the performances are enacted by "ordinary" people. Audiences are fascinated by the stories of couples finding love, relationships gone bad, and backstabbing friends on shows like the *Real Housewives* series and its predecessors, like *Jersey Shore*. Other reality shows—like *Pawn Stars*, *Deadliest Catch*, and *Duck Dynasty*—give us glimpses into the lives and careers of everyday people, while amateurs entertain us in singing, dancing, and cooking shows like *The Voice*, *So You Think You Can Dance*, and *Top Chef*. While these shows are all professionally produced, the performers are almost all ordinary people (or celebrities and professionals performing alongside amateurs), which is part of the appeal of reality TV—we are better able to relate to the characters, or compare our lives against theirs, because they seem just like us.

Online, many of us are entertaining each other with videos of our pets, Facebook posts about our achievements or relationship issues, photos of a good meal, or tweets about a funny thing that happened at work. This cultural blending of old and new ways of telling stories—told by both professionals and amateurs—is just another form of convergence that has disrupted and altered the media landscape in the digital era. More than ever, ordinary citizens are able to participate in, and have an effect on, the stories being told in the media. For example, when the Russian government took control of Crimea and threatened the borders of other parts of the Ukraine in 2014, many ordinary people caught between allegiances to different nations got their stories out via videos, tweets, social media, and blog posts. They were able to communicate in an online world that was much harder for autocratic leaders to control, and their messages allowed the more traditional media to find and report stories that in another age would not have been told. Our varied media institutions and outlets are basically in the **narrative**—or storytelling—business. Media stories put events in context, helping us to better understand both our daily lives and the larger world. As psychologist Jerome Bruner argues, we are storytelling creatures, and as children we acquire language to tell the stories we have inside us. In his book *Making Stories*, he says, "Stories, finally, provide models of the world."[9] The common denominator, in fact, between our entertainment and information cultures is the narrative. It is the media's main cultural currency—whether it's Michael Jackson's "Thriller" video, a post on a gossip blog, a Fox News "exclusive," a *New York Times* article, a tweet about a bad breakfast, or a funny TV commercial. The point is that the popular narratives of our culture are complex and varied. Roger Rosenblatt, writing in *Time* magazine during the 2000 presidential election, made this observation about the importance of stories: "We are a narrative species. We exist by storytelling—by relating our situations—and the test of our evolution may lie in getting the story right."[10]

The Power of Media Stories in Everyday Life

The earliest debates, at least in Western society, about the impact of cultural narratives on daily life date back to the ancient Greeks. Socrates, himself accused of corrupting young minds, worried that children exposed to popular art forms and stories "without distinction" would "take into their souls teachings that are wholly opposite to those we wish them to be possessed of when they are grown up."[11] He believed art should uplift us from the ordinary routines of our lives. The playwright Euripides, however, believed that art should imitate life, that characters should be "real," and that artistic works should reflect the actual world—even when that reality is sordid.

Marc Riboud/Magnum Photos

VIETNAM WAR PROTESTS
On October 21, 1967, a crowd of 100,000 protesters marched on the Pentagon demanding the end of the Vietnam War. Sadly, violence erupted when some protesters clashed with the U.S. Marshals protecting the Pentagon. However, this iconic image from the same protest appeared in the *Washington Post* the next day and went on to become a symbol for the peaceful ideals behind the protests. When has an image in the media made an event "real" to you?

In *The Republic*, Plato developed the classical view of art: It should aim to instruct and uplift. He worried that some staged performances glorified evil and that common folk watching might not be able to distinguish between art and reality. Aristotle, Plato's student, occupied a middle ground in these debates, arguing that art and stories should provide insight into the human condition but should entertain as well.

The cultural concerns of classical philosophers are still with us. In the early 1900s, for example, newly arrived immigrants to the United States who spoke little English gravitated toward cultural events (such as boxing, vaudeville, and the emerging medium of silent film) whose enjoyment did not depend solely on understanding English. Consequently, these popular events occasionally became a flash point for some groups, including the Daughters of the American Revolution, local politicians, religious leaders, and police vice squads, who not only resented the commercial success of immigrant culture but also feared that these "low" cultural forms would undermine what they saw as traditional American values and interests.

In the United States in the 1950s, the emergence of television and rock and roll generated several points of contention. For instance, the phenomenal popularity of Elvis Presley set the stage for many of today's debates over hip-hop lyrics and television's influence, especially on young people. In 1956 and 1957, Presley made three appearances on the *Ed Sullivan Show*. The public outcry against Presley's "lascivious" hip movements was so great that by the third show the camera operators were instructed to shoot the singer only from the waist up. In some communities, objections to Presley were motivated by class bias and racism. Many white adults believed that this "poor white trash" singer from Mississippi was spreading rhythm and blues, a "dangerous" form of black popular culture.

Today, with the reach of print, electronic, and digital communications and the amount of time people spend consuming them (see Figure 1.1 on page 16), mass media play an even more controversial role in society. Many people are critical of the quality of much contemporary culture and are concerned about the overwhelming amount of information now available. Many see popular media culture as unacceptably commercial and sensationalistic. Too many talk

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Agenda Setting and Gatekeeping
Experts discuss how the media exert influence over public discourse.
Discussion: How might the rise of the Internet cancel out or reduce the agenda-setting effect in media?

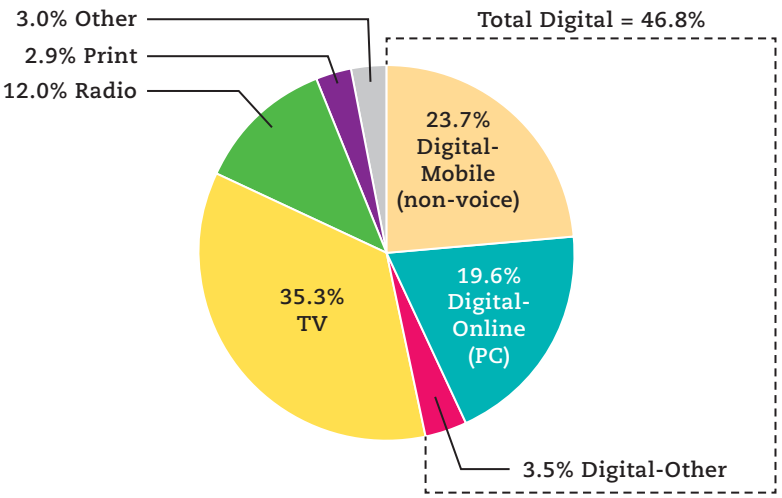


FIGURE 1.1

DAILY MEDIA CONSUMPTION BY PLATFORM, 2015

Data from: "U.S. Adults' Media Consumption Estimates: Marketing Charts, www.marketingcharts.com /traditional/US-adults-daily-major -media-consumption-estimates-2011 -2015-53783

shows exploit personal problems for commercial gain, reality shows often glamorize outlandish behavior and dangerous stunts, and television research continues to document a connection between aggression in children and violent entertainment programs or video games. Children, who watch nearly forty thousand TV commercials each year, are particularly vulnerable to marketers selling junk food, toys, and "cool" clothing. Even the computer, once heralded as an educational salvation, has created confusion. Today, when kids announce that they are "on the computer," many parents wonder whether they are writing a term paper, playing a video game, chatting on Facebook, or peering at pornography.

Yet how much the media shape society—and how much they simply respond to existing cultural issues—is still unknown. Although some media depictions may worsen social problems, research has seldom demonstrated that the media directly cause our society's major afflictions. For instance, when a middle-school student shoots a fellow student over designer clothing, should society blame the ad that glamorized clothes and the network that carried the ad? Or are parents, teachers, and religious leaders failing to instill strong moral values? Are economic and social issues involving gun legislation, consumerism, and income disparity at work as well? Even if the clothing manufacturer bears responsibility as a corporate citizen, did the ad alone bring about the tragedy, or is the ad symptomatic of a larger problem?

With American mass media industries earning more than $200 billion annually, the economic and societal stakes are high. Large portions of media resources now go toward studying audiences, capturing their attention through stories, and taking their consumer dollars. To increase their revenues, media outlets try to influence everything from how people shop to how they vote. Like the air we breathe, the commercially based culture that mass media help create surrounds us. Its impact, like the air, is often taken for granted. But to monitor that culture's "air quality"—to become media literate—we must attend more thoughtfully to diverse media stories that are too often taken for granted. (For further discussion, see "Examining Ethics: Covering War" on pages 18–19.)

Surveying the Cultural Landscape

Some cultural phenomena gain wide popular appeal, and others do not. Some appeal to certain age groups or social classes. Some, such as rock and roll, jazz, and classical music, are popular worldwide; other cultural forms, such as Tejano, salsa, and Cajun music, are popular primarily in certain regions or ethnic communities. Certain aspects of culture are considered elite in one place (e.g., opera in the United States) and popular in another (e.g., opera in Italy). Though categories may change over time and from one society to another, two metaphors offer contrasting views about the way culture operates in our daily lives: culture as a hierarchy, represented by a *skyscraper* model, and culture as a process, represented by a *map* model.

Culture as a Skyscraper

Throughout twentieth-century America, critics and audiences perceived culture as a hierarchy with supposedly superior products at the top and inferior ones at the bottom. This can be imagined, in some respects, as a modern skyscraper. In this model, the top floors of the building house **high culture**, such as ballet, the symphony, art museums, and classic literature. The bottom floors—and even the basement—house popular or **low culture**, including such icons as soap operas, rock music, radio shock jocks, and video games (see Figure 1.2 on page 20). High culture, identified with "good taste" and higher education, and supported by wealthy patrons and corporate donors, is associated with "fine art," which is available primarily in libraries, theaters, and museums. In contrast, low or popular culture is aligned with the "questionable" tastes of the masses, who enjoy the commercial "junk" circulated by the mass media, such as reality TV, celebrity-gossip Web sites, and violent action films. Whether or not we agree with this cultural skyscraper model, the high–low hierarchy often determines or limits the ways we view and discuss culture today.[12] Using this model, critics have developed at least five areas of concern about so-called low culture: the depreciation of fine art, the exploitation of high culture, the disposability of popular culture, the driving out of high culture, and the deadening of our cultural taste buds.

An Inability to Appreciate Fine Art

Some critics claim that popular culture, in the form of contemporary movies, television, and music, distracts students from serious literature and philosophy, thus stunting their imagination and undermining their ability to recognize great art.[13] This critical view pits popular culture against high art, discounting a person's ability to value Bach and the Beatles or Shakespeare and *The Simpsons* concurrently. The assumption is that because popular forms of culture are made for profit, they cannot be experienced as valuable artistic experiences in the same way as more elite art forms, such as classical ballet, Italian opera, modern sculpture, or Renaissance painting—even though many of what we regard as elite art forms today were once supported and even commissioned by wealthy patrons.

A Tendency to Exploit High Culture

Another concern is that popular culture exploits classic works of literature and art. A good example may be Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's dark Gothic novel *Frankenstein*, written in 1818 and ultimately transformed into multiple popular forms. Today, the tale is best remembered by virtue of two movies: a 1931 film version starring Boris Karloff as the towering and tragic monster, and the 1974 Mel Brooks comedy *Young Frankenstein*. In addition to the many cinematic versions, television turned the tale into *The Munsters*, a mid-1960s situation comedy. The monster was even resurrected as sugarcoated Franken Berry cereal. In the recycled forms of the original story, Shelley's powerful themes about abusing science and judging people on the basis of appearances are often lost or trivialized in favor of a simplistic horror story, a comedy spoof, or a form of junk food.

A Throwaway Ethic

Unlike an Italian opera or a Shakespearean tragedy, many elements of popular culture have a short life span. The average newspaper circulates for about twelve hours, then lands in a recycling bin; a hit song might top the charts for a few weeks at a time; and most new Web sites or blogs are rarely visited and doomed to oblivion. Although endurance does not necessarily denote quality, many critics think that so-called better or higher forms of culture have more staying power. In this argument, lower or popular forms of culture are unstable and fleeting; they follow rather than lead public taste. In the TV industry in the 1960s and 1970s, for example, network executives employed the "least objectionable programming" (or LOP) strategy, which

EXAMINING ETHICS

Covering War

By 2014, as the United States withdrew most of its military forces from Afghanistan—from a war that was in its thirteenth year (making it the longest war in U.S. history)—journalistic coverage of Middle East war efforts had declined dramatically. This was partly due to the tendency of news organizations to lose interest in an event when it drags on for a long time and becomes "old news." The news media are often biased in favor of timeliness and "current events." But war reporting also declined because of the financial crisis—more than twenty thousand reporters lost their jobs or took buyouts between 2009 and 2013 as papers cut staff to save money. In fact, most news organizations stopped sending reporters to cover the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, depending instead on wire service reporters, foreign correspondents from other countries, or major news organizations like the *New York Times* or CNN for their coverage. Despite the decreasing coverage, the news media continue to confront ethical challenges about the best way to cover the wars, including reporting on the deaths of soldiers; documenting drug abuse or the high suicide rate among Iraq and Afghanistan war veterans; dealing with First Amendment issues; and knowing what is appropriate for their audiences to view, read, or hear.

When President Obama took office in 2009, he suspended the previous Bush administration ban on media coverage of soldiers' coffins returning to U.S. soil from the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. First Amendment advocates praised Obama's decision, although after a flurry of news coverage of these arrivals in April 2009, media outlets grew less interested as the wars dragged on. Later, though, the Obama administration upset some of the same First Amendment supporters when it withheld more prisoner and detainee abuse photos from earlier in the wars, citing concerns for the safety of current U.S. troops and fears of further inflaming anti-American opinion. Both issues—one opening up news access and one closing it down—suggest the difficult and often tense relationship between presidential administrations and the news media.

In May 2011, these issues surfaced again when U.S. Navy SEALs killed Osama bin Laden, long credited with perpetrating the 9/11 tragedy. As details of the SEAL operation began to emerge, the Obama administration weighed the appropriateness of releasing photos of bin Laden's body and video of his burial at sea. While some news organizations and First Amendment advocates demanded the release of the photos, the Obama administration ultimately decided against it, saying that the government did not want to spur any further terrorist actions against the United States and its allies.

IMAGES OF WAR

The photos and images that news outlets choose to show greatly influence their audience members' opinions. In each of the photos below, what message about war is being portrayed? How much freedom do you think news outlets should have in showing potentially controversial scenes from war?

Wissam al-Okaili/AFP/Getty Images

ZUMApress.com

How much freedom should the news media have to cover a war?

Back in 2006, President George W. Bush criticized the news media for not showing enough "good news" about U.S. efforts to bring democracy to Iraq. Bush's remarks raised ethical questions about the complex relationship between the government and the news media during times of war: How much freedom should the news media have to cover a war? How much control, if any, should the military have over reporting a war? Are there topics that should not be covered?

These kinds of questions have also created ethical quagmires for local TV stations that cover war and its effects on communities where soldiers have been called to duty and then injured or killed. In one extreme case, the nation's largest TV station owner—Sinclair Broadcast Group—would not air the ABC News program *Nightline* in 2004 because it devoted an episode to reading the names of all U.S. soldiers killed in the Iraq War up to that time. Here is an excerpt from a *New York Times* account of that event:

> *Sinclair Broadcast Group, one of the largest owners of local television stations, will preempt tonight's edition of the ABC News program "Nightline," saying the program's plan to have Ted Koppel [who then anchored the program] read aloud the names of every member of the armed forces killed in action in Iraq was motivated by an antiwar agenda and threatened to undermine American efforts there.*
>
> *The decision means viewers in eight cities, including St. Louis and Columbus, Ohio, will not see "Nightline." ABC News disputed that the program carried a political message, calling it "an expression of respect which simply seeks to honor those who have laid down their lives for their country."*
>
> *But Mark Hyman, the vice president of corporate relations for Sinclair, who is also a conservative commentator on the company's newscasts, said tonight's edition of "Nightline" is biased journalism. "Mr. Koppel's reading of the fallen will have no proportionality," he said in a telephone interview, pointing out that the program will ignore other aspects of the war effort.*
>
> *Mr. Koppel and the producers of "Nightline" said earlier this week that they had no political motivation behind the decision to devote an entire show, expanded to 40 minutes, to reading the names and displaying the photos of those killed. They said they only intended to honor the dead and document what Mr. Koppel called "the human cost" of the war.*[1]

Given such a case, how might a local TV news director today—under pressure from the station's manager or owner—formulate guidelines to help negotiate such ethical territory? While most TV news divisions have ethical codes to guide journalists' behavior in certain situations, could ordinary citizens help shape ethical discussions and decisions? Following is a general plan for dealing with an array of ethical dilemmas that media practitioners face and for finding ways in which nonjournalists might participate in this decision-making process.

Arriving at ethical decisions is a particular kind of criticism involving several steps. These include (1) laying out the case; (2) pinpointing the key issues; (3) identifying the parties involved, their intents, and their potentially competing values; (4) studying ethical models and theories; (5) presenting strategies and options; and (6) formulating a decision or policy.[2]

As a test case, let's look at how local TV news directors might establish ethical guidelines for war-related events. By following the six steps above, our goal is to make some ethical decisions and to lay the groundwork for policies that address TV images or photographs—for example, those of protesters, supporters, memorials, or funerals—used in war coverage. (See Chapter 14 for details on confronting ethical problems.)

Examining Ethics Activity

As a class or in smaller groups, design policies that address one or more of the issues raised here. Start by researching the topic; find as much information as possible. For example, you can research guidelines that local stations already use by contacting local news directors and TV journalists.

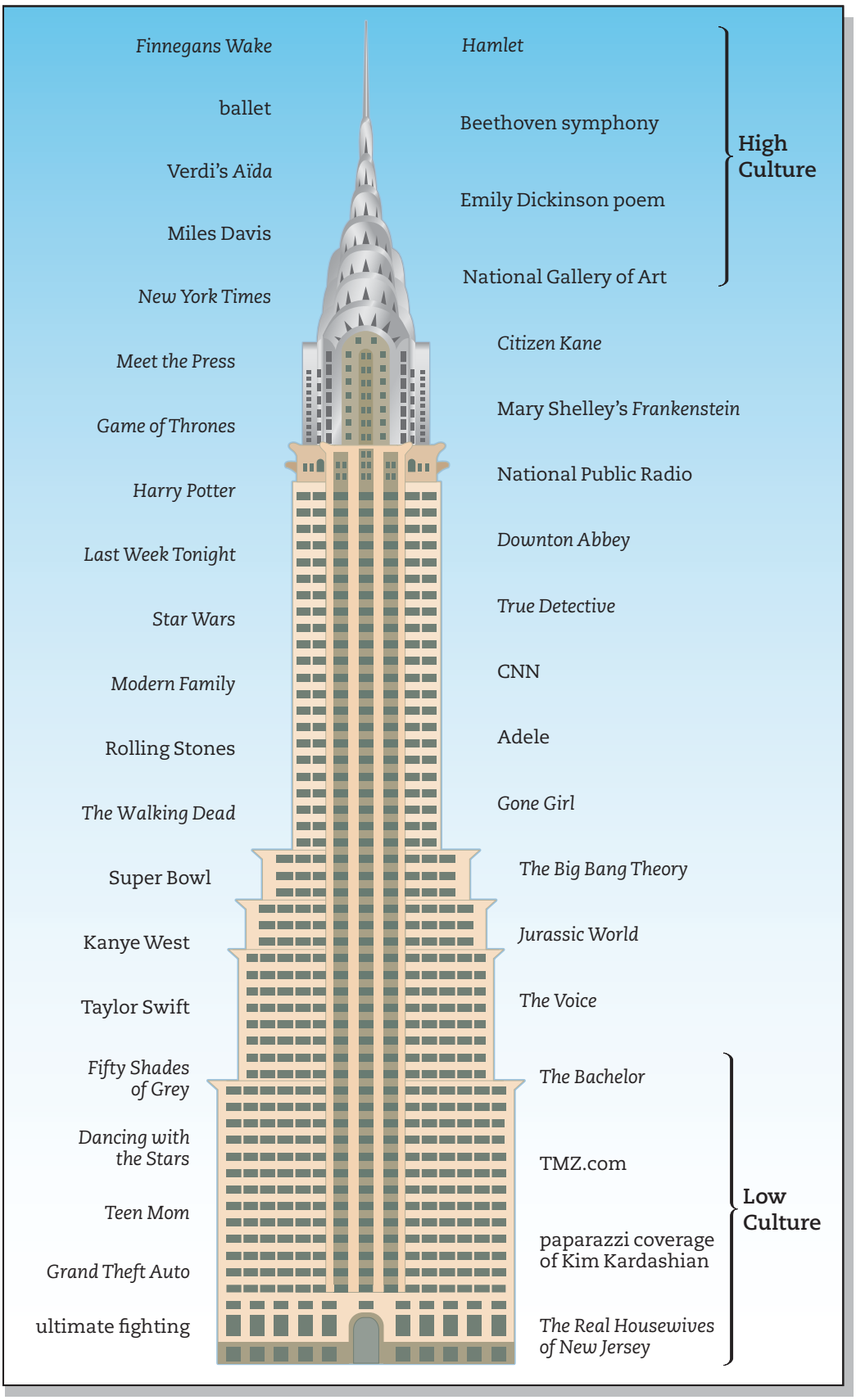
Do the local stations have guidelines? If so, are they adequate? Are there certain types of images they will not show? If the Obama administration had released photographic evidence of bin Laden's death, would a local station have shown it? Finally, if time allows, send the policies you designed to various TV news directors or station managers; ask for their evaluations, and ask whether they would consider implementing the policies.

FIGURE 1.2

CULTURE AS A SKYSCRAPER

Culture is diverse and difficult to categorize. Yet throughout the twentieth century, we tended to think of culture not as a social process but as a set of products sorted into high, low, or middle positions on a cultural skyscraper. Look at this highly arbitrary arrangement and see if you agree or disagree. Write in some of your own examples.

Why do we categorize or classify culture in this way? Who controls this process? Is control of making cultural categories important? Why or why not?



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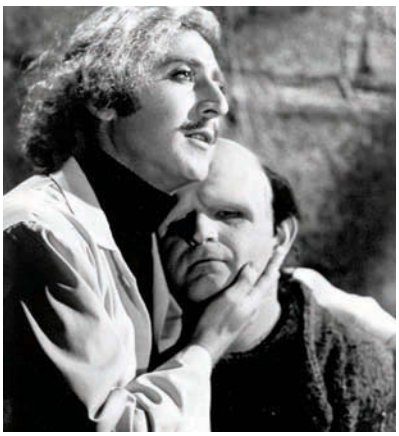


20th Century Fox/Photofest

© Lionsgate/Everett Collection

EXPLOITING HIGH CULTURE
Mary Shelley, the author of *Frankenstein,* might not recognize our popular culture's mutations of her Gothic classic. First published in 1818, the novel has inspired numerous interpretations, everything from the scary—Boris Karloff in the classic 1931 movie—to the silly—the Mel Brooks spoof *Young Frankenstein.* A recent version, called *I, Frankenstein* and based on a graphic novel, pits the monster against an army of gargoyles; a more serious adaptation followed in 2015. Can you think of another example of a story that has developed and changed over time and through various media transformations?

critics said pandered to mediocrity with bland, disposable programs that a "regular" viewer would not find objectionable, challenging, or disturbing.

A Diminished Audience for High Culture

Some observers also warn that popular culture has inundated the cultural environment, driving out higher forms of culture and cheapening public life.[14] This concern is supported by data showing that TV sets are in use in the average American home for nearly eight hours a day, exposing adults and children each year to thousands of hours of trivial TV commercials, violent crime dramas, and superficial reality programs. According to one story critics tell, the prevalence of so many popular media products prevents the public from experiencing genuine art—though this view fails to note the number of choices and options now available to media consumers.

Dulling Our Cultural Taste Buds

One cautionary story, frequently recounted by academics, politicians, and pundits, tells how popular culture, especially its more visual forms (such as TV advertising and YouTube videos), undermines democratic ideals and reasoned argument. According to this view, popular media may inhibit not only rational thought but also social progress by transforming audiences into cultural dupes lured by the promise of products. A few multinational conglomerates that make large profits from media products may be distracting citizens from examining economic disparity and implementing change. Seductive advertising images showcasing the buffed and airbrushed bodies of professional models, for example, frequently contradict the actual lives of people who cannot hope to achieve a particular "look" or may not have the money to obtain the high-end cosmetic or clothing products offered. In this environment, art and commerce have become blurred, restricting the audience's ability to make cultural and economic distinctions. Sometimes called the "Big Mac" theory, this view suggests that people are so addicted to mass-produced media menus that they lose their discriminating taste for finer fare and, much worse, their ability to see and challenge social inequities.

Culture as a Map

While the skyscraper model is one way to view culture, another way to view it is as a map. Here, culture is an ongoing and complicated process—rather than a high–low vertical hierarchy—that allows us to better account for our diverse and individual tastes. In the map model, we judge forms of culture as good or bad based on a combination of personal taste and the aesthetic judgments a society makes at particular historical times. Because such tastes and evaluations are "all over the map," a cultural map suggests that we can pursue many

CASE STUDY

Is *Anchorman* a Comedy or a Documentary?

One fascinating media phenomenon of the first few decades of the twenty-first century is that fictional storytelling has changed dramatically over this time while TV news stories, especially local TV news, have hardly changed at all.

Why is this?

They are both media products that depend on storytelling to draw audiences and make money. But while complex and controversial TV narratives like HBO's *Game of Thrones* and *True Detective*, Showtime's *Penny Dreadful*, FX's *Fargo* and *The Americans*, AMC's *Better Call Saul*, Netflix's *Orange Is the New Black*, and Fox's *Empire* were not possible in the 1960s, when just three networks—careful not to offend or challenge viewers—dominated, the lead crime story on most local TV newscasts around the country looks pretty much like it did decades earlier. In the film *Anchorman 2*, Will Ferrell and Adam McKay follow up their satire of small-minded local news anchors in the 1970s with a story about the birth of pandering twenty-four-hour news coverage in the 1980s. The film points out that nonfictional storytelling on television remains locked in narrative patterns from the 1960s and 1970s—making Ferrell's newscaster comedies, at times, seem more like documentaries.

The reason for the lack of advances in news narratives is itself a story—one that's about money, and which stories sell and why.

American filmmakers from D. W. Griffith and Orson Welles to Steven Spielberg and Wes Anderson have understood the allure of narrative. But narrative is such a large category—encompassing everything from poetry and novels to movies and TV shows to TV newscasts and political ads—that it demands subdivisions. So over time we developed the idea of genre as a way to differentiate the vast array of stories. In *Poetics*, Aristotle first talked about generic categories in his analysis of poetry, which he divided into three basic types: "Epic poetry and Tragedy, Comedy also and Dithyrambic poetry, and the music of the flute and of the lyre." Fast-forwarding to more contemporary takes on popular genres, literary scholar John Cawelti, in his book *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance*, identified five popular literary formulas: adventure, romance, mystery, melodrama, and "alien beings or states."[1]

Gemma LaMana/© Paramount Pictures/Everett Collection

In fact, most local and national TV news stories function as a kind of melodrama as defined by Cawelti and others. In the melodrama, "the city" is often the setting—as it is in most TV newscasts—and has degenerated into a corrupt and mysterious place, full of crime and mayhem. Historically, heroes of fictional melodramas are small-town sheriffs and big-city cops who must rise above the corruption to impose their individual moral values to defeat various forms of evil. In today's popular culture, cities like Los Angeles and New York are portrayed as places that conceal evil terrorist cells, corrupt cops, maniacal corporate bosses, and other assorted "bad guys," until the strong cops or triumphant lawyers conquer evil and restore order through the convictions of their strong individual characters. Variations on these melodramatic themes can be found as the major organizing structure in everything from cop shows like *NCIS*, *The Good Wife*, and *Justified* to newsmagazines like *60 Minutes* or cable TV shows like Fox News' *The O'Reilly Factor* and *Hannity*. Even the 2015 stories about Brian Williams, who lost his real NBC anchor job by exaggerating his news exploits, play as a melodrama in the news. This is not surprising given that individualism is probably our most persistent American value and that the melodrama generally celebrates the rugged tenacity and moral virtue of tough-minded heroes and condemns characters who fail to meet their standards—whether they

are gunfighters, cops, reporters, or even news anchors.

The appropriation of these narratives by news shows has been satirized by the likes of *Anchorman*; *Saturday Night Live*; the long-running *Daily Show* and *Nightly Show*, both on Comedy Central; and John Oliver's *Last Week Tonight*, on HBO. These satires often critique the way news producers repeat stale formulas rather than invent dynamic new story forms for new generations of viewers. As much as the world has changed since the 1970s (when *SNL*'s "Weekend Update" debuted), local TV news story formulas have gone virtually unaltered. Modern newscasts still limit reporters' stories to two minutes or less and promote stylish male–female anchor teams, a sports "guy," and a certified meteorologist as personalities, usually leading with a dramatic local crime story and teasing viewers to stay tuned for a possible weather disaster.

By indulging these formulas, TV news continues to address viewers not primarily as citizens and members of communities but as news consumers who build the TV ratings that determine the ad rates for local stations and the national networks. In the book *The Elements of Journalism*, Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel argue that "journalists must make the significant interesting and relevant."[2] Too often, however, on cable, the Internet, and local news, we are awash in news stories that try to make something significant out of the obviously trivial, voyeuristic, or narrowly relevant—like stories about troubled celebrities, attention-seeking politicians, or decontextualized stock-market numbers.

In fictional TV, however, storytelling has evolved over time, becoming increasingly dynamic and complex with shows like *Mad Men, Game of Thrones, The Good Wife, Fargo, Homeland,* and *Girls.* In *Everything Bad Is Good for You*,

© NBC/Photofest

Steven Johnson argues that in contrast to popular 1970s programs like *Dallas* or *Dynasty*, the best TV stories today layer "each scene with a thick network of affiliations. You have to focus to follow the plot, and in focusing you're exercising the parts of your brain that map social networks, that fill in missing information, that connect multiple narrative threads."[3] Johnson says that younger audiences today—brought up in an era of the Internet and complicated interactive visual games—bring high expectations to other kinds of popular culture as well, including television. "The mind," he writes, "likes to be challenged; there's real pleasure to be found in solving puzzles, detecting patterns or unpacking a complex narrative system."[4]

This evolution of fictional storytelling has not yet happened with its nonfictional counterparts; TV news remains entrenched in old formulas and time constraints. The reasons for this, of course, are money and competition. Whereas national networks today have begun to adjust their programming decisions to better compete against cable services like AMC and HBO and new story "content" providers like Netflix and Amazon, local TV news still competes against just three or four other news stations and just one (if any) local newspaper. Even with diminished viewership (most local TV stations have lost half their audience over the past ten to fifteen years), local TV news still draws enough viewers in a fragmented media landscape to attract top ad dollars.

But those viewership levels continue to decline as older audiences give way to new generations more likely to comb social media networks for news and information. Perhaps younger audiences crave news stories that match the more complicated storytelling that surrounds them in everything from TV dramas to interactive video games to their own conversations. Viewers raised on the irony of *Saturday Night Live*, *The Simpsons*, *Family Guy*, *South Park*, *The Daily Show*, *Inside Amy Schumer*, and *Broad City* are not buying—and not watching—news stories that seem as if they still belong to their grandparents' generation.

Lionsgate/Photofest

THE POPULAR *HUNGER GAMES* book series, which has also become a blockbuster film franchise, mixes elements that have, in the past, been considered "low" culture (young-adult stories, science fiction) with the "high" culture of literature and satire. It also doubles as a cautionary story about media used to transform and suppress its audience: In the books and films, the media, controlled by a totalitarian government, broadcast a brutal fight to the death between child "tributes," fascinating the population while attempting to quash any hope of revolution.

connections from one cultural place to another and can appreciate a range of cultural experiences without simply ranking them from high to low.

Our attraction to and choice of cultural phenomena—such as the stories we read in books or watch at the movies—represent how we make our lives meaningful. Culture offers plenty of places to go that are conventional, familiar, and comforting. Yet at the same time, our culture's narrative storehouse contains other stories that tend toward the innovative, unfamiliar, and challenging. Most forms of culture, however, demonstrate multiple tendencies. We may use online social networks because they are both comforting (an easy way to keep up with friends) and innovative (new tools or apps that engage us). We watch televised sporting events for their familiarity and conventional organization, and because the unknown outcome can be unpredictable or challenging. The map offered here (see Figure 1.3) is based on a familiar subway grid. Each station represents tendencies or elements related to why a person may be attracted to different cultural products. Also, more popular culture forms congregate in more congested areas of the map, while less popular cultural forms are outliers. Such a large, multidirectional map may be a more flexible, multidimensional, and inclusive way of imagining how culture works.

The Comfort of Familiar Stories

The appeal of culture is often its familiar stories, pulling audiences toward the security of repetition and common landmarks on the cultural map. Consider, for instance, early television's *Lassie* series, about the adventures of a collie named Lassie and her owner, young Timmy. Of the more than five hundred episodes, many have a familiar and repetitive plotline: Timmy, who arguably possessed the poorest sense of direction and suffered more concussions than any TV character in history, gets lost or knocked unconscious. After finding Timmy and licking his face, Lassie goes for help and saves the day. Adult critics might mock this melodramatic formula, but many children found comfort in the predictability of the story. This quality is also evident when children night after night ask their parents to read them the same book, such as Margaret Wise Brown's *Goodnight Moon* or Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are*, or when they want to watch the same DVD, such as *Snow White* or *The Princess Bride*.

Innovation and the Attraction of "What's New"

Like children, adults also seek comfort, often returning to an old Beatles or Guns N' Roses song, a William Butler Yeats or an Emily Dickinson poem, or a TV rerun of *Seinfeld* or *Andy Griffith*. But we

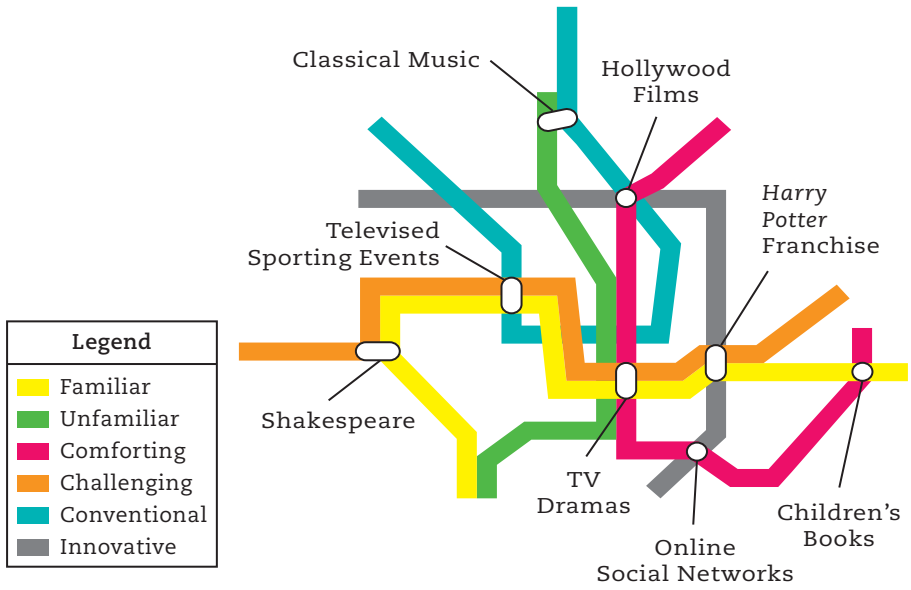


FIGURE 1.3

CULTURE AS A MAP

In this map model, culture is not ranked as high or low. Instead, the model shows culture as spreading out in several directions across a variety of dimensions. For example, some cultural forms can be familiar, innovative, and challenging, like the *Harry Potter* books and movies. This model accounts for the complexity of individual tastes and experiences. The map model also suggests that culture is a process by which we produce meaning—that is, make our lives meaningful—as well as a complex collection of media products and texts. The map shown is just one interpretation of culture. What cultural products would you include in your own model? What dimensions would you link to, and why?

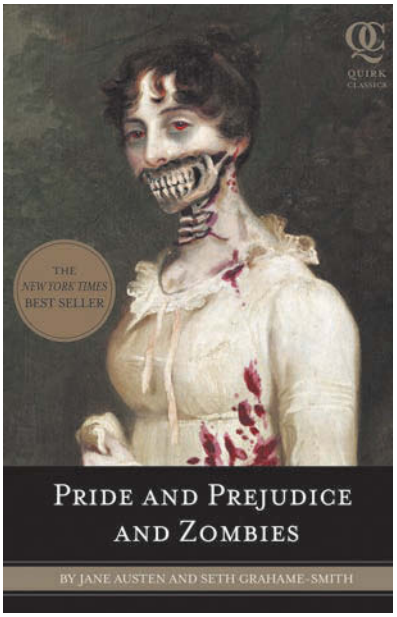
also like cultural adventure. We may turn from a familiar film on cable's AMC to discover a new movie from Iran or India on the Sundance Channel. We seek new stories and new places to go—those aspects of culture that demonstrate originality and complexity. For instance, James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* (1939) created language anew and challenged readers, as the novel's poetic first sentence illustrates: "riverrun, past Eve and Adam's, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs." A revolutionary work, crammed with historical names and topical references to events, myths, songs, jokes, and daily conversation, Joyce's novel remains a challenge to understand and decode. His work demonstrated that part of what culture provides is the impulse to explore new places, to strike out in new directions, searching for something different that may contribute to growth and change.

A Wide Range of Messages

We know that people have complex cultural tastes, needs, and interests based on different backgrounds and dispositions. It is not surprising, then, that our cultural treasures, from blues music and opera to comic books and classical literature, contain a variety of messages. Just as Shakespeare's plays—popular entertainments in his day—were packed with both obscure and popular references, TV episodes of *The Simpsons* have included allusions to the Beatles, Kafka, *Teletubbies*, Tennessee Williams, Apple, *Star Trek*, *The X-Files*, Freud, *Psycho*, and *Citizen Kane*. In other words, as part of an ongoing process, cultural products and their meanings are "all over the map," spreading out in diverse directions.

Challenging the Nostalgia for a Better Past

Some critics of popular culture assert—often without presenting supportive evidence—that society was better off before the latest developments in mass media. These critics resist the idea of reimagining an established cultural hierarchy as a multidirectional map. The nostalgia for some imagined "better past" has often operated as a device for condemning new cultural phenomena. This impulse to criticize something that is new is often driven by fear of change or of cultural differences. Back in the nineteenth century, in fact, a number of intellectuals and politicians worried that rising literacy rates among the working class would create havoc: How would the aristocracy and intellectuals maintain their authority and status if everyone could read? A recent example includes the fear that some politicians, religious leaders, and citizens



Pride and Prejudice and Zombies (Quirk Books)

PRIDE AND PREJUDICE AND ZOMBIES is a famous "mash-up"—a new creative work made by mixing together disparate cultural pieces. In this case, the classic novel by Jane Austen is reimagined as taking place among zombies and ninjas, mixing elements of English literature and horror and action films. Usually intended as satire, such mash-ups allow us to enjoy an array of cultural elements in a single work and are a direct contradiction to the cultural hierarchy model. A feature-film version of *Zombies* was released in 2016.

have expressed about the legalization of same-sex marriage, claiming that it will violate older religious tenets or the sanctity of past traditions.

Throughout history, a call to return to familiar terrain, to "the good old days," has been a frequent response to new, "threatening" forms of popular culture or to any ideas that are different from what we already believe. Yet over the years many of these forms—including the waltz, silent movies, ragtime, and jazz—have themselves become cultural "classics." How can we tell now what the future has in store for such cultural expressions as rock and roll, soap operas, fashion photography, dance music, hip-hop, tabloid newspapers, graphic novels, reality TV, and social media?

Cultural Values of the Modern Period

To understand how the mass media have come to occupy their current cultural position, we need to trace significant changes in cultural values from the modern period until today. In general, U.S. historians and literary scholars think of the **modern period** as beginning with the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century and extending until about the mid-twentieth century. Although there are many ways to define what it means to be "modern," we will focus on four major features or values that resonate best with changes across media and culture: efficiency, individualism, rationalism, and progress.

Modernization involved captains of industry using new technology to create efficient manufacturing centers, produce inexpensive products to make everyday life better, and make commerce more profitable. Printing presses and assembly lines made major contributions in this transformation, and then modern advertising spread the word about new gadgets to American consumers. In terms of culture, the modern mantra has been "form follows function." For example, the growing populations of big cities placed a premium on space, creating a new form of building that fulfilled that functional demand by building upward. Modern skyscrapers made of glass, steel, and concrete replaced the supposedly wasteful decorative and ornate styles of premodern Gothic cathedrals. This new value was echoed in journalism, where a front-page style rejected decorative and ornate adjectives and adverbs for "just the facts." To be lean and efficient, modern news de-emphasized complex analysis and historical context and elevated the new and the now.

Cultural responses to and critiques of modern efficiency often manifested themselves in the mass media. For example, in *Brave New World* (1932), Aldous Huxley created a fictional world in which he cautioned readers that the efficiencies of modern science and technology posed a threat to individual dignity. Charlie Chaplin's film *Modern Times* (1936), set in a futuristic manufacturing plant, also told the story of the dehumanizing impact of modernization and machinery. Writers and artists, in their criticisms of the modern world, have often pointed to technology's ability to alienate people from one another, capitalism's tendency to foster greed, and government's inclination to create bureaucracies whose inefficiency oppresses rather than helps people.

While the values of the premodern period (before the Industrial Revolution) were guided by a strong belief in a natural or divine order, modernization elevated individual self-expression to a more central position. Modern print media allowed ordinary readers to engage with new ideas beyond what their religious leaders and local politicians communicated to them. Modern individualism and the Industrial Revolution also triggered new forms of hierarchy in which certain individuals and groups achieved higher standing in the social order. For example, those who managed commercial enterprises gained more control over the economic ladder, while an intellectual class of modern experts acquired increasing power over the nation's economic, political, and cultural agendas.

To be modern also meant valuing the ability of logical and scientific minds to solve problems by working in organized groups and expert teams. Progressive thinkers maintained that the printing press, the telegraph, and the railroad, in combination with a scientific attitude, would foster a new type of informed society. At the core of this society, the printed mass media—particularly newspapers—would educate the citizenry, helping to build and maintain an organized social framework.[15]

A leading champion for an informed rational society was Walter Lippmann, who wrote the influential book *Public Opinion* in 1922. Lippmann distrusted both the media and the public's ability to navigate a world that was "altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance," and to reach the rational decisions needed in a democracy. Instead, he advocated a "machinery of knowledge" that might be established through "intelligence bureaus" staffed by experts. While such a concept might look like the modern think tank, Lippmann saw these as independent of politics, unlike think tanks of today, such as the Brookings Institution or the Heritage Foundation, which have strong partisan ties.[16]

Walter Lippmann's ideas were influential throughout the twentieth century and were a product of the **Progressive Era**—a period of political and social reform that lasted roughly from the 1890s to the 1920s. On both local and national levels, Progressive Era reformers championed social movements that led to constitutional amendments for both Prohibition and women's suffrage, political reforms that led to the secret ballot during elections, and economic reforms that ushered in the federal income tax to try to foster a more equitable society. Muckrakers—journalists who exposed corruption, waste, and scandal in business and politics—represented media's significant contribution to this era (see Chapter 9).

Influenced by the Progressive movement, the notion of being modern in the twentieth century meant throwing off the chains of the past, breaking with tradition, and embracing progress. For example, twentieth-century journalists, in their quest for modern efficiency, focused on "the now" and the reporting of timely events. Newly standardized forms of front-page journalism that championed "just the facts" and events that "just happened yesterday" did help reporters efficiently meet tight deadlines. But realizing one of Walter Lippmann's fears, modern newspapers often failed to take a historical perspective or to analyze sufficiently the ideas and interests underlying these events.

Shifting Values in Postmodern Culture

For many people, the changes occurring in the **postmodern period**—from roughly the mid-twentieth century to today—are identified by a confusing array of examples: music videos, remote controls, Nike ads, shopping malls, fax machines, e-mail, video games, blogs, *USA Today*, YouTube, iPads, hip-hop, and reality TV (see Table 1.1). Some critics argue that postmodern culture represents a way of seeing—a new condition, or even a malady, of the human spirit. Although there are many ways to define the postmodern, this textbook focuses on four major features or values that resonate best with changes across media and culture: populism, diversity, nostalgia, and paradox.

TABLE 1.1

TRENDS ACROSS HISTORICAL PERIODS

Trend	Premodern (pre-1800s)	Modern Industrial Revolution (1800s–1950s)	Postmodern (1950s–present)
Work hierarchies	peasants/merchants/rulers	factory workers/managers/national CEOs	temp workers/global CEOs
Major work sites	field/farm	factory/office	office/home/"virtual" or mobile office
Communication reach	local	national	global
Communication transmission	oral/manuscript	print/electronic	electronic/digital
Communication channels	storytellers/elders/town criers	books/newspapers/magazines/radio	television/cable/Internet/multimedia
Communication at home	quill pen	typewriter/office computer	personal computer/laptop/smartphone/social networks
Key social values	belief in natural or divine order	individualism/rationalism/efficiency/antitradition	antihierarchy/skepticism (about science, business, government, etc.)/diversity/multiculturalism/irony & paradox
Journalism	oral & print-based/partisan/controlled by political parties	print-based/"objective"/efficient/timely/controlled by publishing families	TV- & Internet-based/opinionated/conversational/controlled by global entertainment conglomerates

As a political idea, *populism* tries to appeal to ordinary people by highlighting or even creating an argument or conflict between "the people" and "the elite." In virtually every campaign, populist politicians often tell stories and run ads that criticize big corporations and political favoritism. Meant to resonate with middle-class values and regional ties, such narratives generally pit southern or midwestern small-town "family values" against the supposedly coarser, even corrupt, urban lifestyles associated with big cities like Washington or Los Angeles.

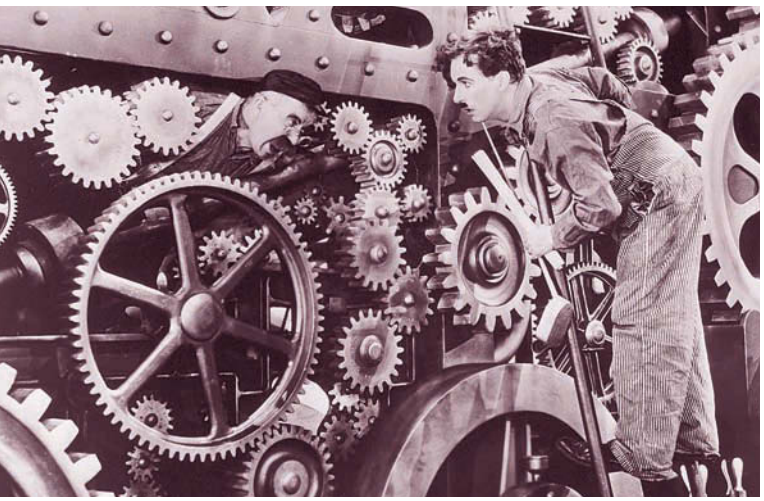
In postmodern culture, populism manifests itself in many ways. For example, artists and performers, like Chuck Berry in "Roll Over Beethoven" (1956) or Queen in "Bohemian Rhapsody" (1975), intentionally blur the border between high and low culture. In the visual arts, following Andy Warhol's 1960s pop art style, advertisers borrow from both fine art and street art, while artists appropriate styles from commerce and popular art. Film stars, like Angelina Jolie and Ben Affleck, often champion oppressed groups while appearing in movies that make the actors wealthy global icons of consumer culture.

Other forms of postmodern style blur modern distinctions not only between art and commerce but also between fact and fiction. For example, television vocabulary now includes infotainment (such as *Entertainment Tonight* and *Access Hollywood*) and infomercials (such as fading celebrities selling antiwrinkle cream). On cable, reality programs—such as MTV's *The Real World* and *16 and Pregnant*—blur boundaries between the staged and the real, mixing serious themes and personal challenges with comedic interludes and romantic entanglements. Fake news programs, like *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*, combine real, insightful news stories with biting satires of traditional broadcast and cable news programs.

Closely associated with populism, another value (or vice) of the postmodern period is the emphasis on *diversity* and fragmentation, including the wild juxtaposition of old and new cultural styles. In a suburban shopping mall, for instance, Gap stores border a food court with Vietnamese, Italian, and Mexican options, while techno-digitized instrumental versions of 1960s protest music play in the background to accompany shoppers. Part of this stylistic diversity involves borrowing and transforming earlier ideas from the modern period. In music, hip-hop deejays and performers sample old R&B, soul, and rock classics, both reinventing old songs and creating something new. Critics of postmodern style contend that such borrowing devalues originality, emphasizing surface over depth and recycled ideas over new ones. Throughout the twentieth century, for example, films were adapted from books and short stories. More recently, films often derive from old popular TV series: *Mission Impossible*, *Charlie's Angels*, and *The A-Team*, to name just a few. Video games like the *Resident Evil* franchise and *Tomb Raider* have been made into Hollywood blockbusters. In fact, by 2015, more than forty video games, including *BioShock* and the *Warcraft* series, were in various stages of script or film development.

Another tendency of postmodern culture involves rejecting rational thought as "the answer" to every social problem, reveling instead in *nostalgia* for the premodern values of small communities, traditional religion, and even mystical experience. Rather than seeing science purely as enlightened thinking or rational deduction that relies on evidence, some artists, critics, and politicians criticize modern values for laying the groundwork for dehumanizing technological advances and bureaucratic problems. For example, in the renewed debates over evolution, one cultural narrative that plays out often pits scientific evidence against religious belief and literal interpretations of the Bible. And in popular culture, many TV programs—such as *The X-Files*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Charmed, Angel*, *Lost*, and *Fringe*—emerged to offer mystical and supernatural responses to the "evils" of our daily world and the limits of science and the purely rational.

Lastly, the fourth aspect of our postmodern time is the willingness to accept *paradox*. While modern culture emphasized breaking with the past in the name of progress, postmodern culture stresses integrating—or converging—retro beliefs and contemporary culture. So at the same time that we seem nostalgic for the past, we embrace new technologies with a vengeance. For example, fundamentalist religious movements that promote seemingly



Chaplin/Zuma Press

© Warner Bros./Photofest

FILMS OFTEN REFLECT THE KEY SOCIAL VALUES of an era—as represented by the modern and postmodern movies pictured. Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936, above left) satirized modern industry and the dehumanizing impact of a futuristic factory on its overwhelmed workers. Similarly, Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (1982, above right), set in futuristic Los Angeles in 2019, questioned the impact on humanity when technology overwhelms the natural world. In *Pop Culture Wars*, author William Romanowski suggested that *Blade Runner* managed to "capture some postmodern themes" that were not fully recognized at the time by "trying to balance the promise of technology with the threats of technology."[17]

outdated traditions (e.g., rejecting women's rights to own property or seek higher education) still embrace the Internet and modern technology as recruiting tools or as channels for spreading messages. Culturally conservative politicians, who seem most comfortable with the values of the 1950s nuclear family, welcome talk shows, Twitter, Facebook, and Internet and social media ad campaigns as venues to advance their messages and causes.

Although, as modernists warned, new technologies can isolate people or encourage them to chase their personal agendas (e.g., a student perusing his individual interests online), new technologies can also draw people together to advance causes; to solve community problems; or to discuss politics on radio talk shows, Facebook, or smartphones. For example, in 2011 and 2012, Twitter made the world aware of protesters in many Arab nations, including Egypt and Libya, when governments there tried to suppress media access. Our lives today are full of such incongruities.

Critiquing Media and Culture

In contemporary life, cultural boundaries are being tested; the arbitrary lines between information and entertainment have become blurred. Consumers now read newspapers on their computers. Media corporations do business across vast geographic boundaries. We are witnessing media convergence, in which televisions, computers, and smartphones easily access new and old forms of mass communication. For a fee, everything from magazines to movies is channeled into homes through the Internet and cable or satellite TV.

Considering the diversity of mass media, to paint them all with the same broad brush would be inaccurate and unfair. Yet that is often what we seem to do, which may in fact reflect the distrust many of us have of prominent social institutions, from local governments to daily newspapers. Of course, when one recent president leads us into a long war based on faulty intelligence that mainstream news failed to uncover, or one of the world's leading media companies—with former editors in top government jobs—engages in phone hacking and privacy invasion, our distrust of both government and media may be understandable. It's ultimately more useful, however, to replace a cynical perception of the media with an attitude of genuine criticism. To deal with these shifts in how we

experience media and culture, as well as their impact, we need to develop a profound understanding of the media, focused on what they offer or produce and what they downplay or ignore.

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

Developing **media literacy**—that is, attaining an understanding of mass media and how they construct meaning—requires following a **critical process** that takes us through the steps of description, analysis, interpretation, evaluation, and engagement (see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process" on pages 32–33). We will be aided in our critical process by keeping an open mind, trying to understand the specific cultural forms we are critiquing, and acknowledging the complexity of contemporary culture.

Just as communication cannot always be reduced to the linear sender-message-receiver model, many forms of media and culture are not easily represented by the high–low model. We should, perhaps, strip culture of such adjectives as *high, low, popular,* and *mass.* These modifiers may artificially force media forms and products into predetermined categories. Rather than focusing on these worn-out labels, we might instead look at a wide range of issues generated by culture, from the role of storytelling in the mass media to the global influences of media industries on the consumer marketplace. We should also be moving toward a critical perspective that takes into account the intricacies of the cultural landscape. A fair critique of any cultural form, regardless of its social or artistic reputation, requires a working knowledge of the particular book, program, or music under scrutiny. For example, to understand W. E. B. Du Bois's essays, critics immerse themselves in his work and in the historical context in which he wrote. Similarly, if we want to develop a meaningful critique of TV's *Ray Donovan* (in which the protagonist is a professional "fixer") or Rush Limbaugh's radio program or a gossip magazine's obsession with Justin Bieber, it is essential to understand the contemporary context in which these cultural phenomena are produced.

To begin this process of critical assessment, we must imagine culture as richer and more complicated than the high–low model allows. We must also assume a critical stance that enables us to get outside our own preferences. We may like or dislike hip-hop, R&B, pop, or country, but if we want to criticize these musical genres intelligently, we should understand what the various types of music have to say and why their messages appeal to particular audiences that may be different from us. The same approach applies to other cultural forms. If we critique a newspaper article, we must account for the language that is chosen and what it means; if we analyze a film or TV program, we need to slow down the images in order to understand how they make sense and create meaning.

Benefits of a Critical Perspective

Developing an informed critical perspective and becoming media literate allow us to participate in a debate about media culture as a force for both democracy and consumerism. On the one hand, the media can be a catalyst for democracy and social progress. Consider the role of television in spotlighting racism and injustice in the 1960s; the use of video technology to reveal oppressive conditions in China and Eastern Europe or to document crimes by urban police departments; the impact of TV coverage of both business and government's slow response to the 2010 Gulf oil spill on people's understanding of the event; and the role of blogs and Twitter in debunking bogus claims or protesting fraudulent elections. The media have also helped to renew interest in diverse cultures around the world and other emerging democracies (see "Global Village: Bedouins, Camels, Transistors, and Coke" on page 31).

On the other hand, competing against these democratic tendencies is a powerful commercial culture that reinforces a world economic order controlled by relatively few multinational corporations. For instance, when Poland threw off the shackles of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, one of the first things its new leadership did was buy and dub the American soap operas

GLOBAL VILLAGE

Bedouins, Camels, Transistors, and Coke

Upon receiving the Philadelphia Liberty Medal in 1994, President Václav Havel of the Czech Republic described postmodernism as the fundamental condition of global culture, "when it seems that something is on the way out and something else is painfully being born." He described this "new world order" as a "multicultural era" or state in which consistent value systems break into mixed and blended cultures:

> *For me, a symbol of that state is a Bedouin mounted on a camel and clad in traditional robes under which he is wearing jeans, with a transistor radio in his hands and an ad for Coca-Cola on the camel's back. . . . New meaning is gradually born from the . . . intersection of many different elements.*[1]

Many critics, including Havel, think that there is a crucial tie between global politics and postmodern culture. They contend that the people who overthrew governments in the former Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were the same people who valued American popular culture—especially movies, pop music, and television—for its free expression and democratic possibilities.

Back in the 1990s, as modern communist states were undermined by the growth and influence of transnational corporations, citizens in these nations capitalized on the developing global market, using portable video cameras, digital cameras and phones, and audio technology to smuggle out recordings of repression perpetrated by totalitarian regimes. Thus it was difficult for political leaders to hide repressive acts from the rest of the world. In *Newsweek*, former CBS news anchor Dan Rather wrote about the role of television in the 1989 student uprising in China:

> *Television brought Beijing's battle for democracy to Main Street. It made students who live on the other side of the planet just as human, just as vulnerable as the boy on the next block. The miracle of television is that the triumph and tragedy of Tiananmen Square would not have been any more vivid had it been Times Square.*[2]

This trend continues today through the newer manifestations of our digital world, like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. As protesters sent out messages and images on smartphones and laptops during the Arab Spring uprisings in 2011 and 2012, they spread stories that could not be contained by totalitarian governments.

At the same time, we need to examine the impact on other nations of the influx of U.S. popular culture (movies, TV shows, music, etc.), our second-biggest export (after military and airplane equipment). Has access to an American consumer lifestyle fundamentally altered Havel's Bedouin on the camel? What happens when Westernized popular culture encroaches on the mores of Islamic countries, where the spread of American music, movies, and television is viewed as a danger to tradition? These questions still need answers. A global village, which through technology shares culture and communication, can also alter traditional customs forever.

To try to grasp this phenomenon, we might imagine how we would feel if the culture from a country far away gradually eroded our own established habits. This, in fact, is happening all over the world, as U.S. culture has become the world's global currency. Although newer forms of communication—such as tweeting and texting—have in some ways increased citizen participation in global life, in what ways have they threatened the values of older cultures?

Our current postmodern period is double-coded: It is an agent both for the renewed possibilities of democracy and, even in tough economic times, for the worldwide spread of consumerism and American popular culture.

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Media Literacy and the Critical Process

It is easy to form a cynical view about the stream of TV advertising, reality programs, video games, celebrities, gossip blogs, tweets, and news tabloids that floods the cultural landscape. But cynicism is no substitute for criticism. To become literate about media involves striking a balance between taking a critical position (developing knowledgeable interpretations and judgments) and becoming tolerant of diverse forms of expression (appreciating the distinctive variety of cultural products and processes).

A cynical view usually involves some form of intolerance and either too little or too much information. For example, after enduring the glut of news coverage and political advertising devoted to the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, we might easily become cynical about our political system. However, information in the form of "factual" news bits and knowledge about a complex social process such as a national election are not the same thing. The critical process stresses the subtle distinctions between amassing information and becoming media literate.

1 DESCRIPTION. If we decide to focus on how well the news media serve democracy, we might critique the fairness of several programs or individual stories from, say, *60 Minutes* or the *New York Times*. We start by describing the programs or articles, accounting for their reporting strategies, and noting those featured as interview subjects. We might further identify central characters, conflicts, topics, and themes. From the notes taken at this stage, we can begin comparing what we have found to other stories on similar topics. We can also document what we think is missing from these news narratives—the questions, viewpoints, and persons that were not included—and other ways to tell the story.

2 ANALYSIS. In the second stage of the critical process, we isolate patterns that call for closer attention. At this point, we decide how to focus the critique. Because *60 Minutes* has produced thousands of hours of programs in its nearly fifty-year history, our critique might spotlight just a few key patterns. For example, many of the program's reports are organized like detective stories, reporters are almost always visually represented at a medium distance, and interview subjects are generally shot in tight close-ups. In studying the *New York Times*, in contrast, we might limit our analysis to social or political events in certain countries that get covered more often than events in other areas of the world. Or we could focus on recurring topics chosen for front-page treatment, or the number of quotes from male and female experts.

3 INTERPRETATION. In the interpretation stage, we try to determine the meanings of the patterns we have analyzed. The most difficult stage in criticism, interpretation demands an answer to the "So what?" question. For instance, the greater visual space granted to *60 Minutes* reporters—compared with the close-up shots used for interview subjects—might mean that the reporters appear to be in control. They are given more visual space in which to operate, whereas interview subjects have little room to maneuver within the visual frame. As a result, the subjects often look guilty and the reporters look heroic—or, at least, in charge. Likewise, if we look again at the *New York Times*, its attention to particular countries could mean that the paper tends to cover nations in which the United States has more vital political or economic interests,

Santa Barbara and *Dynasty*. For some, these shows were a relief from sober Soviet political propaganda, but others worried that Poles might inherit another kind of indoctrination—one starring American consumer culture and dominated by large international media companies.

This example illustrates that contemporary culture cannot easily be characterized as one thing or another. Binary terms such as *liberal* and *conservative* or *high* and *low* have less meaning in an environment where so many boundaries have been blurred, so many media forms have converged, and so many diverse cultures coexist. Modern distinctions between print and electronic culture have begun to break down largely because of the increasing number of individuals who have come of age in what is both a print and an electronic culture.[18] Either/or models of culture, such as the high–low approach, are giving way to more inclusive ideas, like the map model for culture discussed earlier.

Developing a media-literate critical perspective involves mastering five overlapping stages that build on one another:

- ***Description:*** paying close attention, taking notes, and researching the subject under study
- ***Analysis:*** discovering and focusing on significant patterns that emerge from the description stage
- ***Interpretation:*** asking and answering "What does that mean?" and "So what?" questions about one's findings
- ***Evaluation:*** arriving at a judgment about whether something is good, bad, or mediocre, which involves subordinating one's personal taste to the critical "bigger picture" resulting from the first three stages
- ***Engagement:*** taking some action that connects our critical perspective with our role as citizens to question our media institutions, adding our own voice to the process of shaping the cultural environment

Let's look at each of these stages in greater detail.

even though the *Times* might claim to be neutral and evenhanded in its reporting of news from around the world.

4 EVALUATION. The fourth stage of the critical process focuses on making an informed judgment. Building on description, analysis, and interpretation, we are better able to evaluate the fairness of a group of *60 Minutes* or *New York Times* reports. At this stage, we can grasp the strengths and weaknesses of the news media under study and make critical judgments measured against our own frames of reference—what we like and dislike, as well as what seems good or bad or missing, in the stories and coverage we analyzed.

This fourth stage differentiates the reviewer (or previewer) from the critic. Most newspaper reviews, for example, are limited by daily time or space constraints. Although these reviews may give us key information about particular programs, they often begin and end with personal judgments—"This is a quality show" or "That was a piece of trash"—that should be saved for the final stage in the critical process. Regrettably, many reviews do not reflect such a process; they do not move much beyond the writer's own frame of reference or personal taste.

5 ENGAGEMENT. To be fully media literate, we must actively work to create a media world that helps serve democracy. So we propose a fifth stage in the critical process—engagement. In our *60 Minutes* and *New York Times* examples, engagement might involve something as simple as writing a formal letter or an e-mail to these media outlets to offer a critical take on the news narratives we are studying.

But engagement can also mean participating in Web discussions, contacting various media producers or governmental bodies like the Federal Communications Commission with critiques and ideas, organizing or participating in public media literacy forums, or learning to construct different types of media narratives ourselves—whether print, audio, video, or online—to participate directly in the creation of mainstream or alternative media. Producing actual work for media outlets might involve writing news stories for a local newspaper (and its Web site), producing a radio program on a controversial or significant community issue, or constructing a Web site that critiques various news media. The key to this stage is to challenge our civic imaginations, to refuse to sit back and cynically complain about the media without taking some action that lends our own voices and critiques to the process.

What are the social implications of the new, blended, and merging cultural phenomena? How do we deal with the fact that public debate and news about everyday life now seem as likely to come from Facebook, Twitter, John Oliver, *SNL*, or bloggers as from the *Wall Street Journal*, the *NBC Nightly News*, or *Time* magazine?[19] Clearly, such changes challenge us to reassess and rebuild the standards by which we judge our culture. The search for answers lies in recognizing the links between cultural expression and daily life. The search also involves monitoring how well the mass media serve democracy, not just by providing us with consumer culture but by encouraging us to help improve political, social, and economic practices. A healthy democracy requires the active involvement of everyone. Part of this involvement means watching over the role and impact of the mass media, a job that belongs to every one of us—not just the paid media critics and watchdog organizations.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

In telling the story of mass media, several plotlines and major themes recur and help provide the big picture—the larger context for understanding the links between forms of mass media and popular culture. Under each thread that follows, we pose a set of questions that we will investigate together to help you explore media and culture:

- **Developmental stages of mass media.** How did the media evolve, from their origins in ancient oral traditions to their incarnation on the Internet today? What discoveries, inventions, and social circumstances drove the development of different media? What roles do new technologies play in changing contemporary media and culture?
- **The commercial nature of mass media.** What role do media ownership and government regulation play in the presentation of commercial media products and serious journalism? How do the desire for profit and other business demands affect and change the media landscape? What role should government oversight play? What role do we play as ordinary viewers, readers, students, critics, and citizens?
- **The converged nature of media.** How has convergence changed the experience of media from the print to the digital era? What are the significant differences between reading a printed newspaper and reading the news online? What changes have to be made in the media business to help older forms of media, like newspapers, transition to an online world?
- **The role that media play in a democracy.** How are policy decisions and government actions affected by the news media and other mass media? How do individuals find room in the media terrain to express alternative (nonmainstream) points of view? How do grassroots movements create media to influence and express political ideas?
- **Mass media, cultural expression, and storytelling.** What are the advantages and pitfalls of the media's appetite for telling and selling stories? As we reach the point where almost all media exist on the Internet in some form, how have our culture and our daily lives been affected?
- **Critical analysis of the mass media.** How can we use the critical process to understand, critique, and influence the media? How important is it to be media literate in today's world? At the end of each chapter, we will examine the historical contexts and current processes that shape media products. By becoming more critical consumers and more engaged citizens, we will be in a better position to influence the relationships among mass media, democratic participation, and the complex cultural landscape that we all inhabit.

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

communication, 6
culture, 6
mass media, 6
mass communication, 6
digital communication, 8
senders, 9
messages, 9
mass media channel, 9
receivers, 9
gatekeepers, 9
feedback, 9
selective exposure, 10
convergence, 11
cross platform, 12
narrative, 14
high culture, 17
low culture, 17
modern period, 26
Progressive Era, 27
postmodern period, 27
media literacy, 30
critical process, 30
description, 32
analysis, 32
interpretation, 32
evaluation, 33
engagement, 33

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Culture and the Evolution of Mass Communication

1. Define *culture, mass communication,* and *mass media,* and explain their interrelationships.
2. What key technological breakthroughs accompanied the transition to the print and electronic eras? Why were these changes significant?
3. Explain the linear model of mass communication and its limitations.

The Development of Media and Their Role in Our Society

4. Describe the development of a mass medium from emergence to convergence.
5. In looking at the history of popular culture, explain why newer and emerging forms of media seem to threaten status quo values.

Surveying the Cultural Landscape

6. Describe the skyscraper model of culture. What are its strengths and limitations?
7. Describe the map model of culture. What are its strengths and limitations?
8. What are the chief differences between modern and postmodern values?

Critiquing Media and Culture

9. What are the five steps in the critical process? Which of these is the most difficult, and why?
10. What is the difference between cynicism and criticism?
11. Why is the critical process important?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. Drawing on your experience, list the kinds of media stories you like and dislike. You might think mostly of movies and TV shows, but remember that news, sports, political ads, and product ads are also usually structured as stories. Conversations on Facebook can also be considered narratives. What kinds of stories do you like and dislike on Facebook, and why?
2. Cite some examples in which the media have been accused of unfairness. Draw on comments from parents, teachers, religious leaders, friends, news media, and so on. Discuss whether these criticisms have been justified.
3. Pick an example of a popular media product that you think is harmful to children. How would you make your concerns known? Should the product be removed from circulation? Why or why not? If you think the product should be banned, how would you do so?
4. Make a critical case either defending or condemning Comedy Central's *South Park*, a TV or radio talk show, a hip-hop group, a soap opera, or TV news coverage of the ongoing wars in the Middle East. Use the five-step critical process to develop your position.
5. Although in some ways postmodern forms of communication, such as e-mail, MTV, smartphones, and Twitter, have helped citizens participate in global life, in what ways might these forms harm more traditional or native cultures?

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- VIDEO: *THE MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY*
  This video traces the history of the media's role in democracy, from newspapers and television to the Internet.

PART 1

Digital Media and Convergence

Brad Fleet/Newspix/Getty Images

Think about the main media technologies in your life when you were growing up. How did you watch TV shows, listen to music, or read books? How did you communicate with friends?

Now consider this: Apple began selling music through iTunes in 2003; Facebook was born in 2004, but was only opened to the full public in 2006; smartphones debuted in 2007; Hulu and Netflix launched their streaming video services in 2008; the iPad was introduced in 2010; Apple's Siri first spoke in 2011; and the Apple Watch was released in 2015. In a little over fifteen years, we have moved from a world in which each type of media was consumed separately and in its own distinct format to a world in which we can experience every form of mass media content—books, music, newspapers, television, video games—on almost any Internet-connected device.

As you can see on the infographic on the opposite page, media didn't always develop this quickly; an early medium like radio could take decades to fully emerge, while today a Web site or an app can reach similar audience thresholds in a matter of years or even days. With these changes, the history of mass media has moved from *emergence* to *convergence*. While electronic media have been around for a long time, it was the emergence of the Internet as a mass medium that allowed an array of media—text, photos, audio, video, and interactive games—to converge in one space and be easily shared. This convergence has been happening since the early 1990s, but more recently we have experienced the **digital turn**. Ever-growing download speeds and more portable devices have fundamentally changed the ways in which we access and consume media.

The digital turn has made us more fragmented—but also more connected. We might not be able to count on our friends all watching the same television show, but Facebook and Twitter have made it easier for us to connect with friends—and strangers—and tell them what we watched, read, and listened to. Mass media are more integrated into our lives than ever before.

FROM MEDIUM TO MASS MEDIA

TIME IT TOOK TO REACH 50 MILLION USERS

RADIO	TV	INTERNET	FACEBOOK	DRAW SOMETHING APP
38 YEARS	13 YEARS	4 YEARS	3.5 YEARS	50 DAYS

HOW TIME IS SPENT ON SMARTPHONES

- 6% SOCIAL NETWORKING
- 8% ENTERTAINMENT
- 18% WEB BROWSER
- 2% PRODUCTIVITY
- 32% GAMES
- 2% NEWS
- 18% FACEBOOK
- 8% UTILITY
- 6% OTHER

MEDIA CONSUMPTION: 7 HOURS OF 24 HOURS TOTAL

2

The Internet, Digital Media, and Media Convergence

41
The Development of the Internet and the Web

47
The Web Goes Social

53
Convergence and Mobile Media

57
The Economics and Issues of the Internet

68
The Internet and Democracy

For at least some of us, the social mediated version of ourselves becomes the predominant way we experience the world. As *Time* magazine has noted, "Experiences don't feel fully real" until we have "tweeted them or tumbled them or YouTubed them—and the world has congratulated you for doing so."[1] Social media is all about us—we are simultaneously the creators and the subjects. But the flip side of promoting our own experiences on social media as *the most awesome happenings ever (and too bad you aren't here)* is the social anxiety associated with reading about other people's experiences and realizing that you are not actually there.

The problem is called Fear of Missing Out (FOMO), and it has been defined as "the uneasy and sometimes all-consuming feeling that you're missing out—that your peers are doing, in the know about or in possession of more or something better than you."[2] There are plenty of platforms for posting

Richard Perry/The New York Times/Redux

about ourselves and anxiously creeping on others—Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, LinkedIn, Pinterest, Google+, Instagram, and Vine are just a few of the sites that can feed our FOMO problem.

The fear of missing out has been around long before social media was invented. Bragging, photos, postcards, and those holiday letters have usually put the most positive spin on people's lives. But social media and mobile technology make being exposed to the interactions you missed a 24/7 phenomenon. There is potentially *always* something better you could have/should have been doing, right?

With FOMO, there is a "desire to stay continually connected with what others are doing," so the person suffering from the anxiety continues to be tethered to social media, tracking "friends" and sacrificing time that might be spent having in-person, unmediated experiences.[3] All of this time on social media may not make us happy. For example, a study by University of Michigan researchers found that the use of Facebook (the most popular social media site) makes college students feel worse about themselves. The two-week study found that the more the students used Facebook, the more two components of well-being declined: how people feel moment-to-moment, and how satisfied they are with their lives—regardless of how many Facebook "friends" they had in their network.[4]

Studies about happiness routinely conclude that the best path to subjective well-being (i.e., happiness) and life satisfaction is having a community of close personal relationships. Social psychologists Ed Diener and Robert Biswas-Diener acknowledge that the high use of mobile phones, text messaging, and social media is evidence that people want to connect. But they also explain that "we don't just need relationships: we need close ones." They conclude, "The close relationships that produce the most happiness are those characterized by mutual understanding, caring, and validation of the other person as worthwhile."[5] Thus, frequent contact isn't enough to produce the kinds of relationships that produce the most happiness.

Ironically, there has never been a medium better than the Internet and its social media platforms to bring people together. How many people do you know who met online and went on to have successful friendships or romantic relationships? How often have social media connections enhanced close relationships for you? Still, according to Diener and Biswas-Diener, maintaining close relationships may require a "vacation" from social media from time to time, experiencing something together with a friend or friends. Of course (and we hate to say it), you will still need to text, message, e-mail, or call to arrange that date.

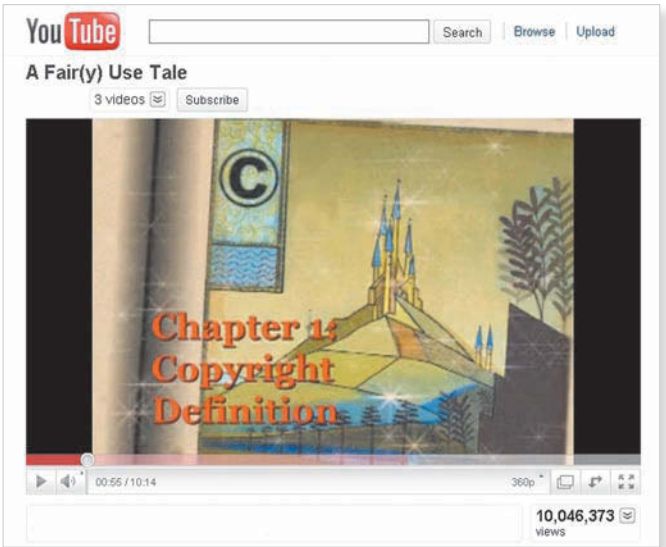
THE INTERNET—the vast network of telephone and cable lines, wireless connections, and satellite systems designed to link and carry digital information worldwide—was initially described as an *information superhighway*. This description implied that the goal of the Internet was to build a new media network—a new superhighway—to replace traditional media (e.g., books, newspapers, television, and radio)—the old highway system. In many ways, the original description of the Internet has turned out to be true. The Internet has expanded dramatically from its initial establishment in the 1960s to an enormous media powerhouse that encompasses—but has not replaced—all other media today.

In this chapter, we examine the many dimensions of the Internet, digital media, and convergence. We will:

- Review the birth of the Internet and the development of the Web
- Provide an overview of the key features of the Internet, including instant messaging, search engines, and social media
- Discuss the convergence of the Internet with mobile media, such as smartphones and tablets, and how the Internet has changed our relationship with media
- Examine the economics of the Internet, including the control of Internet content, ownership issues, and the five leading Internet companies
- Investigate the critical issues of the Internet, such as targeted advertising, free speech, security, net neutrality, and access

As you read through this chapter, think back to your first experiences with the Internet. What was your first encounter like? What were some of the things you remember using the Internet for then? How did it compare with your first encounters with other mass media? How has the Internet changed since your first experiences with it? For more questions to help you think through the role of the Internet in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.



Courtesy Google, Inc.

YOUTUBE is the most popular Web site for watching videos online. Full of amateur and home videos, the site now partners with mainstream television and movie companies to provide professional content as well (a change that occurred after Google bought the site in 2006).

The Development of the Internet and the Web

From its humble origins as a military communications network in the 1960s, the **Internet** became increasingly interactive by the 1990s, allowing immediate two-way communication and one-to-many communication. By 2000, the Internet was a multimedia source for both information and entertainment as it quickly became an integral part of our daily lives. For example, in 2000, about 50 percent of American adults were connected to the Internet; by 2014, about 87 percent of American adults used the Internet.[6]

The Birth of the Internet

The Internet originated as a military-government project, with computer time-sharing as one of its goals. In the 1960s, computers were relatively new, and there were only a few of the expensive, room-sized mainframe computers across the country for researchers to use. The

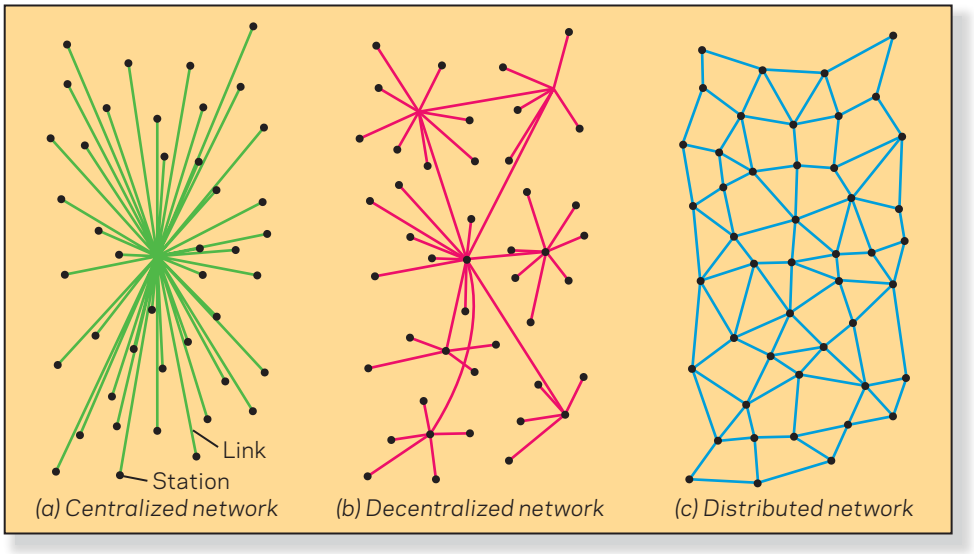


FIGURE 2.1

DISTRIBUTED NETWORKS

In a centralized network (*a*), all the paths lead to a single nerve center. Decentralized networks (*b*) contain several main nerve centers. In a distributed network (*c*), which resembles a net, there are no nerve centers; if any connection is severed, information can be immediately rerouted and delivered to its destination. But is there a downside to distributed networks when it comes to the circulation of network viruses?

Data from: Katie Hafner and Matthew Lyon, Where Wizards Stay Up Late *(New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).*

Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) developed a solution to enable researchers to share computer processing time starting in the late 1960s. This original Internet—called **ARPAnet** and nicknamed the Net—enabled military and academic researchers to communicate on a distributed network system (see Figure 2.1). First, ARPA created a wired network system in which users from multiple locations could log into a computer whenever they needed it. Second, to prevent logjams in data communication, the network used a system called *packet switching*, which broke down messages into smaller pieces to more easily route them through the multiple paths on the network before reassembling them on the other end.

The Internet, Digital Media, and Media Convergence

Digital Technology
In the late 1940s, images, texts, and sounds are first converted into "binary code"—ones and zeros—vastly improving the rate at which information is stored and reproduced (pp. 45–46).

Microprocessors
These miniature computer circuits, developed in 1971, enable personal computers to be born. PCs become increasingly smaller, cheaper, and more powerful (p. 43).

Fiber-Optic Cable
Thin glass bundles of fiber capable of transmitting thousands of digital messages simultaneously are developed in the mid-1980s, allowing broadcast channels, telephone signals, and other data to go on the Internet (p. 44).

1940 • 1950 • 1960 • 1970 • 1980

ARPAnet
The U.S. Defense Department begins research in the late 1960s on a distributed communication network—the groundwork for the Internet (p. 42).

E-mail
The process by which electronic messages are sent from computer to computer on a network is first developed in the early 1970s, revolutionizing modes of communication (p. 43).

Image courtesy of the Advertising Archives (left); Courtesy of the National Center for Supercomputing Applications and the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois (right)

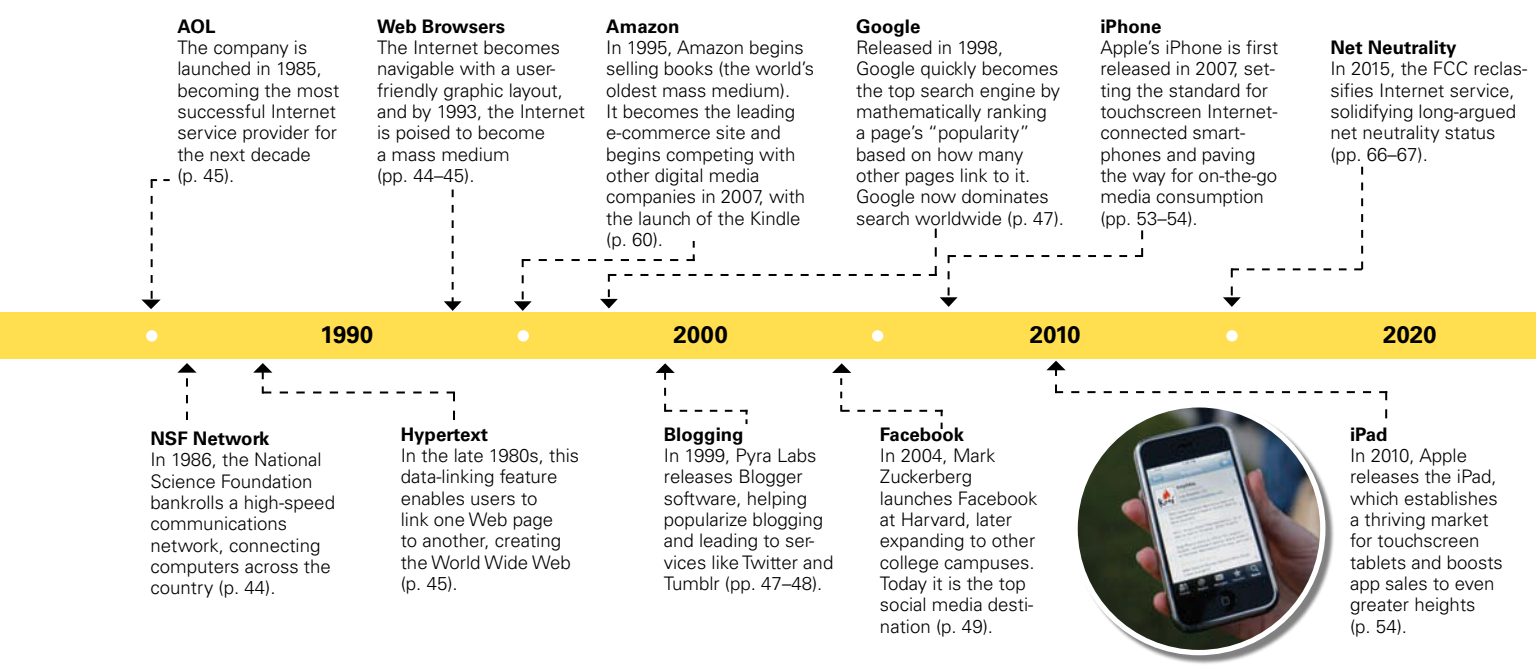
Ironically, one of the most hierarchically structured and centrally organized institutions in our culture—the national defense industry—created the Internet, possibly the least hierarchical and most decentralized social network ever conceived. Each computer hub in the Internet has similar status and power, so nobody can own the system outright, and nobody has the power to kick others off the network. There isn't even a master power switch, so authority figures cannot shut off the Internet—although as we will discuss later, some nations and corporations have attempted to restrict access for political or commercial benefit.

To enable military personnel and researchers involved in the development of ARPAnet to better communicate with one another from separate locations, an essential innovation during the development stage of the Internet was **e-mail**. It was invented in 1971 by computer engineer Ray Tomlinson, who developed software to send electronic mail messages to any computer on ARPAnet. He decided to use the @ symbol to signify the location of the computer user, thus establishing the "login name@host computer" convention for e-mail addresses.

At this point in the development stage, the Internet was primarily a tool for universities, government research labs, and corporations involved in computer software and other high-tech products to exchange e-mail and to post information. As the use of the Internet continued to proliferate, the entrepreneurial stage quickly came about.

The Net Widens

From the early 1970s until the late 1980s, a number of factors (both technological and historical) brought the Net to the entrepreneurial stage, in which it became a marketable medium. The first signal of the Net's marketability came in 1971 with the introduction of **microprocessors**, miniature circuits that process and store electronic signals. This innovation facilitated the integration of thousands of transistors and related circuitry into thin strands of silicon along which binary codes traveled. Using microprocessors, manufacturers were eventually able to introduce the first *personal computers (PCs)*, which were smaller, cheaper, and



© Danny Moloshok/Reuters/Corbis

COMMODORE 64
This advertisement for the Commodore 64, one of the first home PCs, touts the features of the computer. Although it was heralded in its time, today's PCs far exceed its abilities.

Image courtesy of the Advertising Archives

more powerful than the bulky computer systems of the 1960s. With personal computers now readily available, a second opportunity for marketing the Net came in 1986, when the National Science Foundation developed a high-speed communications network (NSFNET) designed to link university research computer centers around the country and also encourage private investment in the Net. This innovation led to a dramatic increase in Internet use and further opened the door to the widespread commercial possibilities of the Internet.

In the mid-1980s, **fiber-optic cable** became the standard for transmitting communication data speedily. Featuring thin glass bundles of fiber capable of transmitting thousands of messages simultaneously (via laser light), fiber-optic cables began replacing the older, bulkier copper wire used to transmit computer information. This development made the commercial use of computers even more viable than before. With this increased speed, few limits exist with regard to the amount of information that digital technology can transport.

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, the ARPAnet military venture officially ended. By that time, a growing community of researchers, computer programmers, amateur hackers, and commercial interests had already tapped into the Net, creating tens of thousands of points on the network and the initial audience for its emergence as a mass medium.

The Commercialization of the Internet

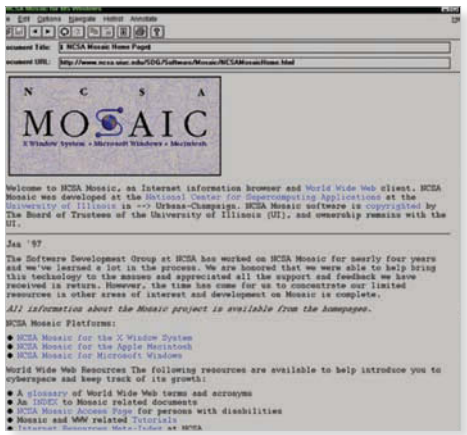
The introduction of the World Wide Web and the first Web browsers, Mosaic and Netscape, in the 1990s helped transform the Internet into a mass medium. Soon after these developments, the Internet quickly became commercialized, leading to battles between corporations vying to attract the most users, and others who wished to preserve the original public, nonprofit nature of the Net.

The World Begins to Browse

Prior to the 1990s, most of the Internet's traffic was for e-mail, file transfers, and remote access of computer databases. The **World Wide Web** (or the Web) changed all that. Developed in the late

1980s by software engineer Tim Berners-Lee at the CERN particle physics lab in Switzerland to help scientists better collaborate, the Web was initially a text data-linking system that allowed computer-accessed information to associate with, or link to, other information no matter where it was on the Internet. Known as *hypertext*, this data-linking feature of the Web was a breakthrough for those attempting to use the Internet. **HTML (hypertext markup language)**, the written code that creates Web pages and links, is a language that all computers can read, so computers with different operating systems, such as Windows or Macintosh, can communicate easily. The Web and HTML allow information to be organized in an easy-to-use nonlinear manner, making way for the next step in using the Internet.

The release of Web **browsers**—the software packages that help users navigate the Web—brought the Web to mass audiences. In 1993, computer programmers led by Marc Andreessen at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA) at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign released Mosaic, the first window-based browser to load text and graphics together in a magazine-like layout, with attractive fonts and easy-to-use back, forward, home, and bookmark buttons at the top. In 1994, Andreessen joined investors in California's Silicon Valley to introduce a commercial browser, Netscape. As *USA Today* wrote that year, this "new way to travel the Internet, the World Wide Web," was "the latest rage among Net aficionados."[7] The Web soon became everyone else's rage, too, as universities and businesses, and later home users, got connected.



WEB BROWSERS
The GUI (graphical user interface) of the World Wide Web changed overnight with the release of Mosaic in 1993. As the first popular Web browser, Mosaic unleashed the multimedia potential of the Internet. Mosaic was the inspiration for the commercial browser Netscape, which was released in 1994.

Courtesy of the National Center for Supercomputing Applications and the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

As the Web became the most popular part of the Internet, many thought that the key to commercial success on the Net would be through a Web browser. In 1995, Microsoft released its own Web browser, Internet Explorer, and within a few years, Internet Explorer—strategically bundled with Microsoft operating system software—overtook Netscape as the most popular Web browser. Today, Chrome and Firefox are the top browsers, with Internet Explorer, Safari, and Opera as the leading alternatives.

Users Link in through Telephone and Cable Wires

In the first decades of the Internet, most people connected to "cyberspace" through telephone wires. AOL (formerly America Online) began connecting millions of home users in 1985 to its proprietary Web system through dial-up access, and quickly became the United States' top **Internet service provider (ISP)**. AOL's success was so great that by 2001, the Internet start-up bought the world's largest media company, Time Warner—a deal that shocked the industry and signaled the Internet's economic significance as a vehicle for media content. As **broadband** connections, which can quickly download multimedia content, became more available (about 70 percent of all American households had such connections by 2014), users moved away from the slower telephone dial-up ISP service (AOL's main service) to high-speed service from cable, telephone, or satellite companies.[8] By 2007, both AT&T (offering DSL and cable broadband) and Comcast (cable broadband) surpassed AOL in numbers of customers. Today, other major ISPs include Verizon, Time Warner Cable, Cox, and Charter. These are accompanied by hundreds of local services, many offered by regional telephone and cable companies that compete to provide consumers with access to the Internet. Yet in the United States, there is little competition in the broadband Internet market. Only 9 percent of Americans have access to three or more ISPs. As a result, according to a 2013 study, American consumers "pay more money for lower speeds" compared to Internet customers in countries like Korea, Japan, Canada, Mexico, and most of Europe.[9]

People Embrace Digital Communication

In **digital communication**, an image, a text, or a sound is converted into electronic signals represented as a series of binary numbers—ones and zeros—which are then reassembled as

a precise reproduction of an image, a text, or a sound. Digital signals operate as pieces, or bits (from *BI*nary digi*TS*), of information representing two values, such as yes/no, on/off, or 0/1. For example, a typical compact disc track uses a binary code system in which zeros are microscopic pits in the surface of the disc and ones are represented on the unpitted surface. Used in various combinations, these digital codes can duplicate, store, and play back the most complex kinds of media content.

In the early days of e-mail, the news media constantly marveled at the immediacy of this new form of communication. Describing a man from Long Island e-mailing a colleague on the Galapagos Islands, the *New York Times* wrote in 1994 that his "magical new mailbox is inside his personal computer at his home, and his correspondence with the Galapagos now travels at the speed of electricity over the global computer network known as the Internet."[10]

E-mail was one of the earliest services of the Internet, and people typically used the e-mail services connected to their ISPs before major Web corporations such as Google, Yahoo!, and Microsoft (Hotmail) began to offer free Web-based e-mail accounts to draw users to their sites; each now has millions of users. Today, all the top e-mail services also include advertisements in their users' e-mail messages, one of the costs of the "free" e-mail accounts. Google's Gmail goes one step further by scanning messages to dynamically match a relevant ad to the text each time an e-mail message is opened. Such targeted advertising has become a hallmark feature of the Internet.

SNAPCHAT allows users to send one another photos, videos, and/or text that will disappear after a certain amount of time. Like a lot of popular apps, the program gained a large following from a young audience and expanded out from there. Hundreds of millions of photos are sent through the application every day.

Courtesy of Snapchat

Instant messaging, or IM, remains the easiest way to communicate over the Internet in real time and has become increasingly popular as a smartphone and tablet app, with free IM services supplanting costly text messages. Major IM services—many with voice and video chat capabilities—include Google Chat (through its e-mail service), Facebook Chat, Microsoft's Skype, AOL Instant Messenger (AIM), Yahoo!'s Messenger, and Apple's iChat. IM users fill out detailed profiles when signing up for the service, providing advertisers with multiple ways to target them as they chat with their friends. IM has evolved and expanded with the Internet, embracing multimedia capabilities with apps like Snapchat, a photo messaging service that thrives on the cultural popularity of sending "selfies" and captions to friends. The images erase themselves in one to ten seconds, depending on the user's settings. In 2014 (after reportedly offering $3 billion to buy Snapchat in a failed deal the year before), Facebook paid $19 billion for WhatsApp, a cross-platform IM service that now has more than 800 million users worldwide.

Search Engines Organize the Web

As the number of Web sites on the Internet quickly expanded, companies seized the opportunity to provide ways to navigate this vast amount of information by providing directories and search engines. One of the more popular search engines, Yahoo!, began as a directory. In 1994, Stanford University graduate students Jerry Yang and David Filo created a Web page—"Jerry and David's Guide to the World Wide Web"—to organize their favorite Web sites, first into categories, then into more and more subcategories as the Web grew. At that point, the entire World Wide Web was almost manageable, with only about twenty-two thousand Web sites. (By 2014,

Google announced it had indexed more than sixty trillion Web pages, up from one billion in 2000.) The guide made a lot of sense to other people, and soon enough Yang and Filo renamed it the more memorable Yahoo!

Eventually, though, having employees catalog individual Web sites became impractical. **Search engines** offer a more automated route to finding content by allowing users to enter key words or queries to locate related Web pages. Search engines are built on mathematic algorithms. Google, released in 1998, became a major success because it introduced a new algorithm that mathematically ranked a page's "popularity" on the basis of how many other pages linked to it. Google later moved to maintain its search dominance with its Google Voice Search and Google Goggles apps, which allow smartphone users to conduct searches by voicing search terms or by taking a photo. By 2015, Google's global market share accounted for more than 70 percent of searches, while Microsoft's Bing claimed 9.8 percent, Yahoo! reached 9.6 percent, and China's Baidu claimed 7.5 percent.[11]

The Web Goes Social

Aided by faster microprocessors, high-speed broadband networks, and a proliferation of digital content, the Internet has become more than just an information source in its third decade as a mass medium. The third generation of the Internet is a much more robust and social environment, having moved toward being a fully interactive medium with user-created content like blogs, Tumblrs, YouTube videos, Flickr photostreams, Photobucket albums, social networking, and other collaborative sites. In the words of law professor and media scholar Lawrence Lessig, we have moved from a "Read/Only" culture on the Internet, in which users can only read content, to a "Read/Write" culture, in which users have the power not only to read content but also to develop their own.[12] It's the users who ultimately rule here, sharing the words, sounds, images, and creatively edited music remixes and mash-up videos that make these Web communities worth visiting.

Social media are new digital media platforms that engage users to create content, add comments, and interact with others. Social media have become a new distribution system for media as well, challenging the one-to-many model of traditional mass media with the many-to-many model of social media.

Types of Social Media

In less than a decade, a number of different types of social media have evolved, with multiple platforms for the creation of user-generated content. European researchers Andreas M. Kaplan and Michael Haenlein identify six categories of social media on the Internet: blogs, collaborative projects, content communities, social networking sites, virtual game worlds, and virtual social worlds.[13]

Blogs

Years before there were status updates or Facebook, **blogs** enabled people to easily post their ideas to a Web site. Popularized with the release of Blogger (now owned by Google) in 1999, blogs contain articles or posts in chronological, journal-like form, often with reader

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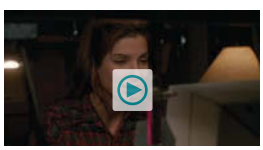
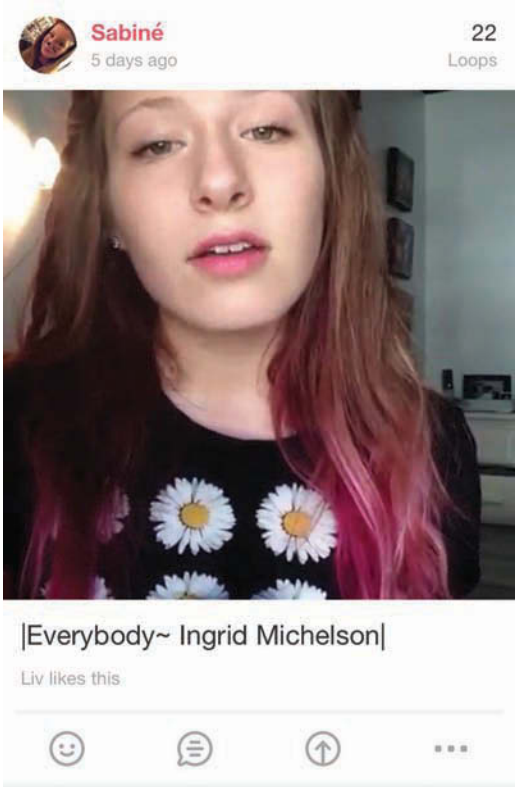
macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate



***The Net* (1995)**
Sandra Bullock communicates using her computer in this clip from the 1995 thriller.
Discussion: How does this 1995 movie portray online communication? What does it get right, and what seems silly now?



Courtesy of Vine

VINE, a short video-sharing service founded in 2012, was acquired by Twitter later that year, and officially launched in 2013. The most popular Vine stars have millions of followers, and some of them can make a living through product placements in their six-second videos.

comments and links to other sites. Blogs can be personal or corporate multimedia sites, sometimes with photos, graphics, podcasts, and video. Some blogs have developed into popular news and culture sites, such as the *Huffington Post*, *TechCrunch*, *Mashable*, *Gawker*, *HotAir*, *ThinkProgress*, and *TPM Muckraker*.

Blogs have become part of the information and opinion culture of the Web, giving regular people and citizen reporters a forum for their ideas and views, and providing a place for even professional journalists to informally share ideas before a more formal news story gets published. Some of the leading platforms for blogging include Blogger, WordPress, Tumblr, Weebly, and Wix. But by 2013, the most popular form of blogging was microblogging, with about 241 million active users on Twitter, sending out 500 million tweets (a short message with a 140-character limit) per day.[14] In 2013, Twitter introduced an app called Vine that enabled users to post short video clips. A few months later, Facebook's Instagram responded with its own video-sharing service.

Collaborative Projects

Another Internet development involves collaborative projects in which users build something together, often using *wiki* (which means "quick" in Hawaiian) technology. **Wiki Web sites** enable anyone to edit and contribute to them. There are several large wikis, such as Wikitravel (a global travel guide), Wikimapia (combining Google Maps with wiki comments), and WikiLeaks (an organization publishing sensitive documents leaked by anonymous whistleblowers). WikiLeaks gained notoriety for its release of thousands of United States diplomatic cables and other sensitive documents beginning in 2010 (see page 506 in Chapter 14). But the most notable wiki is Wikipedia, an online encyclopedia launched in 2001 that is constantly updated and revised by interested volunteers. All previous page versions of Wikipedia are stored, allowing users to see how each individual topic developed. The English version of Wikipedia is the largest, containing nearly five million articles, but Wikipedias are also being developed in 289 other languages.

Businesses and other organizations have developed social media platforms for specific collaborative projects. Tools like Basecamp and Podio provide social media interfaces for organizing project and event-planning schedules, messages, to-do lists, and workflows. Kickstarter is a popular fund-raising tool for creative projects like books, recordings, and films. InnoCentive is a crowdsourcing community that offers award payments for people who can solve business and scientific problems. And Change.org has become an effective petition project to push for social change. For example, Chris Izanskey began a campaign to petition the Governor of Missouri to grant clemency to his father, a prison inmate for twenty years on non-violent, marijuana-only offenses, with no possibility of parole. Nearly 400,000 people signed the Change.org petition, and Chris's father walked free in 2015.

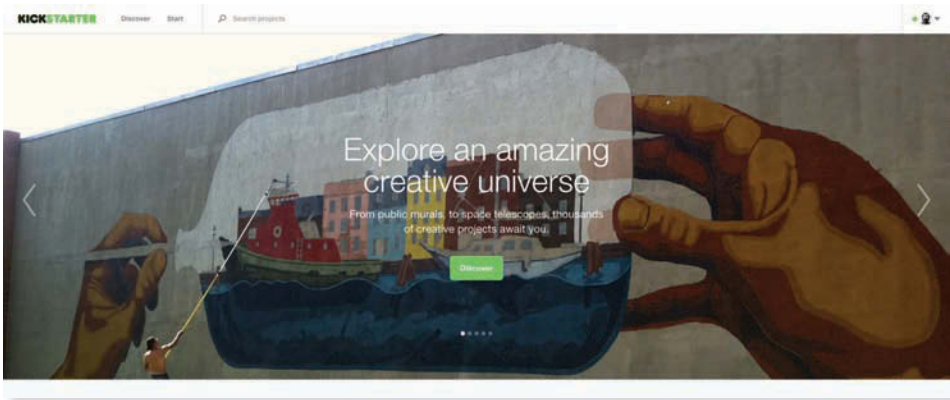
Content Communities

Content communities are the best examples of the many-to-many ethic of social media. **Content communities** exist for the sharing of all types of content, from text (FanFiction.net) to photos (Flickr, Photobucket) and videos (YouTube, Vimeo). YouTube, created in 2005 and bought by Google in 2006, is the most well-known content community, with hundreds of millions of users around the world uploading and watching amateur and professional videos. YouTube gave rise to the viral video—a video that becomes immediately popular by millions sharing it through social media platforms. The most popular video of all time—Psy's 2012

music video "Gangnam Style"—has more than 2.3 billion views. In 2015, YouTube reported that three hundred hours of video are uploaded to the site every minute, and it has more than one billion unique users each month.

Social Networking Sites

Perhaps the most visible examples of social media are **social networking sites** like Facebook, LiveJournal, Pinterest, Orkut, LinkedIn, and Google+. On these sites, users can create content, share ideas, and interact with friends and colleagues.



Courtesy of kickstarter.com

KICKSTARTER has funded 90,000 creative projects since its launch in 2009. According to Kickstarter's data, 9.3 million people have pledged more than $1.9 billion for the projects. Some notable successes from 2013 include the Oculus Rift (9,522 backers pledging $2.4 million), a virtual reality gaming headset bought in 2014 by Facebook for $2 billion; a human-powered helicopter (479 backers pledging $34,424); student-built classrooms made from shipping containers (242 backers pledging $16,567); and the movie *Blue Ruin* (438 backers pledging $37,828), which won an award at the Cannes Film Festival.

Facebook is the most popular social media site on the Internet. Started at Harvard in 2004 as an online substitute to the printed facebooks the school created for incoming first-year students, Facebook was instantly a hit and soon eclipsed MySpace as the leading social media destination. The site enables users to construct personal profiles, upload photos, share music lists, play games, and post messages to connect with old friends and meet new ones. Originally, access was restricted to college students, but in 2006 the site expanded to include anyone. Soon after, Facebook grew at an astonishing rate, and by 2015 it had 1.44 billion active users and was available in more than seventy languages.

In 2011, Google introduced Google+, a social networking interface designed to compete with Facebook. Google+ enables users to develop distinct "circles," by dragging and dropping friends into separate groups, rather than having one long list of friends. In response, Facebook created new settings to enable users to control who sees their posts.

Virtual Game Worlds and Virtual Social Worlds

Virtual game worlds and virtual social worlds invite users to role-play in rich 3-D environments, in real time, with players throughout the world. In virtual game worlds (also known as massively multiplayer online role-playing games, or MMORPGs) such as *World of Warcraft* and *Elder Scrolls Online*, players can customize their online identity, or avatar, and work with others through the game's challenges. Community forums for members extend discussion and shared play outside the game. Virtual social worlds, like *Second Life*, enable players to take their avatars through simulated environments and even make transactions with virtual money. (See Chapter 3 for a closer look at virtual game worlds and virtual social worlds.)

Social Media and Democracy

In just a decade, social media have changed the way we consume and relate to media and the way we communicate with others. Social media tools have put unprecedented power in our hands to produce and distribute our own media. We can share our thoughts and opinions, write or update an encyclopedic entry, start a petition or fund-raising campaign, post a video, and create and explore virtual worlds. But social media have also proven to be an effective tool for democracy and for undermining repressive regimes that thrive on serving up propaganda and hiding their atrocities from view.

The wave of protests in more than a dozen Arab nations in North Africa and the Middle East that began in late 2010 resulted in four rulers being forced from power by mid-2012. The Arab Spring began in Tunisia, with a twenty-six-year-old street vendor named Mohamed

EXAMINING ETHICS

"Anonymous" Hacks Global Terrorism

Since its earliest days, the Internet has been a medium for both good and evil. Among the most evil uses of the Internet are those emerging from the widely condemned terrorism group ISIS, which since 2014 has used the Internet to recruit naïve new members from around the world and to post videos of its massacres and gruesome beheadings of Westerners and other captives.

If you haven't seen Anonymous, you have probably seen the chosen "face" of Anonymous—a Guy Fawkes mask, portraying the most renowned member of the 1605 anarchist plot to assassinate King James I of England. The mask has been a part of Guy Fawkes Day commemorations in England for centuries but was made even more popular by the 2006 film *V for Vendetta*, based on the graphic novel series of the same name. Today, the mask has become a widespread international symbol for groups protesting financial institutions and politicians.

Given that, it was easy to cheer for Anonymous in 2015, when the loosely organized global hacktivist collective known for its politically and socially motivated Internet vigilantism decided to hack ISIS. The group vowed to avenge the January 2015 ISIS-supported attacks on the satirical weekly *Charlie Hebdo* newspaper office in Paris and a Paris kosher supermarket, which killed 17 people in all. In videos posted to YouTube (featuring a red outline of a digital character in a Guy Fawkes mask speaking in a robotic voice), Anonymous explained its goals for its #OpISIS campaign:

> *We are Muslims, Christians, Jews. We are hackers, crackers, hactivists, phishers, agents, spies, or just the guy from next door. . . . We come from all races, countries, religions, and ethnicities. United by one, divided by zero. We are Anonymous. Remember: The terrorists who are calling themselves Islamic State—ISIS—are not Muslims. ISIS, we will hunt you, take down your sites, accounts, emails, and expose you. From now own, no safe place for you online. You will be treated like the virus and we are the cure. We own the Internet. . . . We are Anonymous. We are Legion. We do not forgive. We do not forget. Expect us.*[1]

Vivek Prakash/Reuters/Landov

Although some argued that Anonymous shouldn't involve itself in anti-terrorism issues, a writer in the usually staid *Foreign Policy* magazine argued that the U.S. government should encourage Anonymous to go after ISIS: "If the United States is struggling to counter the Islamic State's dispersed, rapidly regenerative online presence, why not turn to groups native to this digital habitat? Why not embrace the efforts of third-party hackers like Anonymous to dismantle the Islamic State—and even give them the resources to do so?"[2] The U.S. government didn't embrace Anonymous (not that we know of, at least). But within a few months of its campaign, Anonymous reported "233 websites attacked. 85 websites destroyed. 25,000 Twitter accounts terminated."[3]

Anonymous first attracted major public attention in 2008. The issue was a video featuring a fervent Tom Cruise—meant for internal promotional use within the Church of Scientology—that had been leaked to the Web site *Gawker*. When the church tried to suppress the video footage on grounds of copyright,

Anonymous went to work. It launched a DDoS, or Distributed Denial of Service, attack (flooding a server or network with external requests so that it becomes overloaded and slows down or crashes) on the church's Web sites, bombarded the church headquarters with prank phone calls and faxes, and "doxed" the church by publishing sensitive internal documents.

United by its libertarian distrust of government, its commitment to a free and open Internet, its opposition to child pornography, and its distaste for corporate conglomerates, Anonymous has targeted organizations as diverse as the Indian government (to protest the country's plan to block Web sites like The Pirate Bay and Vimeo) and the agricultural conglomerate Monsanto (to protest the company's malicious patent lawsuits and its dominant control of the food industry). While Anonymous agrees on an agenda and coordinates the campaign, the individual hackers all act independently of the group, without expecting recognition.

As with the #OpISIS campaign, it can often be easy to find the good in the activities of hacktivists. For example, Anonymous reportedly hacked the computer network of Tunisian tyrant Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali; his downfall in 2011 was the first victory of the Arab Spring movement. In 2011, Anonymous also hacked the Web site of the Westboro Baptist Church, known for spreading its extremist antigay rhetoric, picketing funerals of soldiers, and desecrating American

flags. In a world of large, impersonal governments and organizations, hackers level the playing field for ordinary people, responding quickly in ways much more powerful than traditional forms of protest, like writing a letter or publicly demonstrating in front of headquarters or embassies. In fact, hacktivism can be seen as an update on the long tradition of peaceful protests.

But sometimes it is harder to tell whether Anonymous is virtuous or not. Because the members of Anonymous are indeed anonymous, there aren't any checks or balances on those who "dox" a corporate site, revealing documents carrying personal credit card or social security numbers and making regular citizens vulnerable to identity theft and fraud, as some hackers have done. For example, prosecutions in 2012 took down at least six international members of Anonymous when one hacker, known online as Sabu, turned out to be a government informant. One of the hackers arrested in Chicago was charged with stealing credit card data and using it to make more than $700,000 in charges.[4] Just a few "bad apples" can undermine the self-managed integrity of groups like Anonymous.

The very existence of Anonymous is a sign that many of our battles now are in the digital domain. We fight for equal access and free speech on the Internet, we are in a perpetual struggle with corporations and other institutions over the privacy of our digital information, and, although our government prosecutes hackers for computer crimes, governments themselves are increasingly using hacking to fight one another. In the case of the Internet and ISIS, perhaps the U.S. government (although it might be loathe to admit it) secretly appreciates the work Anonymous does.

Bouazizi, who had his vegetable cart confiscated by police. Humiliated when he tried to get it back, he set himself on fire. While there had been protests before in Tunisia, the stories were never communicated widely. This time, protesters posted videos on Facebook, and satellite news networks spread the story with reports based on those videos. The protests spread across Tunisia, and in January 2011, Tunisia's dictator of nearly twenty-four years fled the country.

In Egypt, a similar circumstance occurred when twenty-eight-year-old Khaled Said was pulled from a café and beaten to death by police. Said's fate might have made no impact but for the fact that his brother used his mobile phone to snap a photo of Said's disfigured face and released it to the Internet. The success of protesters in Tunisia spurred Egyptians to organize their own protests, using the beating of Said as a rallying point. During the pro-democracy gatherings at Tahrir Square in Cairo, protesters used social media like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube to stay in touch. Global news organizations tracked the protesters' feeds to stay abreast of what was happening, especially because the state news media ignored the protests and carried pro-Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak propaganda. Even though Mubarak tried to shut down the Internet in Egypt, word of the protests spread quickly, and he was out eighteen days after the demonstrations started. In 2013, more protests aided by social media led to the ouster of Mohamed Morsi, Mubarak's democratically elected successor. In Yemen and Libya, other dictators were ousted. And although Syria's repressive government was still in power in 2015 after years of protests and fighting, citizens continued to use social media to provide evidence of the government's killing of thousands of civilians.

Even in the United States, social media have helped call attention to issues that might not have received any media attention otherwise. In 2011 and 2012, protesters in the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York and at hundreds of sites across the country took to Twitter, Tumblr, YouTube, and Facebook to point out the inequalities of the economy and the income disparity between the wealthiest 1 percent and the rest of the population—the 99 percent. The physical occupations didn't last, but the movement changed the discourse in the United States about economic inequality.[15]

NEW PROTEST LANGUAGE
It has become more and more commonplace to see protest signs with Twitter hashtags, URLs, information about Facebook groups, and other social media references.

Khaled Desouki/AFP/Getty Images

The flexible and decentralized nature of the Internet and social media is in large part what makes them such powerful tools for subverting control. In China, the Communist Party has tightly controlled mass communication for decades. As more and more Chinese citizens take to the Internet, an estimated thirty thousand government censors monitor or even block Web pages, blogs, chat rooms, and e-mails. Social media sites like Twitter, YouTube, Flickr, WordPress, and Blogger have frequently been blocked, and Google moved its Chinese search engine (Google.cn) to Hong Kong after the Chinese government repeatedly censored it. And for those who persist in practicing "subversive" free speech, there can be severe penalties: Paris-based Reporters without Borders reports that thirty Chinese journalists and seventy-four netizens were in prison in 2014 for writing articles and blogs that criticized the government.[16] Still, Chinese dissenters bravely play cat-and-mouse with Chinese censors, using free services like Hushmail, Freegate, and Ultrasurf (the latter two produced by Chinese immigrants in the United States) to break through the Chinese government's blockade. (For more on using the Internet for political and social statements, see "Examining Ethics: 'Anonymous' Hacks Global Terrorism" on pages 50–51.)

Convergence and Mobile Media

The innovation of digital communication—central to the development of the first computers in the 1940s—enables all media content to be created in the same basic way, which makes *media convergence*, the technological merging of content in different mass media, possible.

In recent years, the Internet has really become the hub for convergence, a place where music, television shows, radio stations, newspapers, magazines, books, games, and movies are created, distributed, and presented. Although convergence initially happened on desktop computers, the popularity of notebook computers and then the introduction of smartphones and tablets have hastened the pace of media convergence and made the idea of accessing any media content, anywhere, a reality.

Media Converges on Our PCs and TVs

First there was the telephone, invented in the 1870s. Then came radio in the 1920s, TV in the 1950s, and eventually the personal computer in the 1970s. Each device had its own unique and distinct function. Aside from a few exceptions, like the clock radio (a hybrid device popular since the 1950s), that was how electronic devices worked.

The rise of the personal computer industry in the mid-1970s first opened the possibility for unprecedented technological convergence. A *New York Times* article on the new "home computers" in 1978 noted that "the long-predicted convergence of such consumer electronic products as television sets, videotape recorders, video games, stereo sound systems and the coming video-disk machines into a computer-based home information-entertainment center is getting closer."[17] However, PC-based convergence didn't truly materialize until a few decades later, when broadband Internet connections improved the multimedia capabilities of computers.

By the early 2000s, computers connected to the Internet allowed an array of digital media to converge in one space and be easily shared. A user can now access television shows, movies, music, books, games, newspapers, magazines, and lots of other Web content on a computer. And with Skype, iChat, and other live voice and video software, PCs can replace landline telephones. Other devices, like iPods, quickly capitalized on the Internet's ability to distribute such content and were adapted to play and exhibit multiple media content forms.

Media are also converging on our television sets, as the electronics industry manufactures Internet-ready TVs. Video game consoles like the Xbox, Wii, and PS4, and set-top devices like Apple TV, Google Chromecast, Roku, and Amazon Fire TV, offer additional entertainment content access via their Internet connections. In the early years of the Web, people would choose only one gateway to the Internet and media content, usually a computer or a television. Today, however, wireless networks and the recent technological developments in various media devices mean that consumers regularly use more than one avenue to access all types of media content.

Mobile Devices Propel Convergence

Mobile telephones have been around for decades (like the giant "brick" mobile phones of the 1970s and 1980s), but the smartphones of the twenty-first century are substantially different creatures. Introduced in 2002, the BlackBerry was the first popular Internet-capable smartphone in the United States. Users' ability to check their e-mail messages at any time created addictive e-mail behavior and earned the phones their "Crackberry" nickname. Convergence on mobile phones took another big leap in 2007 with Apple's introduction of the iPhone, which

combined qualities of its iPod digital music player and telephone and Internet service, all accessed through a sleek touchscreen. The next year, Apple opened its App Store, featuring free and low-cost software applications for the iPhone (and the iPod Touch and, later, the iPad) created by third-party developers, vastly increasing the utility of the iPhone. By 2015, there were about 1.4 million apps available to do thousands of things on Apple devices—from playing interactive games to finding locations with a GPS or using the iPhone like a carpenter's level.

In 2008, the first smartphone to run on Google's competing Android platform was released. By 2015, Android phones (sold by companies such as Samsung, HTC, LG, and Motorola, and supported by the Google Play app market and the Amazon Appstore) held 53.2 percent of the smartphone market share in the United States, while Apple's iPhone had a 41.3 percent share; Microsoft and BlackBerry smartphones constituted the remainder of the market.[18] The precipitous drop of the BlackBerry's market standing in just ten years (the company was late to add touchscreens and apps to its phones) illustrates the tumultuous competition in mobile devices. It also illustrates how apps and the ability to consume all types of media content on the go have surpassed voice call quality to become the most important feature to consumers purchasing a phone today.

In 2010, Apple introduced the iPad, a tablet computer suitable for reading magazines, newspapers, and books; watching video; and using visual applications. The tablets became Apple's fastest-growing product line, selling at a rate of twenty-five million a year. Apple added cameras, faster graphics, and a thinner design to subsequent generations of the iPad, as companies like Samsung (Galaxy), Amazon (Kindle Fire), Microsoft (Surface), and Google (Nexus) rolled out competing tablets.

John MacDougall/AFP/Getty Images

SMARTWATCHES have been a part of pulp- and science-fiction tales since the thirties, and real-life versions were developed in the seventies and eighties before electronics companies shifted their attention to laptops and cell phones. Many top digital conglomerates have begun developing, and in some cases manufacturing, new smartwatches; Apple debuted its Apple watch in early 2015.

The Impact of Media Convergence and Mobile Media

Convergence of media content and technology has forever changed our relationship with media. Today, media consumption is mobile and flexible; we don't have to miss out on media content just because we weren't home in time to catch a show, didn't find the book at the bookstore, or forgot to buy the newspaper yesterday. Increasingly, we demand access to media when we want it, where we want it, and in multiple formats. In order to satisfy those demands and to stay relevant in such a converged world, traditional media companies have had to dramatically change their approach to media content and their business models.

Our Changing Relationship with the Media

The merging of all media onto one device, such as a tablet or smartphone, blurs the distinctions of what used to be separate media. For example, *USA Today* (a newspaper) and CBS News (network television news) used to deliver the news in completely different formats, but today their Web forms look quite similar, with listings of headlines, rankings of the most popular stories, local weather forecasts, photo galleries, and video. With the Amazon Kindle, on which one can read books, newspapers, and magazines, new forms like the Kindle Single challenge old categories. Are the fictional Kindle Singles novellas, or are they more like the stories found in literary magazines? And what about the investigative reports released as Kindle Singles? Should they be considered long-form journalism, or are they closer to nonfiction books? Is listening to an hour-long archived episode of public radio's *This American Life* on an iPod more like experiencing a radio program or more like an audio book? (It turns out you can listen to that show on the radio, as a downloadable podcast, as a Web stream, on mobile apps, or purchased on a USB drive or on a CD.)

Not only are the formats morphing, but we can now also experience the media in more than one manner, simultaneously. Fans of television shows like *The Voice, Empire*, and *Top Chef,* or viewers of live events like NFL football, often multitask, reading live blogs during broadcasts or sharing their own commentary with friends on Facebook and Twitter. For those who miss the initial broadcasts, converged media offer a second life for media content through deep archive access and repurposed content on other platforms. For example, cable shows like *Game of Thrones* and *Mad Men* have found audiences beyond their initial broadcasts through their DVD collections and online video services like Amazon Instant Video and Apple's iTunes. In fact, some fans even prefer to watch these more complex shows this way, enjoying the ability to rewind an episode in order to catch a missed detail, as well as the ability to binge-watch several episodes back-to-back. Similarly, *Arrested Development*, critically acclaimed but canceled by Fox in 2006, garnered new fans through the streaming episodes on Hulu and Netflix. As a result of this renewed interest, it was revived with new episodes produced for Netflix in 2013. Netflix also bought the rejected NBC series *The Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt* in 2015, airing its first season and ordering a second.

Christopher Polk/Getty Images

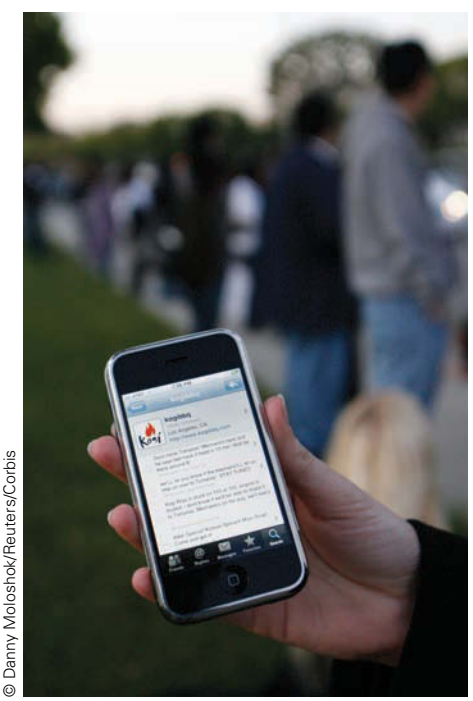
SUPER BOWL XLIX WATCHERS generated 28.4 million tweets, up 14 percent from the previous year. Not all of the tweets were about football; many commented on Katy Perry's halftime show, including a series of jokes about her shark dancers.

Our Changing Relationship with the Internet

Mobile devices and social media have altered our relationship with the Internet. Two trends are noteworthy: (1) Apple now makes more than five times as much money selling iPhones, iPads, and iPods and accessories as it does selling computers, and (2) the number of Facebook users (1.44 billion in 2015) keeps increasing. The significance of these two trends is that through Apple devices and Facebook, we now inhabit a different kind of Internet—what some call a closed Internet, or a walled garden.[19]

In a world where the small screens of smartphones are becoming the preferred medium for linking to the Internet, we typically don't get the full, open Internet, one represented by the vast searches brought to us by Google. Instead we get a more managed Internet, brought to us by apps or platforms that carry out specific functions via the Internet. Are you looking for a nearby restaurant? Don't search on the Internet—use this app especially designed for that purpose. And the distributors of these apps act as gatekeepers. Apple has more than 1.4 million apps in its App Store, and Apple approves every one of them. The competing Android app stores on Google Play and Amazon have a similar number of apps (with many fewer apps in the Windows Store), but Google and Amazon exercise less control over approval of apps than Apple does.

APPS, like those developed for Twitter and Facebook, offer smartphone users direct access to their preferred Web sites.



© Danny Moloshok/Reuters/Corbis

Facebook offers a similar walled garden experience. Facebook began as a highly managed environment, only allowing those with .edu e-mail addresses. Although all are now invited to join Facebook, the interface and the user experience on the site are still highly managed by Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg and his staff. For example, if you click on a link to a news article that your friend has shared using a social reader app on Facebook, you will be prompted to add the same app—giving it permission to post your activity to your Wall—before you can access the article. In addition, Facebook has severely restricted what content can be accessed through the open Internet. Facebook has installed measures to stop search engines from indexing users' photos, Wall posts, videos, and other data. The effect of both Apple's devices and the Facebook interface is a clean, orderly, easy-to-use environment but one in which we are "tethered" to the Apple App Store or to Facebook.[20]

The open Internet—best represented by Google (but not its Google+ social networking service, which is more confining, like Facebook) and a Web browser—promised to put the entire World Wide Web at our fingertips. On the one hand, the appeal of the Internet *is* its openness, its free-for-all nature. But of course the trade-off is that the open Internet can be chaotic and unruly, and apps and other walled garden services have streamlined the cacophony of the Internet considerably.

The Changing Economics of Media and the Internet

The digital turn in the mass media has profoundly changed the economics of the Internet. Since the advent of Napster in 1999, which brought (illegal) file sharing to the music industry, each media industry has struggled to rethink how to distribute its content for the digital age. The content itself is still important—people still want quality news, television, movies, music, and games—but they want it in digital formats and for mobile devices.

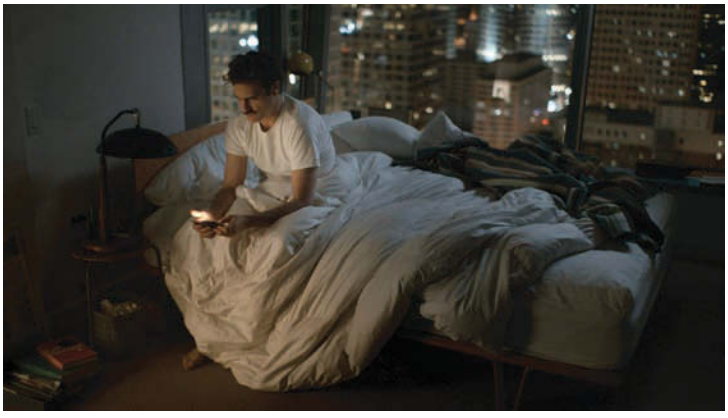
Apple's response to Napster established the new media economics. The late Apple CEO Steve Jobs struck a deal with the music industry. Apple would provide a new market for music on the iTunes store, selling digital music customers could play on their iPods (and later on their iPhones and iPads). In return, Apple got a 30 percent cut of the revenue for all music sales on iTunes, simply for being the "pipes" that delivered the music. As music stores went out of business all across America, Apple sold billions of songs and hundreds of millions of iPods, all without requiring a large chain of retail stores.

Amazon started as a more traditional online retailer, taking orders online and delivering merchandise from its warehouses. As books took the turn into the digital era, Amazon created its own device, the Kindle, and followed Apple's model. Amazon started selling e-books, taking its cut for delivering the content. Along the way, Amazon and Apple (and Google through its Android apps) have become leading media companies. They don't make the content (although Amazon is now publishing books, too, and Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos purchased the *Washington Post* in 2013), but they are among the top digital distributors of books, newspapers, magazines, music, television, movies, and games.

The Next Era: The Semantic Web

Many Internet visionaries talk about the next generation of the Internet as the *Semantic Web*, a term that gained prominence after hypertext inventor Tim Berners-Lee and two coauthors published an influential article in a 2001 issue of *Scientific American*.[21] If "semantics" is the study of meanings, then the Semantic Web is about creating a more meaningful—or more organized—Web. To do that, the future promises a layered, connected database of information that software agents will sift through and process automatically for us. Whereas the search engines of today generate relevant Web pages for us to read, the software of the Semantic Web will make our lives even easier as it places the basic information of the Web into meaningful categories—family, friends, calendars, mutual interests, location—and makes significant connections for us. In the words of Tim Berners-Lee and his colleagues, "The Semantic Web is not a separate Web but an extension of the current one, in which information is given well-defined meaning, better enabling computers and people to work in cooperation."[22]

The best example of the Semantic Web is Apple's voice recognition assistant Siri, first shipped with its iPhone 4S in 2011. Siri uses conversational voice



Warner Bros. Pictures/Everett Collection

THE SPIKE JONZE FILM *HER* (2013), set in the near future, explores the relationship between a human and an operating system. The voice-based operating system brings to mind Apple's Siri, which moves users toward a deeper, more personally relevant Web. Google Now and Microsoft Cortana are similar voice-activated personal digital assistants for mobile devices.

recognition to answer questions, find locations, and interact with various iPhone functionalities, such as the calendar, reminders, the weather app, the music player, the Web browser, and the maps function. Some of its searches get directed to Wolfram Alpha, a computational search engine that provides direct answers to questions, rather than the list of links traditionally given as search results. Other Siri searches draw on the databases of external services, such as Yelp for restaurant locations and reviews, and StubHub for ticket information. Another example of the Semantic Web is the Siemens refrigerator (available in Europe) that takes a photo of the interior every time the door closes. The owner may be away at the supermarket but can call up a photo of the interior to be reminded of what should be on the shopping list.[23]

The Economics and Issues of the Internet

One of the unique things about the Internet is that no one owns it. But that hasn't stopped some corporations from trying to control it. Since the **Telecommunications Act of 1996**, which overhauled the nation's communications regulations, most regional and long-distance phone companies and cable operators have competed against one another to provide connections to the Internet. However, there is more to controlling the Internet than being the service provider for it. Companies have realized the potential of dominating the Internet business through search engines, software, social networking, and providing access to content, all in order to sell the essential devices that display the content, or to amass users who become an audience for advertising.

Ownership and control of the Internet are connected to three Internet issues that command much public attention: the security of personal and private information, the appropriateness of online materials, and the accessibility and openness of the Internet. Important questions have been raised: Should personal or sensitive government information be private, or should the Internet be an enormous public record? Should the Internet be a completely open forum, or should certain types of communications be limited or prohibited? Should all people have equal access to the Internet, or should it be available only to those who can afford it? For each of these issues, there have been heated debates but no easy resolutions.

Ownership: Controlling the Internet

By the end of the 1990s, four companies— AOL, Yahoo!, Microsoft, and Google—had emerged as the leading forces on the Internet, each with a different business angle. AOL attempted to dominate the Internet as the top ISP, connecting millions of home users to its proprietary Web system through dial-up access. Yahoo!'s method has been to make itself an all-purpose entry point—or **portal**—to the Internet. Computer software behemoth Microsoft's approach began by integrating its Windows software with its Internet Explorer Web browser, drawing users to its MSN.com site and other Microsoft applications. Finally, Google made its play to seize the Internet with a more elegant, robust search engine to help users find Web sites.

Since the end of the 1990s, the Internet's digital turn toward convergence has changed the Internet and the fortunes of its original leading companies. While AOL's early success led to the huge AOL–Time Warner corporate merger of 2001, its technological shortcomings in broadband contributed to its devaluation and eventual spin-off from Time Warner in 2009. Yahoo! was eclipsed by Google in the search engine business but tried to regain momentum with its purchase of Tumblr in 2013.

In today's converged world, in which mobile access to digital content prevails, Microsoft and Google still remain powerful. Those two, along with Apple, Amazon, and Facebook, constitute the leading companies of digital media's rapidly changing world. Of the five, all but

ELSEWHERE IN MEDIA & CULTURE

The **cathode-ray tube** was instrumental in the invention of television

p. 190

25%

how much of a $60 video game goes to art and design

p. 103

WHO DECIDES WHAT INFORMATION IS LEGAL FOR CORPORATIONS TO USE?

p. 448

$7.81B

the number of dollars spent in the college textbook market

p. 351

How has the digital turn changed media distribution?

p. 187

THE TRANSITION FROM WIRED TO WIRELESS HAPPENED FIRST IN RADIO

p. 152

Facebook also operate proprietary cloud services and encourage their customers to store all their files in their "walled garden" for easy access across all devices. This ultimately builds brand loyalty and generates customer fees for file storage.[24]

Microsoft

Microsoft, the oldest of the dominant digital firms (established by Bill Gates and Paul Allen in 1975), is an enormously wealthy software company that struggled for years to develop an Internet strategy. Although its software business has been in a gradual decline, its flourishing digital game business (Xbox) helped it to continue to innovate and find a different path to a future in digital media. The company finally found moderate success on the Internet with its search engine Bing in 2009. With the 2012 release of the Windows Phone 8 mobile operating system and the Surface tablet, Microsoft was prepared to offer a formidable challenge in the mobile media business. In 2014, Microsoft brought its venerable office software to mobile devices, with Office for iPad and Office Mobile for iPhones and Android phones, all of which work with OneDrive, Microsoft's cloud service.

Google

Google, established in 1998, had instant success with its algorithmic search engine and now controls over 70 percent of the search market, generating billions of dollars of revenue yearly through the pay-per-click advertisements that accompany key-word searches. Google has also branched out into a number of other Internet offerings, including shopping (Google Shopping), mapping (Google Maps), e-mail (Gmail), blogging (Blogger), browsing (Chrome), books (Google Books), video (YouTube), and television (Chromecast). Google has also challenged Microsoft's Office programs with Google Apps, a cloud-based bundle of word processing, spreadsheet, calendar, IM, and e-mail software. Google competes against Apple's iTunes with Google Play, an online media store, and challenges Facebook with the social networking tool Google+.

As the Internet goes wireless, Google has acquired other companies in its quest to replicate its online success in the wireless world. Beginning in 2005, Google bought the Android operating system (now the leading mobile phone platform and also a tablet computer platform) and mobile phone ad placement company AdMob. Google continues to experiment with new devices, such as Google Glass, which layers virtual information over one's real view of the world through eyeglasses, and Android Wear, its new line of wearable technology (the first product is a smartwatch). Google's biggest challenge is the "closed Web": companies like Facebook and Apple that steer users to online experiences that are walled off from search engines and threaten Google's reign as the Internet's biggest advertising conglomerate.

Apple

Apple, Inc., was founded by Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak in 1976 as a home computer company and is today the most valuable company in the world (by 2015, ExxonMobil was the second most valuable company, Google was third, and Microsoft was fourth).[25] Apple was only moderately successful until 2001, when Jobs, having been forced out of the company for a decade, returned. Apple introduced the iPod and iTunes in 2003, two innovations that led the company to become the No. 1 music retailer in the United States. Then in 2007, Jobs introduced the iPhone, transforming the mobile phone industry. With Apple's release of the intensely anticipated iPad in 2010, the company further redefined portable computing.

With the iPhone and iPad now at the core of Apple's business, the company expanded to include providing content—music, television shows, movies, games, newspapers, magazines—to sell its media devices. The next wave of Apple's innovations was the iCloud, a new storage and syncing service that enables users to access media content anywhere (with a wireless connection) on its mobile devices. The iCloud also helps ensure that customers purchase their media content through Apple's iTunes store, further tethering users to its media systems. (For more on Apple devices and how they are made, see "Global Village: Designed in California, Assembled in China" on page 61.)

© Amazon Studios/PhotoFest

AFTER YEARS IN THE RETAIL BUSINESS, Amazon has been experimenting with content creation, commissioning groups of series, making the pilots available on its Amazon Prime streaming service, and taking both viewer and critical feedback into account when deciding which pilot episodes to expand into series. *Transparent*, about a family adjusting to a parent coming out as transgendered, became a hit for Amazon in 2014. Its first season received eleven Emmy nominations and a second season premiered in 2015, with another order for a third season already placed. Amazon is continuing to develop more shows, recruiting high-profile filmmakers like Woody Allen (*Blue Jasmine*) and David Gordon Green (*Pineapple Express*).

Amazon

Amazon started its business in 1995 in Seattle, selling the world's oldest mass medium (books) online. Since that time, Amazon has developed into the world's largest e-commerce store, selling not only books but also electronics, garden tools, clothing, appliances, and toys. To keep its lead in e-commerce, Amazon also acquired Zappos, the popular online shoe seller. Yet by 2007, with the introduction of its Kindle e-reader, Amazon was following Apple's model of using content to sell devices. The Kindle became the first widely successful e-reader, and by 2010, e-books were outselling hardcovers and paperbacks at Amazon. In 2011, in response to Apple's iPad, Amazon released its own color touchscreen tablet, the Kindle Fire, giving Amazon a device that can play all the media—including music, TV, movies, and games—it sells online and in its Appstore. Like Apple, Amazon has a Cloud Player for making media content portable and offers an additional 5 gigabytes of free Cloud Drive space to all users, to use however they like. Amazon is now also competing with television, cable networks, and Netflix by producing at least ten Amazon Original television series for its streaming service.

Facebook

Facebook's immense, socially dynamic audience (about two-thirds of the U.S. population and around 1.44 billion users across the globe) is its biggest resource, and Facebook, like Google, has become a data processor as much as a social media service, collecting every tidbit of information about its users—what we "like," where we live, what we read, and what we want—and selling this information to advertisers. Because Facebook users reveal so much about themselves in their profiles and the messages they share with others, Facebook can offer advertisers exceptionally tailored ads: A user who recently got engaged gets ads like "Impress Your Valentine," "Vacation in Hawaii," and "Are You Pregnant?" while a teenage girl sees ads for prom dresses, sweet-sixteen party venues, and "Chat with Other Teens" Web sites.

As a young company, Facebook has suffered growing pains while trying to balance its corporate interests (capitalizing on its millions of users) with its users' interest in controlling the privacy of their own information. In 2012, Facebook had the third-largest public offering in U.S. history, behind General Motors and Visa, with the company valued at $104 billion. Facebook's valuation is a reflection of investors' hopes of what the company can do with more than one billion users rather than evidence of the company's financial success so far. In recent years, Facebook has focused on moving its main interface from the computer screen to mobile phones. Its purchase of Instagram, the photo-sharing app, in 2012 for $1 billion was part of that strategy. Facebook's approach appears to be successful: "Americans spend about one-fifth of their time on mobile phones checking Facebook," the *New York Times* reported.[26] Facebook continues to make investments to expand beyond its core service, with purchases in 2014 of WhatsApp, an instant messaging service, and Oculus VR, a virtual reality technology company.

Targeted Advertising and Data Mining

In the early years of the Web, advertising took the form of traditional display ads placed on pages. The display ads were no more effective than newspaper or magazine advertisements, and because they reached small, general audiences, they weren't very profitable. But in the late 1990s, Web advertising began to shift to search engines. Paid links appeared as "sponsored links" at the top, bottom, and side of a search engine result list and even, depending on the search engine, within the "objective" result list itself. Every time a user clicks on a sponsored link, the advertiser pays the search engine for the click-through. For online shopping, having paid placement in searches can be a good thing. But search engines doubling as ad brokers may undermine the utility of search engines as neutral locators of Web sites (see "Media

GLOBAL VILLAGE

Designed in California, Assembled in China

There is a now-famous story involving the release of the iPhone in 2007. The late Apple CEO Steve Jobs was carrying the prototype in his pocket about one month prior to its release and discovered that his keys, also in his pocket, were scratching the plastic screen. Known as a stickler for design perfection, Jobs reportedly gathered his fellow executives in a room and told them (angrily), "I want a glass screen, and I want it perfect in six weeks."[1] This demand would have implications for a factory complex in China, called Foxconn, where iPhones are assembled. When the order trickled down to a Foxconn foreman, he woke up eight thousand workers in the middle of the night, gave them a biscuit and a cup of tea, and then started them on twelve-hour shifts fitting glass screens into the iPhone frames. Within four days, Foxconn workers were churning out ten thousand iPhones daily.

On its sleek packaging, Apple proudly proclaims that its products are "Designed by Apple in California," a slogan that evokes beaches, sunshine, and Silicon Valley—where the best and brightest in American engineering ingenuity reside. The products also say, usually in a less visible location, "Assembled in China," which suggests little, except that the components of the iPhone, iPad, iPod, or Apple computer were put together in a factory in the world's most populous country.

© Qilai Shen/In Pictures/Corbis

It wasn't until 2012 that most Apple customers learned that China's Foxconn was the company where their devices are assembled. Investigative reports by the *New York Times* revealed a company with ongoing problems with labor conditions and worker safety, including fatal explosions and a spate of worker suicides.[2] (Foxconn responded in part by erecting nets around its buildings to prevent fatal jumps.)

Foxconn (also known as Hon Hai Precision Industry Co., Ltd., with headquarters in Taiwan) is China's largest and most prominent private employer, with 1.2 million employees—more than any American company except Walmart. Foxconn assembles an incredible 40 percent of the world's electronics and earns more revenue than ten of its competitors combined.[3] And Foxconn is not just Apple's favorite place to outsource production; nearly every global electronics company is connected to the manufacturing giant: Amazon (Kindle), Microsoft (Xbox), Sony (PlayStation), Dell, Hewlett-Packard, IBM, Motorola, and Toshiba all feed their products to the vast Foxconn factory network.

Behind this manufacturing might is a network of factories now legendary for its enormity. Foxconn's largest factory compound is in Shenzhen. Dubbed "Factory City," it employs roughly 300,000 people—all squeezed into one square mile, many of whom live in the dormitories (dorms sleep seven to a room) on the Foxconn campus.[4] Workers, many of whom come from rural areas in China, often start a shift at 4 A.M. and work until late at night, performing monotonous, routinized work—for example, filing the aluminum shavings from iPad casings six thousand times a day. Thousands of these full-time workers are under the age of eighteen.

Conditions at Foxconn might, in some ways, be better than the conditions in the poverty-stricken small villages from which most of its workers come. But the low pay, long hours, dangerous work conditions, and suicide nets are likely *not* what the young workers had hoped for when they left their families behind.

In light of the news reports about the problems at Foxconn, Apple joined the Fair Labor Association (FLA), an international nonprofit that monitors labor conditions. The FLA inspected factories and surveyed more than thirty-five thousand Foxconn workers. Its 2012 study verified a range of serious issues. Workers regularly labored more than sixty hours per week, with some employees working more than seven days in a row. Other workers weren't compensated for overtime. More than 43 percent of the workers reported they had witnessed or experienced an accident, and 64 percent of the employees surveyed said that the compensation does not meet their basic needs. In addition, the FLA found the labor union at Foxconn an unsatisfactory channel for addressing worker concerns, as representatives from management dominated the union's membership.[5]

In 2014, Apple reported that its supplier responsibility program had resulted in improved labor conditions at supplier factories. But Apple might not have taken any steps had it not been for the *New York Times* investigative reports and the intense public scrutiny that followed. What is our role as consumers in ensuring that Apple and other companies are ethical and transparent in the treatment of the workers who make our electronic devices?

Víctor Idrogo/El Comercio de Peru/Newscom

WHATSAPP
Facebook's acquisition of Instagram in 2012 aided the social networking site's future as a provider of mobile interfaces. Yet Facebook is preparing for the possibility that its social network's popularity may fade. In 2014, Facebook paid $19 billion for WhatsApp, a cross-platform instant messaging service with more than 480 million users worldwide. The price was steep, but Facebook wanted a stake in the global IM business to complement its social media business. Prior to WhatsApp's purchase by Facebook, the service's owners had vowed to keep advertising off its platform. Facebook said it would honor that pledge.

Literacy and the Critical Process: Tracking and Recording Your Every Move" on page 63).

Advertising has since spread to other parts of the Internet, including social networking sites, e-mail, and mobile apps. For advertisers—who for years struggled with how to measure people's attention to ads—these activities make advertising easy to track, effective in reaching the desired niche audience, and relatively inexpensive, because ads get wasted less often on the uninterested. For example, Yahoo! gleans information from search terms; Google scans the contents of Gmail messages; and Facebook uses profile information, status updates, and "likes" to deliver individualized, real-time ads to users' screens. Similarly, Foursquare—a mobile social networking application for smartphones—encourages users to earn points and "badges" by checking in at business locations, such as museums, restaurants, and airports (or other user-added locations), and to share that information via Twitter, Facebook, and text message. Other companies, like Poynt and Yelp, are also part of the location-based ad market. The rise in smartphone use has contributed to extraordinary growth in mobile advertising, which jumped from $3.4 billion in 2012 to $12.5 billion in 2014, accounting for 25 percent of the $49.5 billion in total Internet advertising that year.[27]

Gathering users' location and purchasing habits has been a boon for advertising, but these data-collecting systems also function as consumer surveillance and **data mining** operations. The practice of data mining also raises issues of Internet security and privacy. Millions of people, despite knowing that transmitting personal information online can make them vulnerable to online fraud, have embraced the ease of **e-commerce**: the buying and selling of products and services on the Internet, which took off in 1995 with the launch of Amazon. What many people don't know is that their personal information may be used without their knowledge for commercial purposes, such as targeted advertising. For example, in 2011, the Federal Trade Commission charged Facebook with a list of eight violations in which Facebook told consumers their information would be private but made it public to advertisers and third-party applications. Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg admitted the company had made "a bunch of mistakes" and settled with the FTC by fixing the problems and agreeing to submit to privacy audits for twenty years.[28]

One common method that commercial interests use to track the browsing habits of computer users is **cookies**, or information profiles that are automatically collected and transferred between computer servers whenever users access Web sites.[29] The legitimate purpose of a cookie is to verify that a user has been cleared for access to a particular Web site, such as a library database that is open only to university faculty and students. However, cookies can also be used to create marketing profiles of Web users to target them for advertising. Many Web sites require the user to accept cookies in order to gain access to the site.

Even more unethical and intrusive is **spyware**, information-gathering software that is often secretly bundled with free downloaded software. Spyware can be used to send pop-up ads to users' computer screens, to enable unauthorized parties to collect personal or account information of users, or even to plant a malicious click-fraud program on a computer, which generates phony clicks on Web ads that force an advertiser to pay for each click.

In 1998, the FTC developed fair information practice principles for online privacy to address the unauthorized collection of personal data. These principles require Web sites to (1) disclose their data-collection practices, (2) give consumers the option to choose whether their data may be collected and to provide information on how that data is collected, (3) permit individuals access to their records to ensure data accuracy, and (4) secure personal data from unauthorized use. Unfortunately, the FTC has no power to enforce these principles, and most Web sites either do not self-enforce them or deceptively appear to enforce them when they in fact do not.[30] As a

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

Tracking and Recording Your Every Move

Imagine if you went into a department store and someone followed you the whole time, noting every place you stopped to look at something and recording every item you purchased. Then imagine that the same person followed you the same way on every return visit. It's likely that you would be outraged by such surveillance. Now imagine that the same thing happens when you search the Web—except in this case, it really happens.

1 DESCRIPTION. Do an audit of your Web browser's data collection—the cookie files deposited on your computer, and your recorded search histories. (For this critical process, use either Chrome or Firefox, the two most popular browsers.) On Google's Chrome browser, go to Chrome at the left of the top menu, and select Preferences, Settings, Advanced Settings (at the bottom of the Settings page), Privacy, Content Settings, and then All Cookies and Site Data. You can then click on each individual cookie file (some Web sites establish multiple cookies on your computer) to discover when the cookie was set and when it is scheduled to expire. Chrome also saves your search history forever: Go to History in the top menu, then Show Full History. On Firefox, go to Firefox, Preferences, Privacy, and Remove Individual Cookies. Here, you can again click on each cookie and find when the cookie is set to expire. To see your browsing history in Firefox, go to History in the top menu, then Show All History. For either browser, try to count how many cookies are on your computer and determine how far back in time your browser history is recorded. Finally, delete all cookies and search history, and then start fresh with the browser and spend just five minutes browsing five different Web sites.

2 ANALYSIS. From your five minutes of browsing five Web sites, look for patterns in the cookies you collected. How many were there? Which types of sites had multiple cookies? Sample ten to twenty cookies for a close-up look: What is the planned life span of the cookies? (That is, when are they set to expire?) What kinds of companies are the cookies from?

3 INTERPRETATION. Why are our searches tracked with cookies and our search histories recorded? Is this done solely for the convenience of advertisers, marketers, and Google, which mine our search data for commercial purposes, or is there value to you in this? (Firefox is owned by a nonprofit, the Mozilla Foundation.)[1]

4 EVALUATION. Web sites don't tell you they are installing cookies on your computer. Cookies and search histories can be found and deleted, but do the browsers make this easy or difficult for you? Did you know this information was being collected? Should you have more say in the data being collected on your searches? Overall, should Web sites be more transparent and honest about what they do in placing cookies and their purpose? Should Web browsers be more transparent and honest about the cookies and histories they save and whether they are used for data mining?

5 ENGAGEMENT. What can you do to preserve your privacy? On a personal level, start by clearing out your cookies and search history after every session. On Firefox (under Privacy), you can check "Tell sites that I do not want to be tracked." On Chrome, you can select Clear Browsing Data in the main menu. Alternatively, Chrome offers "incognito mode" for browsing, with the following warning: "You've gone incognito. Pages you view in incognito tabs won't stick around in your browser's history, cookie store, or search history after you've closed *all* of your incognito tabs. Any files you download or bookmarks you create will be kept. *Going incognito doesn't hide your browsing from your employer, your internet service provider, or the websites you visit.*" For greater privacy, you can use the search engine DuckDuckGo (launched in 2008), which doesn't track your searches or put them in a "filter bubble" (that is, it doesn't filter search results based on what the search engine knows about your previous searches, which is what Google does). On a social level, you can file a complaint with the Federal Trade Commission. Go to www.ftccomplaintassistant.gov, but be aware that even the FTC may use cookies to process your complaint.

result, consumer and privacy advocates are calling for stronger regulations, such as requiring Web sites to adopt **opt-in** or **opt-out policies**. Opt-in policies, favored by consumer and privacy advocates, require Web sites to obtain explicit permission from consumers before the sites can collect browsing history data. Opt-out policies, favored by data-mining corporations, allow for the automatic collection of browsing history data unless the consumer requests to "opt out" of the practice. In 2012, the Federal Trade Commission approved a report recommending that Congress adopt "Do Not Track" legislation to limit tracking of user information on Web sites and mobile

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THIS *NEW YORKER* CARTOON illustrates an increasingly rare phenomenon.

devices and to enable users to easily opt out of data collection. Several Web browsers now offer "Do Not Track" options, while other Web tools, like Ghostery, detect Web tags, bugs, and other trackers, generating a list of all the sites following your moves.

Security: The Challenge to Keep Personal Information Private

When you watch television, listen to the radio, read a book, or go to the movies, you do not need to provide personal information to others. However, when you use the Internet, whether you are signing up for an e-mail account, shopping online, or even just surfing the Web, you give away personal information—voluntarily or not. As a result, government surveillance, online fraud, and unethical data-gathering methods have become common, making the Internet a potentially treacherous place.

Government Surveillance

Since the inception of the Internet, government agencies worldwide have obtained communication logs, Web browser histories, and the online records of individual users who thought their online activities were private. In the United States, for example, the USA PATRIOT Act (which became law about a month after the September 11 attacks in 2001 and was renewed in 2006) grants sweeping powers to law-enforcement agencies to intercept individuals' online communications, including e-mail messages and browsing records. The act was intended to allow the government to more easily uncover and track potential terrorists and terrorist organizations, but many now argue that it is too vaguely worded, allowing the government to unconstitutionally probe the personal records of citizens without probable cause and for reasons other than preventing terrorism. Moreover, searches of the Internet permit law-enforcement agencies to gather huge amounts of data, including the communications of people who are not the targets of an investigation. Documents leaked to the news media in 2013 by former CIA employee and former National Security Agency (NSA) contractor Edward Snowden revealed that the NSA has continued its domestic spying program, collecting bulk Internet and mobile phone data on millions of Americans for more than a decade.

Online Fraud

In addition to being an avenue for surveillance, the Internet is increasingly a conduit for online robbery and *identity theft*, the illegal obtaining of personal credit and identity information in order to fraudulently spend other people's money. Computer hackers have the ability to infiltrate Internet databases (from banks to hospitals to even the Pentagon) to obtain personal information and to steal credit card numbers from online retailers. Identity theft victimizes hundreds of thousands of people a year, and clearing one's name can take a very long time and cost a lot of money. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, about 7 percent of Americans were victims of identity theft in 2012, totaling about $24.7 billion in losses.[31] One particularly costly form of Internet identity theft is known as **phishing**. This scam involves phony e-mail messages that appear to be from official Web sites—such as eBay, PayPal, or the user's university or bank—asking customers to update their credit card numbers, account passwords, and other personal information.

Appropriateness: What Should Be Online?

The question of what constitutes appropriate content has been part of the story of most mass media, from debates over the morality of lurid pulp-fiction books in the nineteenth century

to arguments over the appropriateness of racist, sexist, and homophobic content in films and music. Although it is not the only material to come under intense scrutiny, most of the debate about appropriate media content, despite the medium, has centered on sexually explicit imagery.

As has always been the case, eliminating some forms of sexual content from books, films, television, and other media remains a top priority for many politicians and public interest groups. So it should not be surprising that public objection to indecent and obscene Internet content has led to various legislative efforts to tame the Web. Although the Communications Decency Act of 1996 and the Child Online Protection Act of 1998 were both judged unconstitutional, the Children's Internet Protection Act of 2000 was passed and upheld in 2003. This act requires schools and libraries that receive federal funding for Internet access to use software that filters out any visual content deemed obscene, pornographic, or harmful to minors, unless disabled at the request of adult users. Regardless of new laws, pornography continues to flourish on commercial sites, individuals' blogs, and social networking pages. As the American Library Association notes, there is "no filtering technology that will block out all illegal content, but allow access to constitutionally protected materials."[32]

Although the "back alleys of sex" on the Internet have caused considerable public concern, Internet sites that carry potentially dangerous information (bomb-building instructions, hate speech) have also incited calls for Internet censorship, particularly after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and several tragic school shootings. Nevertheless, many people—fearing that government regulation of speech would inhibit freedom of expression in a democratic society—want the Web to be completely unregulated.

Access: The Fight to Prevent a Digital Divide

A key economic issue related to the Internet is whether the cost of purchasing a personal computer and paying for Internet services will undermine equal access. Coined to echo the term *economic divide* (the disparity of wealth between the rich and the poor), the term **digital divide** refers to the growing contrast between the "information haves"—those who can afford to purchase computers and pay for Internet services—and the "information have-nots"—those who may not be able to afford a computer or pay for Internet services.

Although about 87 percent of U.S. households are connected to the Internet, there are big gaps in access. For example, a 2014 study found that only 57 percent of Americans age sixty-five and up go online, compared with 88 percent of Americans ages fifty to sixty-four, 93 percent of Americans ages thirty to forty-nine, and 98 percent of Americans ages eighteen to twenty-nine. Education has an even more pronounced effect: Only 76 percent of people with a high school education or less have Internet access, compared with 91 percent of people with some college and 97 percent of college graduates.[33]

The rising use of smartphones is helping to narrow the digital divide, particularly along racial lines. In the United States, African American and Hispanic families have generally lagged behind whites in home access to the Internet, which requires a computer and broadband access. However, the Pew Internet & American Life Project reported that African Americans and Hispanics are active users of mobile Internet devices. The report concluded, "While blacks and Latinos are less likely to have access to home broadband than whites, their use of smartphones nearly eliminates that difference."[34]

Globally, though, the have-nots face an even greater obstacle to crossing the digital divide. Although the Web claims to be worldwide, the most economically powerful countries—the United States, Sweden, Japan, South Korea, Australia, the United Kingdom—account for most of its international flavor. In nations such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Myanmar (Burma), the governments permit limited or no access to the Web. In other countries, an inadequate telecommunications infrastructure hampers access to the Internet. And in underdeveloped countries, phone lines and computers are almost nonexistent. For example, in

Brad Fleet/Newspix/Getty Images

NICHOLAS NEGROPONTE, founder of the Media Lab at MIT, began a project to provide $100 laptops to children in developing countries (shown). These laptops, the first supply of which was funded by Negroponte, were designed to survive in rural environments where challenges include adverse weather conditions (dust and high heat), access to reliable power, and Internet connectivity.

Sierra Leone—a West African nation of about six million people, with poor public utilities and intermittent electrical service—less than a hundred thousand people, or about 1.7 percent of the population, are Internet users.[35] However, as mobile phones become more popular in the developing world, they can provide one remedy for the global digital divide.

Even as the Internet matures and becomes more accessible, wealthy users are still able to buy higher levels of privacy and faster speeds of Internet access than are other users. Whereas traditional media made the same information available to everyone who owned a radio or a TV set, the Internet creates economic tiers and classes of service. Policy groups, media critics, and concerned citizens continue to debate the implications of the digital divide, valuing the equal opportunity to acquire knowledge.

Net Neutrality: Maintaining an Open Internet

For more than a decade, the debate over net neutrality has framed the shape of the Internet's future. **Net neutrality** refers to the principle that every Web site and every user—whether a multinational corporation or you—has the right to the same Internet network speed and access. The idea of an open and neutral network has existed since the origins of the Internet, but there had never been a legal formal policy until 2015, when the Federal Communications Commission reclassified broadband Internet service and approved net neutrality rules. Still, the debate forges on.

The dispute over net neutrality and the future of the Internet is dominated by some of the biggest communications corporations. These major telephone and cable companies—including Verizon, Comcast, AT&T, Time Warner Cable, and Charter—control 98 percent of broadband access in the United States through DSL and cable modem service. They want to offer faster connections and priority to clients willing to pay higher rates, and provide preferential service for their own content or for content providers who make special deals with them—effectively eliminating net neutrality. For example, tiered Internet access might mean that

LaunchPad
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Net Neutrality
Experts discuss net neutrality and privatization of the Internet.
Discussion: Do you support net neutrality? Why or why not?

these companies would charge customers more for data-heavy services like Netflix, YouTube, Hulu, and iTunes. These companies argue that the profits they could make from tiered Internet access would allow them to build expensive new networks, benefiting everyone.

But supporters of net neutrality—mostly bloggers, video gamers, educators, religious groups, unions, and small businesses—argue that the cable and telephone giants have incentive to rig their services and cause net congestion in order to force customers to pay a premium for higher speed connections. They claim that an Internet without net neutrality would hurt small businesses, nonprofits, and Internet innovators, who might be stuck in the "slow lane," not being able to afford the same connection speeds that large corporations can afford. Large Internet corporations like Google, Yahoo!, Amazon, eBay, Microsoft, Skype, and Facebook also support net neutrality because their businesses depend on their millions of customers having equal access to the Web.

In late 2010, the FCC adopted rules on net neutrality, noting that "the Internet's openness promotes innovation, investment, competition, free expression, and other national broadband goals."[36] But the FCC's rules were twice rejected by federal courts, most recently in 2014. The courts argued that because broadband Internet service had been defined by the FCC as an information service in 2002, rather than a telecommunications service (like telephones or cable TV service), the FCC did not have the authority to impose net neutrality regulations. Of course, a lot had changed with the Internet since 2002, when its main content consisted of e-mail and Web pages. The FCC finally made net neutrality stick in 2015, when it reclassified broadband Internet service as a telecommunications service and put net neutrality rules into place.[37] The nonpartisan organization Free Press, one of the main advocacy groups for net neutrality, said, "This is a watershed victory for activists who have fought for a decade to protect the open Internet." Yet it cautioned that the new FCC rules for net neutrality might not permanently settle the matter. "The cable and phone companies—and their allies in Congress—will do everything they can to dismantle this win."[38]

Alternative Voices

Independent programmers continue to invent new ways to use the Internet and communicate over it. While some of their innovations have remained free of corporate control, others have been taken over by commercial interests. Despite commercial buyouts, however, the pioneering spirit of the Internet's independent early days endures; the Internet continues to be a participatory medium in which anyone can be involved. Two of the most prominent areas in which alternative voices continue to flourish relate to open-source software and digital archiving.

Open-Source Software

In the early days of computer code writing, amateur programmers were developing **open-source software** on the principle that it was a collective effort. Programmers openly shared program source codes and their ideas to upgrade and improve programs. Beginning in the 1970s, Microsoft put an end to much of this activity by transforming software development into a business in which programs were developed privately and users were required to pay for both the software and its periodic upgrades.

However, programmers are still developing noncommercial, open-source software, if on a more limited scale. One open-source operating system, Linux, was established in 1991 by Linus Torvalds, a twenty-one-year-old student at the University of Helsinki in Finland. Since the establishment of Linux, professional computer programmers and hobbyists around the world have participated in improving it, creating a sophisticated software system that even Microsoft has acknowledged is a credible alternative to expensive commercial programs. Linux can operate across disparate platforms, and companies such as IBM, Dell, and Oracle, as well as other corporations and governmental organizations, have developed applications and systems that

run on it. Still, the greatest impact of Linux is evident not on the desktop screens of everyday computer users but in the operation of behind-the-scenes computer servers.

Digital Archiving

Librarians have worked tirelessly to build nonprofit digital archives that exist outside of any commercial system in order to preserve libraries' tradition of open access to information. One of the biggest and most impressive digital preservation initiatives is the Internet Archive, established in 1996. The Internet Archive aims to ensure that researchers, historians, scholars, and all citizens have universal access to human knowledge—that is, everything that's digital: text, moving images, audio, software, and more than 150 billion archived Web pages reaching back to the earliest days of the Internet. The archive is growing at staggering rates as the general public and partners such as the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress upload cultural artifacts. For example, the Internet Archive stores more than 134,000 live music concerts, including performances by Jack Johnson, the Grateful Dead, and the Smashing Pumpkins.

Media activist David Bollier has likened open-access initiatives to an information "commons," underscoring the idea that the public collectively owns (or should own) certain public resources, like airwaves, the Internet, and public spaces (such as parks). "Libraries are one of the few, if not the key, public institutions defending popular access and sharing of information as a right of all citizens, not just those who can afford access," Bollier says.[39]

The Internet and Democracy

Throughout the twentieth century, Americans closely examined emerging mass media for their potential contributions to democracy. As radio became more affordable in the 1920s and 1930s, we hailed the medium for its ability to reach and entertain even the poorest Americans caught in the Great Depression. When television developed in the 1950s and 1960s, it also held promise as a medium that could reach everyone, including those who were illiterate or cut off from printed information. Despite continuing concerns over the digital divide, many have praised the Internet for its democratic possibilities. Some advocates even tout the Internet as the most democratic social network ever conceived.

The biggest threat to the Internet's democratic potential may well be its increasing commercialization. As happened with radio and television, the growth of commercial "channels" on the Internet has far outpaced the emergence of viable nonprofit channels, as fewer and fewer corporations have gained more and more control. The passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act cleared the way for cable TV systems, computer firms, and telephone companies to merge their interests and become even larger commercial powers. Although there was a great deal of buzz about lucrative Internet start-ups in the 1990s and 2000s, it has been large corporations—such as Microsoft, Apple, Amazon, Google, and Facebook—that have weathered the low points of the dot-com economy and maintained a controlling hand.

About three-quarters of households in the United States are now linked to the Internet, thus greatly increasing its democratic possibilities but also tempting commercial interests to gain even greater control over it and intensifying problems for agencies trying to regulate it. If the histories of other media are any predictor, it seems realistic to expect that the Internet's potential for widespread use by all could be partially preempted by narrower commercial interests. As media economist Douglas Gomery warns, "Technology alone does not a communication revolution make. Economics trumps technology every time."[40]

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Internet Jobs

Eric Bonzer, Web Designer, Spinutech

You'll want to learn HTML and know how to write it from scratch, not using Dreamweaver. And then the CSS—also learn how to write that from scratch. Certainly the Adobe Creative Suite is great, but for the most part it's really knowing how to write that stuff from scratch.

Gina Bianchini, CEO, Mightybell

If Zuckerberg, the Google guys, and Bill Gates are the pattern creators, Steve Jobs may be the best counterevidence to the creation myth. He didn't study computer science during his brief time at Reed College. He didn't need to be an ace at coding. Instead, he relentlessly and passionately focused on products. He marketed. He sold. He inspired. He challenged. He succeeded. He failed. He kept going. Then, he succeeded again. These are the true characteristics of a successful entrepreneur in the consumer Internet space. And there is nothing stopping women from performing just as well as men.

Alexa Andrzejewski, Ux Designer and Founding CEO of Foodspotting

Share your idea with anyone who will listen. There is a temptation to keep it to yourself so no one will steal it. The truth is, finding someone with the time and money to do it better and faster than you is so rare, and the value of sharing your idea is so much more. I shared the idea when I first had it, and I felt validated and motivated to pursue it.

Visual Designer Ad for Uber, New York Office

You are . . .

- A utility player. You're willing to find resolutions to customer issues early, late, and often.
- Cool and calm under pressure. You have superior organizational skills, integrity, and great follow-through on tasks. You don't get overwhelmed easily . . . tons of design requests from the Community and Operations teams? No prob!
- Graceful. You are self-aware, well-spoken on the phone, and eloquent in e-mails.
- Fun. You're a charismatic people person who can talk to anyone; you're flexible, fearless, and excited to help build something awesome and share it with the world.
- Motivated. You're ready to hit the ground running; you are slightly obsessive-compulsive about grinding away at projects for the team.

However, defenders of the digital age argue that inexpensive digital production and social media distribution allow greater participation than does any traditional medium. In response to these new media forms, older media are using Internet technology to increase their access to and feedback from varied audiences. Skeptics raise doubts about the participatory nature of discussions on the Internet. For instance, they warn that Internet users may be communicating with people whose beliefs and values are similar to their own—in other words, just their Facebook friends and Google+ circles. Although it is important to be able to communicate across vast distances with people who have similar viewpoints, these kinds of discussions may not serve to extend the diversity and tolerance that are central to democratic ideals. There is also the threat that we may not be interacting with anyone at all. In the wide world of the Web, we are in a shared environment of billions of people. In the emerging ecosystem of apps, we live in an efficient but gated community, walled off from the rest of the Internet. However, we are still in the early years of the Internet. The democratic possibilities of the Internet's future are endless.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the commercial nature of mass media. The Internet is no exception, as advertisers have capitalized on its ability to be customized. How might this affect other media industries?

People love the simplicity of Pinterest, the visual social media site where users "pin" images and videos to their "board," creating a customized site that reflects their own personal style on topics like home décor, apparel, food, crafts, or travel. To sign up for an account, users provide their name, e-mail address, and gender (male or female). The final choice is already prechecked by Pinterest and says, "Let Pinterest personalize your experience based on other sites you visit."

Pinterest is just one example of the mass customization the Internet offers—something no other mass medium has been able to provide. (When is the last time a television, radio, newspaper, or movie spoke directly to you, or let you be the content producer?) This is one of the Web's greatest strengths—it can connect us to the world in a personally meaningful way. But a casualty of the Internet may be our shared common culture. A generation ago, students and coworkers across the country gathered on Friday mornings to discuss what happened the previous night on NBC's "must-see" TV shows, like *Roseanne, Seinfeld, Friends,* and *Will & Grace*. Today it's more likely that they watched vastly different media the night before. And if they did view the same thing—say, a funny YouTube video—it's likely they all laughed alone, because they watched it individually, although they may have later shared it with their friends on a social media site.

We have become a society divided by the media, often split into our basic entity: the individual. One would think that advertisers dislike this, since it is easier to reach a mass audience by showing commercials during *The Voice.* But mass customization gives advertisers the kind of personal information they once only dreamed about: your e-mail address, hometown, zip code, and birthday, and a record of your interests—what Web pages you visit and what you buy online. If you have a Facebook profile or a Gmail account, they may know even more about you—what you did last night or what you are doing right now. What will advertisers have the best chance of selling to you with all this information? With the mass-customized Internet, you may have already told them.

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

Internet, 41
ARPAnet, 42
e-mail, 43
microprocessors, 43
fiber-optic cable, 44
World Wide Web, 44
HTML (hypertext markup language), 45
browsers, 45
Internet service provider (ISP), 45
broadband, 45
digital communication, 45
instant messaging, 46
search engines, 47
social media, 47
blogs, 47
wiki Web sites, 48
content communities, 48
social networking sites, 49
Telecommunications Act of 1996, 57
portal, 57
data mining, 62
e-commerce, 62
cookies, 62
spyware, 62
opt-in *or* opt-out policies, 63
phishing, 64
digital divide, 65
net neutrality, 66
open-source software, 67

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

The Development of the Internet and the Web

1. When did the Internet reach the novelty (development), entrepreneurial, and mass medium stages?
2. How did the Internet originate? What role did the government play?
3. How does the World Wide Web work? What is its significance in the development of the Internet?
4. Why did Google become such a force in Web searching?

The Web Goes Social

5. What is the difference between a "Read/Only" culture and a "Read/Write" culture on the Internet?
6. What are the six main types of social media?
7. What are the democratic possibilities of social media? How can social media aid political repression?

Convergence and Mobile Media

8. What conditions enabled media convergence?
9. What role do mobile devices play in media convergence, and what significant mobile milestones can you think of?
10. How has convergence changed our relationship with media and with the Internet?
11. What elements of today's digital world are part of the Semantic Web?

The Economics and Issues of the Internet

12. Which of the five major digital companies are most aligned with the "open Internet," and which are most aligned with the "closed Internet"?
13. What is the role of data mining in the digital economy? What are the ethical concerns?
14. What is the digital divide, and what is being done to close the gap?
15. Why is net neutrality such an important issue?
16. What are the major alternative voices on the Internet?

The Internet and Democracy

17. How can the Internet make democracy work better?
18. What are the key challenges to making the Internet itself more democratic?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. What possibilities for the Internet's future are you most excited about? Why? What possibilities are most troubling? Why?
2. What advantages of media convergence enable all types of media content to be accessed on a single device?
3. Google's corporate motto is "Don't be evil." Which of the five major digital corporations (Microsoft, Google, Apple, Amazon, and Facebook) seems to have the greatest tendency for evil? Which seems to do the most good? Why?
4. As we move from a print-oriented Industrial Age to a digitally based Information Age, how do you think individuals, communities, and nations have been affected positively? How have they been affected negatively?

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  Editors, producers, and advertisers discuss the varieties of user-generated content and how they can contribute to the democratization of media.

OCU

Mark Ralston/AFP/Getty Images

3

Digital Gaming and the Media Playground

75
The Development of Digital Gaming

81
The Internet Transforms Gaming

84
The Media Playground

92
Trends and Issues in Digital Gaming

99
The Business of Digital Gaming

106
Digital Gaming, Free Speech, and Democracy

At least since the days of Johannes Vermeer, the Dutch master of photorealism painting in the seventeenth century, humans have sought to create real-looking visual experiences; that is, virtual reality (VR). Part of the technical challenge has been generating three-dimensional (3-D) images—something Vermeer couldn't quite do with a two-dimensional painting. By the 1830s, inventors had developed stereoscopes, binocular devices with left-eye and right-eye views of the same image that, when combined by human vision, created the depth of a third dimension. From the mid-1800s through the 1930s, viewing collections of stereo cards—of places like Egypt's Sphinx, New York's Flatiron Building, or Yosemite Valley—was a popular home entertainment. From the 1940s onward, plastic View-Master devices were popular toys for viewing a wheel of 3-D images of tourist attractions, television scenes, and cartoons.

Since that time, of course, there have been advances into 3-D film (first in the 1950s, with viewers wearing cardboard glasses with red and blue lenses, and now with more advanced digital 3-D, as seen in movies like *Avatar*) and amusement park experiences (which often add motion effects).

Now we have 3-D television in addition to digital 3-D films. Still, the ultimate goal for enthusiasts of virtual reality has been to immerse themselves in a digital world. A recent breakthrough might finally accomplish this: the Oculus Rift.

In 2014, Facebook purchased a small virtual reality company called Oculus VR, which invented the Oculus Rift, a virtual reality headset. Oculus invites us to "Step into the Rift. The Rift is unlike anything you've ever experienced. Whether you're stepping into your favorite game, watching an immersive VR movie, jumping to a destination on the other side of the world, or just spending time with friends in VR, you'll feel like you're really there."[1] The device is scheduled to be released in 2016, and it has already received rave reviews. TechRadar reported that when combining the Oculus headset with Oculus Touch handsets, "total immersion" was complete. "I was not only able to pick up objects, I could shoot guns, slingshots, punch objects, pull heads off robots, and light sparklers on fire with a lighter,"[2] the reviewer wrote.

But Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg's bigger bet is that virtual reality will be the next generation of gaming style and then the leading interface for everything else in the media business, describing Oculus as a potential platform for experiences like sporting events and virtual classrooms.[3] Facebook envisions digital games as a way for virtual reality to enter every part of our lives. After all, why would we want to "share" our experiences via two-dimensional posts on Facebook when we can be there—virtually—on the Facebook of the future?

Thomas Samson/AFP/Getty Images

Still, the leading edge of virtual reality has always been entertainment. Competing with the Oculus Rift are the Sony Project Morpheus and the HTC Vibe, VR headsets and controllers for gaming also scheduled for release in 2016. Another competitor takes users out of the house. The VOID, a virtual reality play park, plans to open in 2016 in a suburb of Salt Lake City, and then expand with a chain of locations (the company calls them Virtual Entertainment Centers) around the world.[4] Players will wear an Oculus-like head-mounted virtual reality display, plus a virtual reality vest and virtual reality gloves. The environment is a VR game played out like laser tag in real space—a series of 60-by-60-foot rooms with digital overlays creating any number of scenes, such as a haunted castle, a futuristic battlefield, or a dinosaur safari. The haptic feedback in the vest means players can "feel" laser blasts, fire bursts, and creature attacks.

For those who find this new tech too complicated, another option combines the advancements of smartphones with the low tech of a craft project: Google Cardboard, which turns a smartphone into an old-fashioned stereoscope or View-Master through a cardboard viewer and accompanying app. Google says, "Google Cardboard brings immersive experiences to everyone in a simple and affordable way. Whether you fold your own or buy a Works with Google Cardboard certified viewer, you're just one step away from experiencing virtual reality on your smartphone."[5]

And here we are, once again, on the quest to experience virtual reality—holding our smartphone to our eyes with a cardboard viewer, at home with an advanced headset device, or in a virtual theme park, running through a completely digital world. We may have finally reached it.

ELECTRONIC GAMES OFFER PLAY, ENTERTAINMENT, AND SOCIAL INTERACTION. Like the Internet, they combine text, audio, and moving images. But they go even further than the Internet by enabling players to interact with aspects of the medium in the context of the game—from deciding when an onscreen character jumps or punches to controlling the direction of the "story." This interactive quality creates an experience so compelling that vibrant communities of fans have cropped up around the globe. And the games have powerfully shaped the everyday lives of millions of people. Indeed, for players around the world, digital gaming has become a social medium as compelling and distracting as other social media. The U.S. Supreme Court has even granted digital gaming First Amendment freedom of speech rights, ensuring its place as a mass medium.

In this chapter, we will take a look at the evolving mass medium of digital gaming and:

- Examine the early history of electronic gaming, including its roots in penny arcades
- Trace the evolution of electronic gaming, from arcades and bars into living rooms and our hands
- Discuss gaming as a social medium that forms communities of play
- Analyze the economics of gaming, including the industry's major players and various revenue streams
- Raise questions about the role of digital gaming in our democratic society

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Getty Images

THE SUPER MARIO BROTHERS, Mario and Luigi, have been video game mainstays for over thirty years. In addition to the various Mario Brothers games (including the influential Nintendo original, released in 1985), the characters have appeared in cartoons, comic books, a live-action movie, and an enormous variety of sequel and spin-off games, including games centered on fighting, racing, and puzzle solving.

The Development of Digital Gaming

When the Industrial Revolution swept Western civilization two centuries ago, the technological advances involved weren't simply about mass production. They also promoted mass consumption and the emergence of *leisure time*—both of which created moneymaking opportunities for media makers. By the late nineteenth century, the availability of leisure time had sparked the creation of mechanical games like pinball. Technology continued to grow, and by the 1950s, computer science students in the United States had developed early versions of the video games we know today.

In their most basic form, digital games involve users in an interactive computerized environment where they strive to achieve a desired outcome. These days, most digital games go beyond a simple competition like the 1975 tennis-style game of *Pong*: They often entail sweeping narratives and offer imaginative and exciting adventures, sophisticated problem-solving opportunities, and multiple possible outcomes.

But the boundaries were not always so varied. Digital games evolved from their simplest forms in the arcade into four major formats: television, handheld devices, computers, and the Internet. As these formats evolved and graphics advanced, distinctive types of games emerged and became popular. These included action games, sports games, shooter games, family entertainment games, role-playing games, adventure games, racing games, strategy games, fighting games, simulation games, computerized versions of card games, fantasy sports leagues, and virtual social environments. Together, these varied formats constitute an industry that analysts predict will reach $107 billion in annual revenues worldwide by 2017—and one that has become a socially driven mass medium.[6]

Mechanical Gaming

In the 1880s, the seeds of the modern entertainment industry were planted by a series of coin-operated contraptions devoted to cashing in on idleness. First appearing in train depots, hotel lobbies, bars, and restaurants, these leisure machines (also called "counter machines") would find a permanent home in the first thoroughly modern indoor playground: the **penny arcade**.[7]

Arcades were like nurseries for fledgling forms of amusement that would mature into mass entertainment industries during the twentieth century. For example, automated phonographs used in arcade machines evolved into the jukebox, while the kinetoscope (see Chapter 7) set the stage for the coming wonders of the movies. But the machines most relevant to today's electronic gaming were more interactive and primitive than the phonograph and kinetoscope. Some were strength testers that dared young men to show off their muscles by punching a boxing bag or arm wrestling a robotlike Uncle Sam. Others required more refined skills and sustained play, such as those that simulated bowling, horse racing, and football.[8]

Another arcade game, the bagatelle, spawned the **pinball machine**, the most prominent of the mechanical games. In pinball, players score points by manipulating

Digital Gaming and the Media Playground

Penny Arcades
Coin-operated penny arcades become popular entertainment at amusement parks and fairs (p. 76).

Pinball Machines
The addition of the flipper bumper after World War II transforms pinball into a challenging game of skill, helping pinball machines gain mainstream acceptance (p. 77).

Cathode Ray Tube
A modern video game prototype featuring a screen powered by a cathode ray tube is patented in 1948, putting the "video" into video games (p. 78).

NES
The Nintendo Entertainment System (NES) is released in the United States in 1985 with *Super Mario Bros.*, the best-selling video game for the next twenty-four years (p. 100).

1870 • 1920 • 1950 • 1970 • 1990

Pong
Atari's mid-seventies release of *Pong*, a simple tennis sports game using 2-D graphics, is the first commercially successful game for the home market (p. 78).

Video Game Violence
In 1976, the arcade game *Death Race* prompts the first public outcry over the violence of electronic gaming (pp. 98–99).

Self-Regulation
The industry establishes the self-regulating Entertainment Software Rating Board in 1994 (p. 99).

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the path of a metal ball on a playfield in a glass-covered case. In the 1930s and 1940s, players could control only the launch of the ball. For this reason, pinball was considered a sinister game of chance that, like the slot machine, fed the coffers of the gambling underworld. As a result, pinball was banned in most American cities, including New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.[9] However, pinball gained mainstream acceptance and popularity after World War II with the addition of the flipper bumper, which enables players to careen the ball back up the play table. This innovation transformed pinball into a challenging game of skill, touch, and timing—all of which would become vital abilities for video game players years later.

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MODERN GAMING EVENTS and obsessions can be traced back to the emergence of penny arcades in the late nineteenth century. Today, pinball machines remain in many bars and arcades, and pinball expos are held all over the country.

2000

Adding Internet Access
Sega introduces the 128-bit Sega Dreamcast, the first console to feature a built-in modem, in 1999 (pp. 79, 81).

PlayStation
In 1994, Sony introduces PlayStation, the first of a series of best-selling console and handheld game devices (p. 80).

2003

MMORPG
World of Warcraft, the most successful MMORPG to date, is released in 2004 by Blizzard Entertainment (p. 102).

Xbox LIVE
Microsoft, the first American company to get into game consoles, debuts the Xbox LIVE online service in 2002 (p. 80).

2006

Full-Body Interactivity
Nintendo's Wii, released in 2006, allows the user to mimic full-body motion controls and detect movement in three dimensions (pp. 79–80).

2009

Apple
In 2010, Apple introduces the social gaming network Game Center, which allows iOS users to connect with one another for multiplayer games (p. 83).

2012

Kinect
In 2010, Microsoft unveils the Kinect, which reads body movement and voice commands for the Xbox (p. 80).

Oculus
In 2014, Facebook purchases the maker of the Oculus Rift, a virtual reality headset that Facebook plans to deploy for digital games and as a new communication device for everyday virtual experiences (p. 74).

© Alex Segre/Alamy

Image courtesy the Advertising Archives

**THE *ODYSSEY*², ** a later model of the *Odyssey* console, was released in 1978 and featured a full keyboard that could be used for educational games.

The First Video Games

Not long after the growth of pinball, the first video game patent was issued on December 14, 1948, to Thomas T. Goldsmith and Estle Ray Mann for what they described as a "Cathode Ray Tube Amusement Device." The invention would not make much of a splash in the history of digital gaming, but it did feature the key component of the first video games: the cathode ray tube (CRT).

CRT-powered screens provided the images for analog television and for early computer displays, where the first video games appeared a few years later. Computer science students developed these games as novelties in the 1950s and 1960s. But because computers consisted of massive mainframes at the time, the games couldn't be easily distributed.

However, more and more people owned televisions, and this development provided a platform for video games. The first home television game, called *Odyssey*, was developed by German immigrant and television engineer Ralph Baer. Released by Magnavox in 1972 and sold for a whopping $100, *Odyssey* used player controllers that moved dots of light around the screen in a twelve-game inventory of simple aiming and sports games. From 1972 until *Odyssey*'s replacement by a simpler model (the *Odyssey 100*) in 1975, Magnavox sold roughly 330,000 consoles.[10]

In the next decade, a ripped-off version of one of the *Odyssey* games brought the delights of video gaming into modern **arcades**. These establishments gather multiple coin-operated games together and can be thought of as a later version of the penny arcade. The same year that Magnavox released *Odyssey*, a young American computer engineer named Nolan Bushnell formed a video game development company, called Atari, with a friend. The enterprise's first creation was *Pong*, a simple two-dimensional tennis-style game, with two vertical paddles that bounced a white dot back and forth. The game kept score on the screen. Unlike *Odyssey*, *Pong* made blip noises when the ball hit the paddles or bounced off the sides of the court. *Pong* quickly became the first video game to become popular in arcades.

In 1975, Atari began successfully marketing a home version of *Pong* through an exclusive deal with Sears. This arrangement established the home video game market. Just two years later, Bushnell started the Chuck E. Cheese pizza–arcade restaurant chain and sold Atari to Warner Communications for an astounding $28 million. Although Atari folded in 1984, plenty of companies—including Nintendo, Sony, and Microsoft—followed its early lead, transforming the video game business into a full-fledged industry.

Arcades and Classic Games

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, games like *Asteroids*, *Pac-Man*, and *Donkey Kong* filled arcades and bars, competing directly with traditional pinball machines. In a way, arcades signaled electronic gaming's potential as a social medium, because many games allowed players to play with or compete against each other, standing side by side. To be sure, arcade gaming has been superseded by the console and computer. But the industry still attracts fun-seekers to businesses like Dave and Buster's, a gaming–restaurant chain operating in more than fifty locations, as well as to amusement parks, malls, and casinos.

To play the classic arcade games, as well as many of today's popular console games, players use controllers like joysticks and buttons to interact with graphical elements on a video screen. With a few notable exceptions (puzzle games like *Tetris*, for instance), these types of

video games require players to identify with a position on the screen. In *Pong*, this position is represented by an electronic paddle; in *Space Invaders*, it's an earthbound shooting position. After *Pac-Man*, the **avatar** (a graphic interactive "character" situated within the world of the game) became the most common figure of player control and position identification. In the United States, the most popular video games today assume a first-person perspective, in which the player "sees" the virtual environment through the eyes of an avatar. In South Korea and other Asian countries, many real-time strategy games take an elevated three-quarters perspective, which affords a grander and more strategic vantage point on the field of play.

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POPULAR ARCADE GAMES in the 1970s and 1980s were simple two-dimensional games with straightforward goals, like driving a racecar, destroying asteroids, or gobbling up little dots. Today, most video games have more complex story lines based in fully fleshed-out worlds.

Consoles and Advancing Graphics

Today, many electronic games are played on home **consoles**, devices specifically used to play video games. These systems have become increasingly more powerful since the appearance of the early Atari consoles in the 1970s. One way of charting the evolution of consoles is to track the number of bits (binary digits) that they can process at one time. The bit rating of a console is a measure of its power at rendering computer graphics. The higher the bit rating, the more detailed and sophisticated the graphics. The Atari 2600, released in 1977, used an 8-bit processor, as did the wildly popular Nintendo Entertainment System, first released in Japan in 1983. Sega Genesis, the first 16-bit console, appeared in 1989. In 1992, 32-bit computers appeared on the market; the following year, 64 bits became the new standard. The 128-bit era dawned with the marketing of Sega Dreamcast in 1999. With the current generation of consoles, 256-bit processors are the standard.

Of course, more detailed graphics have not always replaced simpler games. Nintendo, for example, offers many of its older, classic games for download onto its newest consoles even as updated versions are released, for the nostalgic gamers as well as new fans. Perhaps the best example of enduring games is the *Super Mario Bros.* series. Created by Nintendo mainstay Shigeru Miyamoto in 1983, the original *Mario Bros.* game began in arcades. The 1985 sequel *Super Mario Bros.*, developed for the 8-bit Nintendo Entertainment System, became the best-selling video game of all time (holding this title until 2009, when it was unseated by Nintendo's *Wii Sports*). Graphical elements from the *Mario Bros.* games, like the "1UP" mushroom that gives players an extra life, remain instantly recognizable to gamers of all ages. Some even appear on nostalgic T-shirts, as toys and cartoons, and in updated versions of newer games.

THE ATARI 2600 was followed by the Atari 400, Atari 800, and Atari 5200, but none matched the earlier success of the 2600 model.

Photo by SSPL/Getty Images

Through decades of ups and downs in the electronic gaming industry (Atari folded in 1984, and Sega no longer makes video consoles), three major home console makers now compete for gamers: Nintendo, Sony, and Microsoft. Nintendo has been making consoles since the 1980s; Sony and Microsoft came later, but both companies were already major media conglomerates and thus well positioned to support and promote their interests in the video game market.

Nintendo released a new kind of console, the Wii, in 2006. The device supported traditional video games like

New Super Mario Bros. However, it was the first of the three major consoles to add a wireless motion-sensing controller, which took the often-sedentary nature out of gameplay. Games like *Wii Sports* require the user to mimic the full-body motion of bowling or playing tennis, while *Wii Fit* uses a wireless balance board for interactive yoga, strength, aerobic, and balance games. Although the Wii has lagged behind Xbox and PlayStation in establishing an online community, its controller enabled a host of games that appealed to broader audiences, and upon its release, it became the best-selling of the three major console systems. In 2012, Nintendo introduced the Wii U, which features the GamePad: a controller with an embedded touchscreen, on which games can be played without a television set (making it like a handheld video player).

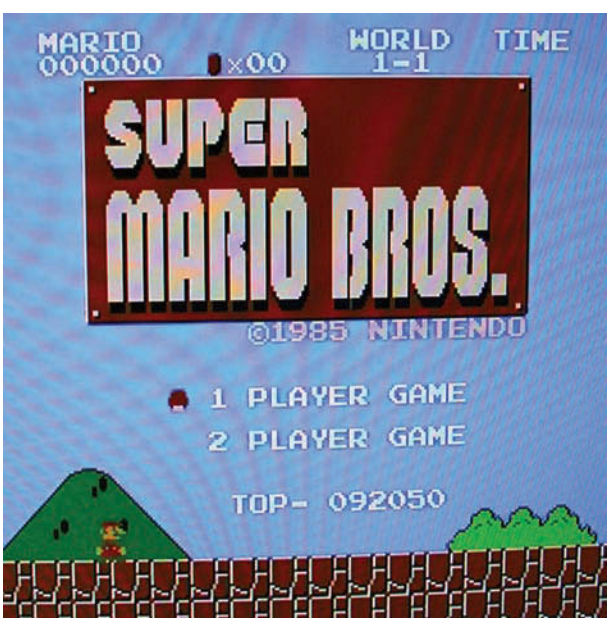
Veteran electronics manufacturer Sony has the PlayStation series, introduced in 1994. Its current console, the PlayStation 4 (PS4, launched in 2013), boasts more than 150 million users on its free online PlayStation Network. Sony's PlayStation Plus is a paid subscription service that adds additional features, such as game downloads, to the PlayStation Network. Sony introduced PlayStation Move, its handheld remote motion-sensing controller, in 2010.

Microsoft's first foray into video game consoles was the Xbox, released in 2001; it was linked to the Xbox LIVE online service in 2002 and released as Xbox 360 in 2005. Xbox LIVE lets its 48 million subscribers play online and enables users to download new content directly to its console. In 2013, Microsoft released the Xbox One, with an upgraded Kinect (a motion-sensing controller first introduced in 2010), as an advanced gaming device and voice-controlled entertainment system. By 2014, Sony's PlayStation 4 and Microsoft's Xbox One were the most popular of the new generation of consoles, with the Wii U lagging in third place in sales.

Each of the three major digital game consoles has its niche. Sony's PlayStation is mostly about gaming, although like the other two consoles, it offers television entertainment features. Microsoft's Xbox is also about gaming, but Microsoft wants its console to be the entertainment hub of the house. Wii features more devices and family-oriented games (the *Super Mario Bros.* are still an omnipresent franchise for Nintendo). All three of the consoles have motion-controlled sensors, online networks, and Internet entertainment links to services like Netflix and Hulu.

Although the major consoles share some game content, not every popular game is multiplatform (that is, one that is released on all three platforms)—so game offerings become a major selling point for a particular system. For example, *Destiny* (by Activision Blizzard), *Assassin's Creed IV: Black Flag* (by Ubisoft), and *Child of Light* (by Ubisoft) come in versions for all three consoles (and personal computers running Microsoft Windows, too). But the console makers also create or license games just for their own platform: *Titanfall* and *Halo 5: Guardians* for the Xbox One, *inFAMOUS Second Son* for the PlayStation 4, and *Mario Kart 8* for the Wii.

THE ORIGINAL *MARIO BROS.* GAME made its arcade debut in 1983, but it was the 1985 home console sequel *Super Mario Bros.* that made the series a household name. *Super Mario* titles have been developed for the original Nintendo, Super Nintendo, Nintendo 64, GameCube, Game Boy, Wii, and 3DS, for which *Super Mario Bros. 3* was released in 2014.



Jamaway/Alamy Images

Gaming on Home Computers

Like the early console games, very early home computer games often mimicked (and sometimes ripped off) popular arcade games, like *Frogger*, *Centipede*, *Pac-Man*, and *Space Invaders*. Computer-based gaming also featured certain genres not often seen on consoles, like digitized card and board games. The early days of the personal computer saw the creation of electronic versions of games like Solitaire, Hearts, Spades, and Chess, all simple games still popular today. But for a time in the late 1980s and much of the 1990s, personal computers held some clear advantages over

console gaming. The versatility of keyboards, compared with the relatively simple early console controllers, allowed for ambitious puzzle-solving games like *Myst*. Moreover, faster processing speeds gave some computer games richer, more detailed three-dimensional (3-D) graphics. Many of the most popular early first-person shooter games, like *Doom* and *Quake*, were developed for home computers rather than consoles.

As consoles caught up with greater processing speeds and disc-based games in the late 1990s, elaborate personal computer games attracted less attention. But more recently, PC gaming has experienced a resurgence, due to the advent of free-to-play games (like *Spelunky* and *League of Legends*), subscription games (such as *World of Warcraft* and *Diablo 3*), and social media games (such as *Candy Crush Saga* on Facebook)—all trends aided by the Internet. With powerful processors for handling rich graphics, and more stable Internet connectivity for downloading games or playing games via social media sites and other gaming sites, personal computers can adeptly handle a wide range of activities.

KRT/Newscom

DOOM, an early first-person shooter game that influenced later hits like *Halo,* was first developed for home computers. The first game was released in 1993. It has spawned several sequels and a 2005 feature film.

The Internet Transforms Gaming

With the introduction of the Sega Dreamcast in 1999, the first console to feature a built-in modem, gaming emerged as an online, multiplayer social activity. The Dreamcast didn't last, but online connections are now a normal part of console video games, with Internet-connected players opposing one another in combat, working together against a common enemy, or teaming up to achieve a common goal (like sustaining a medieval community). Some of the biggest titles have been first-person shooter games like *Counter-Strike*, an online spin-off of the popular *Half-Life* console game. Each player views the game from the first-person perspective but also plays on a team as either a terrorist or a counterterrorist.

The ability to play online has added a new dimension to other, less combat-oriented games, too. For example, football and music enthusiasts playing already-popular console games like *Madden NFL* and *Rock Band* can now engage with others in live online multiplayer play. And young and old alike can compete against teams in other locations in Internet-based bowling tournaments using the Wii.

The Internet enabled the spread of video games to converged devices, like tablets and mobile phones, making games more portable and creating whole new segments in the gaming industry. The connectivity of the Internet also opened the door to social gaming, virtual worlds, and massively multiplayer online games.

MMORPGs, Virtual Worlds, and Social Gaming

It is one of the longest acronyms in the world of gaming: **massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs)**. These games are set in virtual worlds that require users to play

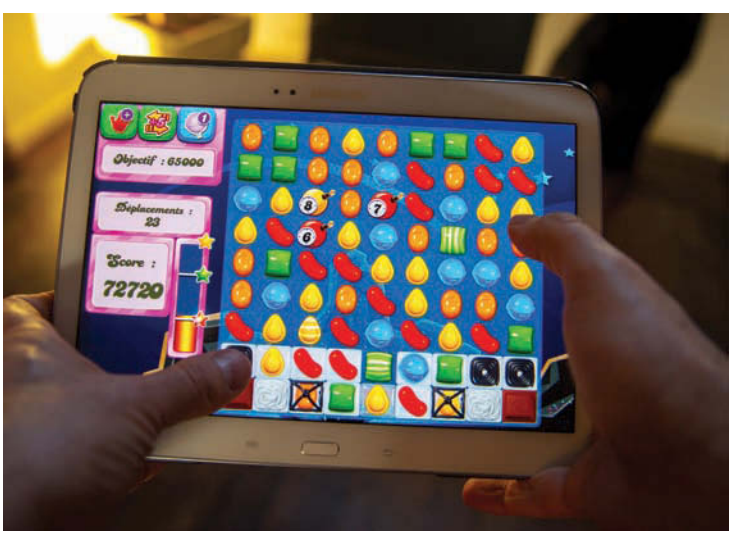
through an avatar of their own design. The "massively multiplayer" aspect of MMORPGs indicates that electronic games—once designed for solo or small-group play—have expanded to reach large groups, like traditional mass media do.

The fantasy adventure game *World of Warcraft* is the most popular MMORPG, peaking at 12 million subscribers in 2010 and leveling off to 7.1 million subscribers in 2015. Users can select from twelve different "races" of avatars, including dwarves, gnomes, night elves, orcs, trolls, goblins, and humans. To succeed in the game, many players join with other players to form guilds or tribes, working together toward in-game goals that can be achieved only with teams. *Second Life*, a 3-D social simulation set in real time, also features social interaction. Players build human avatars, selecting from an array of physical characteristics and clothing. They then use real money to buy virtual land and to trade in virtual goods and services.

MMORPGs like *World of Warcraft* and simulations like *Second Life* are aimed at teenagers and adults. One of the most overlooked areas (at least by adults) in online gaming is the children's market. *Club Penguin*, a moderated virtual world purchased by Disney, enables kids to play games and chat as colorful penguins. Disney later developed additional *Club Penguin* games for handheld players. Toy maker Ganz developed the online *Webkinz* game to revive its stuffed-animal sales. Each Webkinz stuffed animal comes with a code that lets players access the online game and care for the virtual version of their plush pets. In 2009, as Webkinz sales declined, Ganz started *Webkinz Jr.* to market bigger, more expensive plush animals to preschoolers. *Woozworld* offers a virtual shopping world and chat for the tween market, ages nine to fourteen. All these virtual worlds offer younger players their own age-appropriate environment to experiment with virtual socializing, but they have also attracted criticism for their messages of consumerism. In many of these games, children can buy items with virtual currency or acquire "bling" more quickly through a premium membership. The games also market merchandise to their young players, such as stuffed animals, movies, and clothing.

Online fantasy sports games also reach a mass audience with a major social component. Players—real-life friends, virtual acquaintances, or a mix of both—assemble teams and use actual sports results to determine scores in their online games. But rather than experiencing the visceral thrills of, say, *Madden NFL 15*, fantasy football participants take a more detached, managerial perspective on the game—a departure from the classic video game experience. Fantasy sports' managerial angle makes it even more fun to watch almost any televised game because players focus more on making strategic investments in individual performances scattered across the various professional teams than they do on rooting for local teams. In the process, players become statistically savvy aficionados of the game overall, rather than rabid fans of a particular team. In 2015, over 56 million people played fantasy sports in the United States and Canada; the Fantasy Sports Trade Association currently estimates a market size of more than $3.6 billion.[11]

THE GAMEMAKER KING has made massive casual-gaming hits out of *Candy Crush Saga* and *Bubble Witch Saga*. The company's sales were $2.4 billion in 2014, with over 530 million active users playing its games.



AFP/Getty Images

The increasingly social nature of video games has made them a natural fit for social networking sites. Game apps for Facebook have drawn millions of fans. London-based game developer King is the maker of several of the most popular games on Facebook, including *Candy Crush Saga*, *Farm Heroes Saga*, and *Pet*

Rescue Saga. Facebook reported in 2014 that over 375 million people play games on its social network site each month.[12]

Convergence: From Consoles to Mobile Gaming

Digital games made their initial appearance on computers and consoles and were very much wedded to those platforms. Today, though, games can be consumed the same way music and so many books, television shows, and films are consumed: just about anywhere and in a number of different ways. And video game consoles are increasingly part of the same technological convergence that gives devices like smartphones and tablets multiple functions.

Consoles Become Entertainment Centers

Video game consoles, once used exclusively for games, now work as part computer, part cable box. They've become powerful entertainment centers, with multiple forms of media converging in a single device. For example, the Xbox One and PS4 can function as DVD players and digital video recorders (with hard drives of up to 500 gigabytes) and offer access to Twitter, Facebook, blogs, and video chat. The PS4 can also play Blu-ray discs, and all three competing console systems (PS4, Xbox, and Wii) offer connections to stream programming from sources like Netflix and Hulu. Microsoft's Xbox—which has Kinect's voice recognition system, allowing viewers to communicate with the box—has been the most successful in becoming a converged device for home entertainment.

Portable Players and Mobile Gaming

Simple handheld players made games portable long before the advent of Internet-connected touchscreen mobile devices. Nintendo popularized handheld digital games with the release of its Game Boy line of devices and sold nearly 120 million of them from 1989 to 2003 with games like *Tetris*, *Metroid*, and *Pokémon Red/Blue*.[13] The early handhelds gave way to later generations of devices offering more advanced graphics and wireless capabilities. These include the top-selling Nintendo 3DS, released in 2011, and PlayStation Portable (PSP), released in 2005 and succeeded by the PlayStation Vita in 2012. Both brands are Wi-Fi capable, so players can interface with other users to play games or browse the Internet.

While portable players remain immensely popular (the Nintendo 3DS sold more than 154 million units through 2014), they face competition from the widespread use of smartphones and touchscreen tablets like iPads. These devices are not designed principally for gaming, but their capabilities have provided another option for casual gamers who may not have been interested in owning a handheld console. Manufacturers of these converged devices are catching on to their gaming potential: After years of relatively little interest in video games, Apple introduced Game Center in 2010. This social gaming network enables users to invite friends or find others for multiplayer gaming, track their scores, and view high scores on a leader board—which the 3DS and PSP do as well. With more than 700 million iPhones and 225 million iPads sold worldwide by 2015 (and millions more iPod Touch devices in circulation), plus more than 260,000 games (like *Blek* and *Minecraft—Pocket Edition*) available in its App Store, Apple is transforming the portable video game business with its devices, games, and distribution system.[14] Handheld video games have made the medium more accessible and widespread. Even people who wouldn't identify themselves as gamers may kill time between classes or waiting in line by playing *Don't Touch the White Tile 4* on their phones.

Google Play (formerly the Android Market) rivals Apple's App Store in number of apps and provides a substantial platform for gaming on Android mobile phones and tablet devices

© Alex Segre/Alamy

HANDHELD GAMING used to require a specific piece of hardware, like the classic Game Boy. But as technology has grown more sophisticated, handheld games can be played on smaller, more versatile devices, like smartphones and PDAs, and some handheld gaming systems can provide more than just games.

like the Kindle, Galaxy, and Nexus. Microsoft got a later start with its Windows phones and Surface tablet, so its game offerings lag far behind those of the Android and Apple stores.

This portable and mobile gaming convergence is changing the way people look at digital games and their systems. The games themselves are no longer confined to arcades or home television sets, while the mobile media have gained power as entertainment tools, reaching a wider and more diverse audience. Thus gaming has become an everyday form of entertainment, rather than the niche pursuit of hard-core enthusiasts.

With its increased profile and flexibility across platforms, the gaming industry has achieved a mass medium status on a par with film or television. This rise in status has come with stiffer and more complex competition, not just within the gaming industry but across media. Rather than Sony competing with Nintendo, or TV networks competing among themselves for viewers, or new movies facing off at the box office, media must now compete against other media for an audience's attention. Recent statistics mark how far the digital game industry has come: Global box office revenue for the film industry hit a record $36.4 billion in 2014. (The movie industry makes billions more on DVD, streaming, television licensing, and merchandising deals.) In that same year, the worldwide digital game marketplace, including hardware, software, online games, and mobile games, reached $91.5 billion.[15]

The Media Playground

To fully explore the larger media playground, we need to look beyond electronic gaming's technical aspects and consider the human faces of gaming. The attractions of this interactive playground validate electronic gaming's status as one of today's most powerful social media. Electronic games occupy an enormous range of styles, from casual games like *Tetris*, *Angry Birds*, *Bejeweled*, and *Fruit Ninja*—described by one writer as "stupid games" that are typically "a repetitive, storyless puzzle that could be picked up, with no loss of potency, at any moment, in any situation"—to full-blown, Hollywood-like immersive adventure games like *Final Fantasy*.[16] No matter what the style, digital games are compelling entertainment and mass media because they pose challenges (mental and physical), allow us to engage in situations both realistic and fantastical, and allow us to socialize with others as we play with friends and form communities inside and outside of games. (See "Case Study: *Watch Dogs* Hacks Our Surveillance Society" on page 85 for more on the narrative power of video games.)

Video Game Genres

Electronic games inhabit so many playing platforms and devices, and cover so many genres, that they are not easy to categorize. The game industry, as represented by the Entertainment Software Association, organizes games by **gameplay**—the way in which the rules structure how players interact with the game—rather than by any sort of visual or narrative style. There

CASE STUDY

Watch Dogs Hacks Our Surveillance Society

by Olivia Mossman

With the revelations of government surveillance brought to light by WikiLeaks and Edward Snowden, many Americans are now aware of the possibility that their phone calls are being overheard, their Internet searches observed, and other surveillance conducted without their permission. But what if individual American citizens had the same kind of almost-omniscient hacking powers? Would they use these powers for good?

© Fred Prouser/Reuters/Corbis

A new open-world action-adventure game aims to help players discover their stance on modern-day technologies and hacking. *Watch Dogs*, created by Ubisoft and released in 2014, allows players to take the persona of "Aiden Pearce," a hacker in a vaguely futuristic Chicago. The *New York Times* called the game "impossibly well-timed for the year of Edward Snowden."[1]

The Aiden character uses hacking, government records, and surveillance to track down the killer of his niece. However, the game eerily puts into perspective a "futuristic," technologically connected world that looks even more similar to current society than the game designers planned. Players will see a Chicago that is heavily monitored by technology, and while some of the game still uses fantastical versions of smart systems, *Watch Dogs* also predicts where society is headed. In fact, when game developers began constructing the video game in 2009, smartphones were only just emerging. Now they are Aiden's primary weapon and a keystone of society. In reality, the interconnectivity of Chicago is not far from the vision of *Watch Dogs*. A report by video gaming Web site Polygon explains how Chicago's surveillance systems are primarily used for fighting crime but have increased in number, decreased in size, and infiltrated the city, even using facial recognition to assist in catching culprits.[2] As Aiden, players can access people's history, identity, and personal accounts for their own self-gain. To actually control the character with such power will no doubt have an impact on players' views of the National Security Agency, its gathering of information through its PRISM program, and their own habits regarding personal disclosure.

Watch Dogs offers another element that is more fact than fiction: It requires users to use game information to make moral decisions. As the game promo says, when playing as Aiden Pearce, you "use your hacking abilities for good or bad—it's up to you."[3] Unlike games such as *Grand Theft Auto*, in which a player in a car can mindlessly run down nameless pedestrians, *Watch Dogs* gives the main character a means to reflect on whom he chooses to kill and why. Each player has the ability to hack information about each individual, giving the player access to the name and backstory of each computerized, nonplayer character, turning the "extras" into "people."[4]

With this context, killing or hacking game characters with names, faces, and stories is not as easy as it is in other games. Would players hack into the Webcam of a rich woman who had recently lost her daughter, and then steal money from her bank account to line their own character's pockets? To avoid getting arrested in a car chase, would players knowingly run over a civilian who is a tobacco executive but also volunteers his time and money at homeless shelters? The game makes players question what truly matters, which evils are "worse," and whether they would sacrifice themselves for others. Even the multiplayer version of the game allows players to hack into another *real* player's game, giving them the option to "kill" a real player's character. In *Watch Dogs*, players determine their own morality and act on it—and as in real life, there are consequences for these decisions.

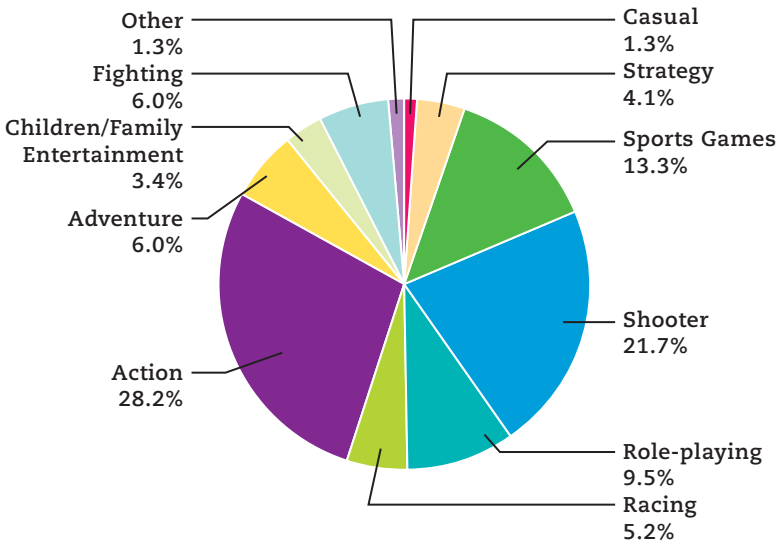
Olivia Mossman is a game player, a writer, and a communication studies student at the University of Northern Iowa.

FIGURE 3.1

TOP VIDEO GAME GENRES BY UNITS SOLD, 2014

Data from: Entertainment Software Association, "Essential Facts about the Computer and Video Game Industry," 2015.

Note: Percentages were rounded.



are many hybrid forms, but the major gameplay genres are discussed in the following sections. (See Figure 3.1 for a breakdown of top video game genres.)

Action and Shooter Games

Usually emphasizing combat-type situations, **action games** ask players to test their reflexes and to punch, slash, shoot, or throw as strategically and accurately as possible so as to make their way through a series of levels. Some action games feature hand-to-hand combat (*Street Fighter*, *Marvel vs. Capcom*); others feature more sophisticated weaponry and obstacles, such as bladed spears against groups of enemy combatants (*Hidden Blade*, *Bushido Blade*). Shooter games offer a selection of guns and missiles for obliterating opponents.

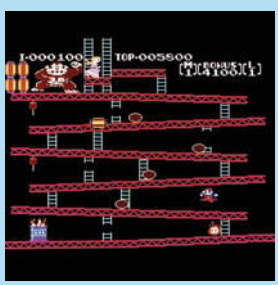
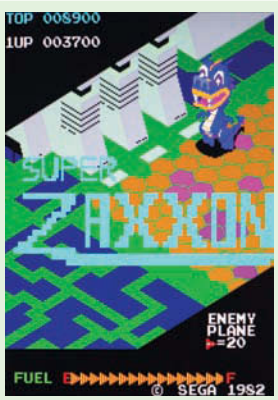
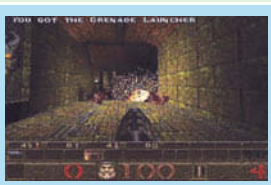
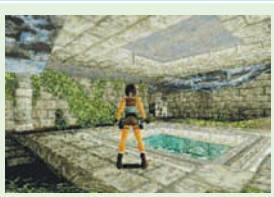
Most *shooter games* have a **first-person shooter (FPS)** perspective, which allows players to feel as though they are actually holding the weapon and to feel physically immersed in the drama. (See Table 3.1 for more on major video game conventions.) *Doom*, for example, released in 1993, was one of the first major FPS breakthroughs, requiring players to shoot their way through a military base on Mars's moon, killing the demons from Hell first using a pistol, then moving up to a chainsaw, shotgun, chain gun, rocket launcher, plasma rifle, and finally the coveted BFG 9000, all the while negotiating pits of toxic slime and locating the "exit door" that leads to the next level. *Halo*, Microsoft's impressive launch title for the Xbox in 2001, has become the top FPS game of all time. In the *Halo* series (the fifth sequel was released in 2015), players assume the identity of "Master Chief," a super-soldier living in the twenty-sixth century and fighting aliens, with the ultimate goal of uncovering secrets about the ring-shaped world, Halo. The weapons allotted to Master Chief all require the player to think strategically about how and when to launch them. Plasma weapons need time to cool between firings; guns need both ammunition and time to reload; fragmentation grenades bounce and detonate immediately; plasma grenades attach to the target before exploding. Players have to negotiate all these (and many more) variables as they move through various futuristic landscapes in order to unlock the secrets of Halo.

Maze games like *Pac-Man* also fit into the "action" genre, involving maze navigation to avoid or chase adversaries. Finally, *platform games* gained notoriety through the very successful *Super Mario Bros.* series. Using quick reflexes and strategic time management, players move Mario and Luigi between various platform levels of the Mushroom Kingdom in order to rescue

TABLE 3.1

MAJOR VIDEO GAME CONVENTIONS

This table breaks down six common elements of video game layout. Many of these elements have been in place since the earliest games and continue to be used today.

Convention	Description	Examples	Visual Representation
Avatars	Onscreen figures of player identification	Pac-Man, Mario from the *Mario Bros.* series, Sonic the Hedgehog, Link from *Legend of Zelda*	
Bosses	Powerful enemy characters that represent the final challenge in a stage or the entire game	Ganon from the *Zelda* series, Hitler in *Castle Wolfenstein*, Dr. Eggman from *Sonic the Hedgehog*, Mother Brain from *Metroid*	
Vertical and Side Scrolling	As opposed to a fixed screen, scrolling that follows the action as it moves up, down, or sideways in what is called a "tracking shot" in the cinema	Platform games like *Jump Bug*, *Donkey Kong*, and *Super Mario Bros.*; also integrated into the design of *Angry Birds*	
Isometric Perspective *(or Three-Quarters Perspective)*	An elevated and angled perspective that enhances the sense of three-dimensionality by allowing players to see the tops and sides of objects	*Zaxxon*, *StarCraft*, *Civilization*, and *Populous*	
First-Person Perspective	Presents the gameplay through the eyes of your avatar	First-person shooter (FPS) games like *Quake*, *Doom*, *Halo*, and *Call of Duty*	
Third-Person Perspective *(or Over-the-Shoulders Perspective)*	Enables you to view your heroic avatar in action from an external viewpoint	*Tomb Raider*, *Assassin's Creed*, and the default viewpoint in *World of Warcraft*	

(top to bottom) © Jamaway/Alamy; © Jamaway/Alamy; © Jamaway/Alamy; © ArcadeImages/Alamy; KRT/Newscom; KRT/Newscom

Princess Toadstool (later called Princess Peach) from Bowser. Action and shooter games are the best-selling game genres, accounting for nearly 50 percent of all game units sold.[17]

Adventure Games

Developed in the 1970s, **adventure games** involve a type of gameplay that is in many ways the opposite of action games. Typically nonconfrontational in nature, adventure games such as *Myst* require players to interact with individual characters and the sometimes-hostile environment in order to solve puzzles. In the case of *Myst* (released in 1991), the player is "the Stranger" who travels to different worlds and finds clues to solve various puzzles that, if solved correctly, lead to the "deserted" island of Myst. The genre peaked in popularity in 1993 and has spawned derivative genres, such as *action-adventure* (*Zelda, Metroid*) and *survival horror* games (*Resident Evil*), which are inspired by horror fiction.

Role-Playing Games

Role-playing games (RPGs) are typically set in a fantasy or sci-fi world in which each player (there can be multiple players in a game) chooses to play as a character that specializes in a particular skill set (such as magic spells or "finesse"). Players embark on a predetermined adventure and interact with the game's other inhabitants and each other, making choices throughout the game that bring about various diverse outcomes. *Neverwinter Nights* (2002), for example, challenges its players to collaboratively collect four Waterdhavian creatures needed to stop the Wailing Death plague, defeat the cult that is spreading the plague, and finally thwart an attack on the city of Neverwinter. The game is derived from *Dungeons & Dragons*, one of the most popular face-to-face, paper-and-pencil role-playing games. More complex role-playing games, like the *Final Fantasy* series, involve branching plots and changing character destinies. MMORPGs are obviously a subgenre of this game category. Sandbox (or open-world) RPGs, such as the *Grand Theft Auto* series and *Minecraft*, tend to offer the greatest leeway in how players may roam through a game's environment and create their own narratives. Other subgenres, such as MOBA games (multiplayer online battle arena games, which can combine RPG elements with real-time strategy; see below), make up some of the most successful digital games on the market. A good example is *League of Legends*, a free-to-play PC game in which players control "champions" who gain levels by winning player-versus-player battles against opposing champions. The game has become immensely popular, with more than 27 million players worldwide each day, and has spawned university leagues and live tournaments in which top players from around the world compete for large cash prizes.[18]

Strategy and Simulation Games

Strategy video games often involve military battles (real or imaginary) and focus on gameplay that requires careful thinking and skillful planning to achieve victory. Unlike FPS games, the perspective in **strategy games** is omniscient, with the player surveying the entire "world," or playing field, and making strategic decisions—such as building bases, researching technologies, managing resources, and waging battles—that will make or break this world. No doubt the most popular *real-time strategy* (*RTS*) game is Blizzard's *StarCraft*, which is played competitively throughout South Korea and televised to large audiences. Taking place during the twenty-sixth century in a distant part of the Milky Way galaxy, *StarCraft* involves three races (one human) that are at war with one another. To develop better strategic advantages, players download and memorize maps, study up on minute game details (such as race characteristics), and participate in *StarCraft*-centered advice boards.

Like strategy games, **simulation games** involve managing resources and planning worlds, but these worlds are typically based in reality. A good example is *SimCity*, which asks players to build a city given real-world constraints, such as land-use zoning (commercial, industrial,

residential), tax rates (to tax or not to tax), and transportation (buses, cars, trams). A player may also face unanticipated natural disasters, such as floods or tornadoes. Another example is *The Oregon Trail*, an educational simulation game that aims at reproducing the circumstances and drastic choices faced by white settlers traveling the two-thousand-mile journey from Independence, Kansas, to the Willamette Valley in Oregon. Throughout the game, players make choices to help their ox-driven wagon parties survive numerous potential horrors, including measles, dysentery, typhoid, cholera, snakebites, drowning, physical injuries, floods, mountains, heat, and cold, all the while maintaining provisions and predicting weather conditions. First developed by educators in 1971, *The Oregon Trail* has been played by millions of students.

Casual Games

This category of gaming, which encompasses everything from *Minesweeper* to *Angry Birds* to *Words with Friends*, includes games that have very simple rules and are usually quick to play. The historical starting point of **casual games** was 1989, when the game *Tetris* came bundled with every new Game Boy (Nintendo). *Tetris* requires players to continuously (frantically, for some) rotate colored blocks and fit them into snug spaces before the screen fills up with badly stacked blocks. There is no story to *Tetris*, and no real challenge other than mastering the rather numbing pattern of rotating and stacking, a process that keeps getting faster as the player achieves higher levels. For many people, the ceaseless puzzle is like a drug: Millions of people have purchased and played *Tetris* since its release. Today, *Tetris* has given way to *Angry Birds*, *Candy Crush Saga*, and other such games that have exploded in popularity due in large part to the rise in mobile devices.

Sports, Music, and Dance Games

"There is apparently a video game for every sport except for competitive mushroom picking," commented a *Milwaukee Journal* editorial in 1981.[19] Today, there really does seem to be a game for every sport. Gaming consoles first featured 3-D graphics in the early to mid-1990s with the arrival of Sega Saturn and Sony's PlayStation in 1994. Today's game technology—with infrared motion detectors, accelerometers (devices that measure proper acceleration), and tuning fork gyroscopes (devices that determine rotational motion)—allows players to control their avatar through physical movements, making the 3-D sports game experience even more realistic. Players in a soccer game, for example, might feel as though they are in the thick of things, kicking, dribbling, shooting, and even getting away with a foul if referees aren't watching. In sports games, players engage in either competitive gameplay (player versus player) or cooperative gameplay (two or more teammates working together against the artificial intelligence, or AI, opponents within the game).

One of the most consistently best-selling sports games is *Madden NFL*, which is based on famed NFL football player and former coach John Madden. Among the game's realistic features are character collisions, with varying speeds and trajectories that differ based on player control; sophisticated playbooks and player statistics; and voice commentary, which allows players to hear the game as if it were a real TV broadcast. With Xbox Kinect functionality, players can even select and alter screen actions with the power of their own voice (*they* are Madden, screaming from the sidelines).

Other experiential games tie into music and dance categories. *Rock Band*, developed by Harmonix Systems and published by Mad Catz, allows up to four players to simulate the popular rock band performances of fifty-eight songs—from the Pixies and OK Go to Black Sabbath and the Rolling Stones—as well as more than fourteen hundred additional downloadable songs for $1.99 apiece. Each instrument part (lead guitar, bass, drums, and vocal) can be played at one of four difficulty levels (Easy, Medium, Hard, and Expert), and if players don't keep up, they "fail" out of the song, and their instruments are muted. The gameplay is

Gautier Stephane/Sagaphoto.com/Alamy

THE *JUST DANCE* SERIES has become a popular experiential game; it has also provided a new revenue stream for the music industry, which can license songs for use with the game.

derivative of *Guitar Hero* (vertical scrolling, colored music notes, and karaoke-like vocals), but the experience of *Rock Band*—with four players; a variety of venues, from clubs to concert halls; and screaming fans (who are also prone to boo)—is far more "real." Dance-oriented video games, such as *Dance Dance Revolution* and *Just Dance*, use motion-detecting technology and challenge players to match their rhythm and dance moves to figures on the screen.

Communities of Play: Inside the Game

Virtual communities often crop up around online video games and fantasy sports leagues. Indeed, players may get to know one another through games without ever meeting in person. They can interact in two basic types of groups. **PUGs** (short for "pick-up groups") are temporary teams usually assembled by matchmaking programs integrated into the game. The members of a PUG may range from elite players to **noobs** (clueless beginners) and may be geographically and generationally diverse. PUGs are notorious for harboring ninjas and trolls—two universally despised player types (not to be confused with ninja or troll avatars). **Ninjas** are players who snatch loot out of turn and then leave the group; **trolls** are players who delight in intentionally spoiling the gaming experience for others.

Because of the frustration of dealing with noobs, ninjas, and trolls, most experienced players join organized groups called **guilds** or **clans**. These groups can be small and easygoing or large and demanding. Guild members can usually avoid PUGs and team up with guildmates to complete difficult challenges requiring coordinated group activity. As the terms *ninja*, *troll*, and *noob* suggest, online communication is often encoded in gamespeak, a language filled with jargon, abbreviations, and acronyms relevant to gameplay. The typical codes of text messaging (OMG, LOL, ROFL, and so forth) form the bedrock of this language system.

Players communicate in two forms of in-game chat—voice and text. Xbox LIVE, for example, uses three types of voice chat that allow players to socialize and strategize, in groups or one-on-one, even as they are playing the game. Other in-game chat systems are text-based, with chat channels for trading in-game goods or coordinating missions within a guild. These methods of communicating with fellow players who may or may not know one another outside the game create a sense of community around gameplay. Some players have formed lasting friendships or romantic relationships through their video game habit. Avid gamers have even held in-game ceremonies, like weddings or funerals—sometimes for game-only characters, sometimes for real-life events.

Communities of Play: Outside the Game

Communities also form outside games, through Web sites and even face-to-face gatherings dedicated to electronic gaming in its many forms. This phenomenon is similar to the formation of online and in-person groups to discuss other mass media, like movies, TV shows, or books. These communities extend beyond gameplay, enhancing the social experience gained through the games.

Collective Intelligence

Mass media productions are almost always collaborative efforts, as is evident in the credits for movies, television shows, and music recordings. The same goes for digital games. But what is unusual about game developers and the game industry is their interest in listening to gamers

and their communities in order to gather new ideas and constructive criticism and to gauge popularity. Gamers, too, collaborate with one another to share shortcuts and "cheats" to solving tasks and quests, and to create their own modifications to games. This sharing of knowledge and ideas is an excellent example of **collective intelligence**. French professor Pierre Lévy coined the term *collective intelligence* in 1997 to describe the Internet, "this new dimension of communication," and its ability to "enable us to share our knowledge and acknowledge it to others."[20] In the world of gaming, where users are active participants (more than in any other medium), the collective intelligence of players informs the entire game environment.

For example, collective intelligence (and action) is necessary to work through levels of many games. In *World of Warcraft*, collective intelligence is highly recommended. According to the beginner's guide, "If you want to take on the greatest challenges *World of Warcraft* has to offer, you will need allies to fight by your side against the tides of darkness."[21] Players form guilds and use their play experience and characters' skills to complete quests and move to higher levels. Gamers also share ideas through chats and wikis, and those looking for tips and cheats provided by fellow players need only Google what they want. The largest of the sites devoted to sharing collective intelligence is the *World of Warcraft* wiki (www.wowwiki.com). Similar user-generated sites are dedicated to a range of digital games, including *Age of Conan*, *Assassin's Creed*, *Grand Theft Auto*, *Halo*, *Mario*, *Metal Gear*, *Pokémon*, *Sonic the Hedgehog*, and *Spore*.

The most advanced form of collective intelligence in gaming is **modding**, slang for "modifying game software or hardware." In many mass communication industries, modifying hardware or content would land someone in a copyright lawsuit. In gaming, modding is often encouraged, as it is yet another way players become more deeply invested in a game, and it can improve the game for others. For example, *Counter-Strike*, a popular first-person shooter game, is a mod of the game *Half-Life. Half-Life* is a critically acclaimed science-fiction first-person shooter game (a physicist fighting aliens), released by Valve Corporation in 1998 for PCs and later for PlayStation. The developers of *Half-Life* encouraged mods by including software development tools with it. By 1999, *Counter-Strike*, in which counterterrorists fight terrorists, emerged as the most popular among many mods, and Valve formed a partnership with the game's developers. *Counter-Strike* was released to retailers as a PC game in 2000 and an Xbox game in 2004, eventually selling more copies than *Half-Life*. Today, many other games, such as *The Elder Scrolls*, have active modding communities.

Game Sites

Game sites and blogs are among the most popular external communities for gamers. IGN (owned by Ziff Davis), GameSpot (owned by CBS), GameTrailers (MTV Networks/Viacom), and Kotaku (Gawker Media) are four of the leading Web sites for gaming. GameSpot and IGN are apt examples of giant industry sites, each with sixteen to nineteen million unique, mostly male, eighteen- to thirty-four-year-old visitors per month—a desirable demographic to major media corporations. Penny Arcade is perhaps the best known of the independent community-building sites. Founded by Jerry Holkins and Mike Krahulik, the site started out as a Webcomic focused on video game culture. It has since expanded to include forums and a Web series called *PA* that documents behind-the-scenes work at Penny Arcade. Penny Arcade organizes a live festival to celebrate gamers and gamer culture called the Penny Arcade Expo, as well as a children's charity called Child's Play.

Conventions

In addition to online gaming communities, there are conventions and expos where video game enthusiasts can come together in person to test out new games and other new products, play old games in competition, and meet video game developers. One of the most significant is the

Damian Dovarganes/AP Images

THE ELECTRONIC ENTERTAINMENT EXPO hosts an enormous variety of game developers and related companies (as well as performances from musicians such as Rita Ora, Drake, and deadmau5) at its annual gathering. Here, Microsoft shows off a specially prepared version of its popular *MineCraft* game designed for its augmented-reality HoloLens project.

Electronic Entertainment Expo (E3), which draws more than 45,000 industry professionals, investors, developers, and retailers to its annual meeting. E3 is the place where the biggest new game titles and products are unveiled, and it is covered by hundreds of journalists, televised on Spike TV, and streamed to mobile devices and Xbox consoles.

The Penny Arcade Expo (PAX) is a convention created by gamers for gamers, held each year in Seattle and Boston. One of its main attractions is the Omegathon, a three-day elimination game tournament in which twenty randomly selected attendees compete in games across several genres, culminating in the championship match at the convention's closing. Other conventions include BlizzCon (operated by Blizzard Entertainment to feature developments to their games, including their top franchises: *World of Warcraft*, *Diablo*, and *StarCraft*) and the Tokyo Game Show, the world's largest gaming convention, with more than 200,000 attendees annually.

Trends and Issues in Digital Gaming

The ever-growing relationship between video games and other media, such as books, movies, and television, leaves no doubt that digital gaming has a permanent place in our culture. Like other media, games are a venue for advertising. A virtual billboard in a video game is usually more than just a digital prop; as in television and the movies, it's a paid placement. And like other media, games are a subject of social concern. Violent and misogynistic content has from time to time spurred calls for more regulation of electronic games. But as games permeate more aspects of culture and become increasingly available in nonstandard formats and genres, they may also become harder to define and, therefore, regulate.

Electronic Gaming and Media Culture

Beyond the immediate industry, electronic games have had a pronounced effect on media culture. For example, fantasy league sports have spawned a number of draft specials on ESPN as well as a regular podcast, *Fantasy Focus*, on ESPN Radio. Fantasy football has even inspired an adult comedy called *The League* on the cable channel FXX. In the case of the Web site Twitch, streaming and archived video of digital games being played *is* the content. In just three years, the site became so popular that Amazon bought it for almost $1 billion to add to its collection of original video programming.

Like television shows, books, and comics before them, electronic games have inspired movies, such as *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* (2001), the *Resident Evil* series (2001–present, including a sixth installment due in 2016), and *Need for Speed* (2014). *Tron* (1982), a movie inspired by video games, spurred an entire franchise of books, comic books, and arcade and console video games in the 1980s; and it was revived a generation later with an Xbox LIVE game in 2008, a movie sequel (*Tron: Legacy*) in 2010, and a Disney television series. For many Hollywood blockbusters today, a video game spin-off is a must-have item. Box-office hits like *Transformers: Dark of the Moon* (2011), *Brave* (2012), *The Amazing Spider-Man 2* (2014), and *Maleficent* (2014) all have companion video games for consoles, portable players, or mobile devices.

LaunchPad
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Video Games at the Movies
Alice, the hero of the *Resident Evil* film series, fights zombies in this clip.
Discussion: In what ways does this clip replicate the experience of game play? In what ways is a film inherently different from a game?

Books and electronic games have also had a long history of influencing each other. Japanese manga and anime (comic books and animation) have also inspired video games, such as *Akira*, *Astro Boy*, and *Naruto*. *Batman: Arkham Asylum*, a top video game title introduced in 2009, is based closely on the *Batman* comic-book stories, while *The Witcher*, an action role-playing game for PCs, is based on Polish fantasy writer Andrzej Sapkowski's saga, *The Witcher*. Perhaps the most unusual link between books and electronic games is the *Marvel vs. Capcom* series. In this series, characters from Marvel comic books (Captain America, Hulk, Spider-Man, Wolverine) battle characters from Capcom games like *Street Fighter* and *Resident Evil* (Akuma, Chun-Li, Ryu, Albert Wesker).

© Universal Pictures/Photofest

HIGH-PROFILE MOVIES LIKE *MINIONS* (2015) inspire an increasing number of game tie-ins. In the past, these games would often trail their movie counterparts by months; for *Minions*, simpler mobile games were released concurrently with the movie. The process was reversed in 2016 with the release of a movie based on the *Angry Birds* mobile game.

Electronic Gaming and Advertising

Commercialism is as prevalent in video games as it is in most entertainment media. **Advergames**, like television's infomercials or newspapers and magazines' advertorials, are video games created for purely promotional purposes. The first notable advergame debuted in 1992, when Chester Cheetah, the official mascot for Cheetos snacks, starred in two video games for the Sega Genesis and Super Nintendo systems—*Chester Cheetah: Too Cool to Fool* and *Chester Cheetah: Wild Wild Quest*. In late 2006, Burger King sold three advergame titles for Xbox and Xbox 360 consoles for $3.99 each with value-meal purchases. One title, *Sneak King*, required the player to have the Burger King mascot deliver food to other characters before they fainted from hunger. More recent is the innovative interactive Web commercial "Magnum Pleasure Hunt," for gourmet Magnum chocolate ice cream bars. In this platform game, the user manipulates the constantly jogging, barefoot "Magnum Girl" up and over the game's Internet-based environments (such as Bing travel pages, YouTube videos, and luxury hotel Web sites). A player earns points by strategically timing Magnum Girl's jumps so that she connects with—or consumes—the game's many chocolate bonbons, and Magnum's specialty chocolate bar is the final reward for Magnum Girl's (and the player's) hard work. **In-game advertisements** are more subtle; ads are integrated into the game as billboards, logos, or storefronts (e.g., a Farmers Insurance airship floating by in *FarmVille* or Dove soap spas appearing in *The Sims Social*), or advertised products appear as components of the game (e.g., in the game *Splinter Cell: Chaos Theory*, a large glowing billboard for Axe deodorant becomes an obstacle for the player to overcome).[22]

Some in-game advertisements are static, which means the ads are permanently placed in the game. Other in-game ads are dynamic, which means the ads are digitally networked and can be altered remotely, so agencies can tailor them according to release time, geographical location, or user preferences. A movie ad, for example, can have multiple configurations to reflect the movie's release date and screening markets. Advertisers can also record data on users who come in contact with a dynamic ad, such as how long they look at it, from what angle, and how often, and can thus determine how to alter their ad campaigns in the future. The Xbox Kinect has taken dynamic advertising one step further with its newest consoles, enabling players to engage with the in-game ads using motion and voice control to learn more about a product.

Google's game advertising strategy, launched in 2008, is to place increasing numbers of ads in well-known social game titles, like *Frogger* and *Dance Dance Revolution*—an indication of the tremendous potential growth in social gaming. All in-game advertising is estimated to generate $7.2 billion in global revenue in 2016.[23]

Addiction and Other Concerns

Though many people view gaming as a simple leisure activity, the electronic gaming industry has sparked controversy. Parents, politicians, the medical establishment, and media scholars have expressed concern about the addictive quality of video games, especially MMORPGs, and have raised the alarm about violent and misogynistic game content—standard fare for many of the most heavily played games.

Addiction

No serious—and honest—gamer can deny the addictive qualities of electronic gaming. In fact, an infamous *South Park* episode from 2006 ("Make Love, Not Warcraft") satirized the obsessive, addictive behavior of video game playing. In a 2011 study of more than three thousand third through eighth graders from Singapore, one in ten were considered pathological gamers, meaning that their gaming addiction was jeopardizing multiple areas of their lives, including school, social and family relations, and psychological well-being. Indeed, the more the children were addicted, the more prone they were to depression, social phobias, and increased anxiety, which led to poorer grades in school. Singapore's high percentage of pathological youth gamers is in line with numbers reported in other countries, including the United States, where studies found 8.5 percent of gamers to be addicted. In China, the number is 10.3 percent, and in Germany, 11.9 percent.[24]

Gender is a factor in game addiction: A 2013 study found that males are much more susceptible to game addiction. This makes sense, given that the most popular games—action and shooter games—are heavily geared toward males.[25] These findings are also not entirely surprising, given that many electronic games are addictive not by accident but by design. Just as habit formation is a primary goal of virtually every commercial form of electronic media, from newspapers to television to radio, cultivating compulsiveness is the aim of most game designs. From recognizing high scores to incorporating various difficulty settings (encouraging players to try easy, medium, and hard versions) and levels that gradually increase in complexity, designers provide constant in-game incentives for obsessive play.

This is especially true of multiplayer online games—like *Halo*, *Call of Duty*, and *World of Warcraft*—that make money from long-term engagement by selling expansion packs or charging monthly subscription fees. These games have elaborate achievement systems with hard-to-resist rewards that include military ranks like "General" or fanciful titles like "King Slayer," as well as special armor, weapons, and mounts (creatures your avatar can ride, including bears, wolves, or even dragons), all aimed at turning casual players into habitual ones.

This strategy of promoting habit formation may not differ from the cultivation of other media obsessions, like watching televised sporting events. Even so, real-life stories, such as that of the South Korean couple whose three-month-old daughter died of malnutrition while the negligent parents spent ten-hour overnight sessions in an Internet café raising a virtual daughter, bring up serious questions about video games and addiction.[26] South Korea, one of the world's most Internet-connected countries, is already sponsoring efforts to battle Internet addiction, along with China, the Netherlands, and Australia.

Meanwhile, industry executives and others cite the positive impact of digital games, such as the mental stimulation and educational benefits of games like *SimCity*, the health benefits of *Wii Fit*, and the socially rewarding benefits of playing games together as a family or with friends.

Violence and Misogyny

The Entertainment Software Association (ESA)—the main trade association of the gaming industry—likes to point out that nearly half of game players are women, that nearly

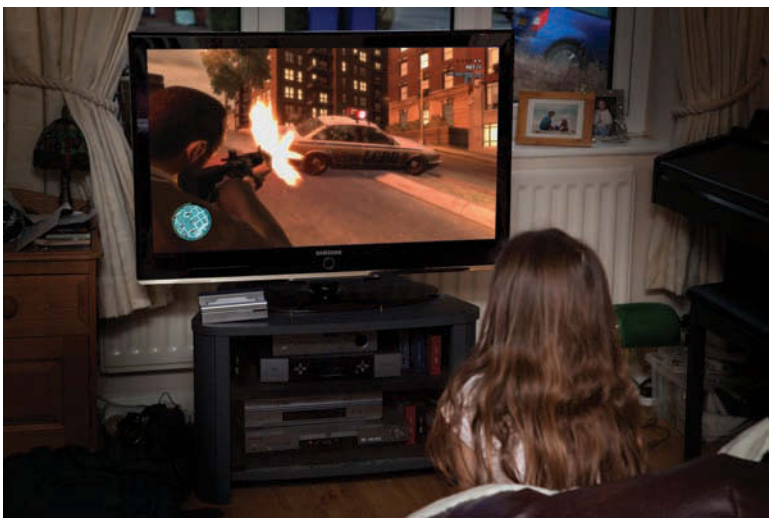
three-quarters of games sold are rated in the family- and teen-friendly categories, and that the average age of a game player is thirty. While these statements are true, they also mask a troubling aspect of some of game culture's most popular games: their violent and sexist imagery.

Most games involving combat, guns, and other weapons are intentionally violent, with representations of violence becoming all the more graphic as game visuals reach cinematic hyperrealism. The most violent video games, rated M for "Mature," often belong to the first-person shooter, dark fantasy, or survival horror genres (or a combination of all three) and cast players in a variety of sinister roles—serial killers, mortal combat soldiers, chain-gun-wielding assassins, nut jobs going "postal," father-hating sons, mutated guys out for revenge, not-quite-executed death-row inmates, and underworld criminals (to name a few)—in which they earn points by killing and maiming their foes (sometimes monsters but often "ordinary people") through the most horrendous means possible. In this genre of games, violence is a celebration, as is clear from one Top 10 list featuring the most "delightfully violent video games of all time."[27]

That some games can be violent and misogynistic is not a point of dispute. But the possible effects of such games have been debated for years, and video games have been accused of being a factor in violent episodes, such as the Columbine High School shootings in 1999. Earlier research linked playing violent video games to aggressive thoughts or hostility, but those effects don't necessarily transfer to real-world environments. Instead, more recent studies suggest that the personality traits of certain types of players should be of greater concern than the violence of video games. For example, a study in the *Review of General Psychology* noted that individuals with a combination of "high neuroticism (e.g., easily upset, angry, depressed, emotional, etc.), low agreeableness (e.g., little concern for others, indifferent to others' feelings, cold, etc.), and low conscientiousness (e.g., break rules, don't keep promises, act without thinking, etc.)" are more susceptible to the negative outcomes measured in studies of violent video games.[28] For the vast majority of players, the study concluded, violent video games have no adverse effects.

There is less research on misogyny (hatred of women) in video games. One of the most extreme game narratives is from *Grand Theft Auto 3*, in which male characters can pick up female prostitutes, pay money for sex, get an increase in player "health," and then beat up or kill the hooker to get their money back. Although women are close to half of the digital game audience in the United States, it's likely that many aren't engaged by this story. The source of the problem may be the male insularity of the game development industry—for reasons that are unclear, few women are on the career path to be involved in game development. According to the National Center for Women & Information Technology, "Women hold 56% of all professional occupations in the U.S. workforce, but only 25% of IT occupations." And even as the digital game industry gets bigger, the impact of women gets smaller. "In 2009, just 18% of undergraduate Computing and Information Sciences degrees were awarded to women; in 1985, women earned 37% of these degrees."[29] (See "Global Village: Global Controversy: The Gender Problem in Digital Games" on pages 96–97 for more on violence and misogyny in video games.)

GAMES IN THE *GRAND THEFT AUTO* series typically receive a rating of "Mature," indicating they should not be sold to players under seventeen. However, the ratings do not distinguish between overall game violence and misogynistic attitudes.



David J. Green–Lifestyle/Alamy

GLOBAL VILLAGE

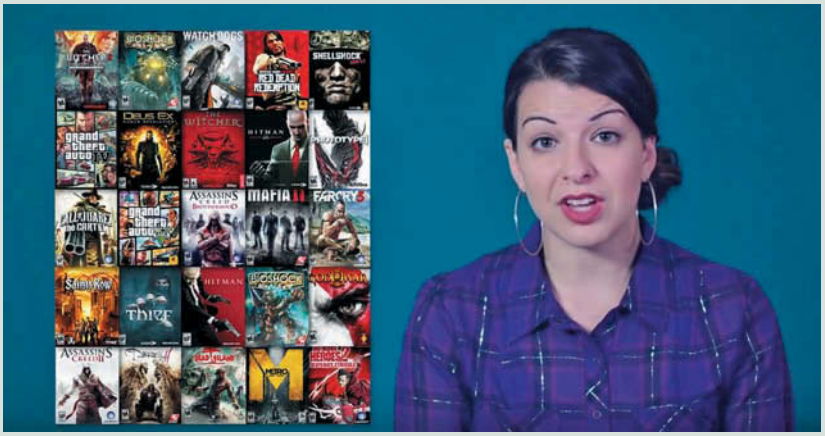
Global Controversy: The Gender Problem in Digital Games

Anita Sarkeesian has a well-documented love of playing video games, from *Mario Kart* and *Rock Band* to *Plants vs. Zombies* and *Half-Life 2*. But that hasn't stopped her from becoming one of the most outspoken—and targeted—critics of how video games depict and treat women. In 2012, a successful Kickstarter campaign helped her launch her *Tropes vs. Women in Video Games* video series. As Sarkeesian explained, she was moved to examine video games because as a girl growing up and playing the games, she saw that so many of the troubling stereotypes about women were enmeshed in games and gaming culture.

"The games often reinforce a similar message, overwhelmingly casting men as heroes and relegating women to the roles of damsels, victims or hypersexualized playthings," Sarkeesian said. "The notion that gaming was not for women rippled out into society, until we heard it not just from the games industry, but from our families, teachers and friends. As a consequence, I, like many women, had a complicated, love–hate relationship with gaming culture."[1]

"Love–hate" is probably also a good way to describe the reaction to Sarkeesian's critique of games. On the one hand, she has gained critical acclaim and visibility for her videos and writing, appearing in the *New York Times*, *Businessweek*, and *Rolling Stone*, as well as on *The Colbert Report*. On the other hand, since she began releasing her videos on digital games, she has been the target of a global campaign of incredibly graphic and violent threats of rape, torture, and murder on social media. This ongoing online harassment reached a new low in the fall of 2014, when another of her Feminist Frequency video releases coincided with what has become known as the #GamerGate controversy.

The story surrounding the event that ostensibly touched off the #GamerGate firestorm began when a computer programmer, Eron Gjoni, had a bad breakup with game designer Zoe Quinn. Gjoni then went online with their breakup in a 9,425-word blog post, claiming that Quinn had had an affair with a writer at Kotaku, an influential gamers' Web site that features information about a variety of games. The post went viral (as Gjoni intended). Male gamers who believed Gjoni assumed that the affair had led to a favorable review of Quinn's most recent game on Kotaku, pointing to this as indicative of a larger trend of shady journalistic ethics in the gaming press. They organized their criticisms under the hashtag #GamerGate. Very quickly, however, any supposed concerns over journalistic ethics were overshadowed by those focused on "slut-shaming" Quinn. As *Boston* magazine said, "Zoe Quinn's ex-boyfriend was obsessed with destroying her reputation—and thousands of online strangers were eager to help."[2] The misogynistic attacks by supporters of #GamerGate exploded into a global barrage of anonymous threats and attacks on a number of high-profile women in the gaming industry, including Sarkeesian, game developer Brianna Wu, and journalists Katherine Cross and Maddy Myers. A Reddit discussion board identified #GamerGate supporters in nearly every country around the world.[3]



It was at this point that Sarkeesian (and other critics) spoke up and pointed out that the deeply disturbing threats that female gamers and critics were experiencing proved her point about a deeper problem in the gaming culture, which in turn reflected broader cultural misogyny. In response to this criticism, many supporters of #GamerGate started behaving even worse.

Soon Sarkeesian and others weren't just receiving anonymous and graphic threats in places like Twitter, disturbing enough on its own, but found themselves victims of doxing and swatting. To "dox" someone means to steal private or personal information (from addresses

and personal phone numbers to social security and credit card information in some cases) and make it public. To "swat" someone means to call in an anonymous tip to a police department where a victim lives in an attempt to provoke a raid—particularly by an armed SWAT team—on the person's home. In one such incident, approximately twenty Portland police officers were dispatched to the scene of a supposed armed hostage situation when the target of the hoax saw someone bragging about it on a message board and called the police before the situation could escalate.[4] Quinn and Wu both had to flee their homes after being doxed and receiving threats that identified where they lived.

In another case, before a scheduled speech by Sarkeesian at Utah State University, an anonymous person threatened to carry out the biggest school shooting ever if the video game critic spoke. Sarkeesian canceled her speech after campus police said Utah's gun laws prohibited them from turning away any audience member who showed up with a gun. Sarkeesian went into hiding for a time, afraid to return to her home because of the various threats. Her Wikipedia page has been vandalized several times with pornographic pictures, and her Feminist Frequency Web site has been the target of Denial of Service attacks.

But Sarkeesian is far from giving up. In an ironic twist, the hatred leveled at the critic has brought many supporters her way as well. For example, in the first quarter of 2014, her crowdfunded Feminist Frequency Web site received $1,500 in donations. In the last quarter of 2014 (after #GamerGate really started heating up), donors sent almost $400,000 to Feminist Frequency (which is now officially a nonprofit organization dedicated to providing commercial-free videos critiquing the portrayal of women in video games and mass media). Sarkeesian also quadrupled Feminist Frequency's followers on Twitter to a quarter of a million by the end of 2014.[5]

Moreover, because the gaming news media was largely ignoring the misogyny of #GamerGate, Sarkeesian, Wu, and others began to speak out to mainstream news organizations, and coverage spread to Canada, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and elsewhere. With the #GamerGate controversy subject to greater international media scrutiny, the discussion began to change. "We finally shamed [the gaming news media] into finally addressing #GamerGate," Wu said in a university speech. After being subjected to more than fifty death threats and constant bullying, and still feeling "damaged from this experience," Wu perseveres. "We are making this better. We took #GamerGate and we turned it around in its tracks."[6]

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

First-Person Shooter Games: Misogyny as Entertainment?

Historical first-person shooter games are a significant subgenre of action games, the biggest-selling genre of the digital game industry. *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 3* (set in a fictional WWIII) made $775 million in its first five days. And with thirteen million units sold by 2012, Rockstar Games' critically acclaimed *Red Dead Redemption* (*RDR*, set in the Wild West) was applauded for its realism and called a "tour de force" by the *New York Times*.[1] But as these games proliferate through our culture, what are we learning as we are launched back and forth in time and into the worlds of these games?

1 DESCRIPTION. *Red Dead Redemption* features John Madsen, a white outlaw turned federal agent, who journeys to the "uncivilized" West to capture or kill his old gang members. Within this game, gamers encounter breathtaking vistas and ghost towns with saloons, prostitutes, and gunslingers; large herds of cattle; and scenes of the Mexican Rebellion. Shootouts are common in towns and on the plains, and gamers earn points for killing animals and people. The *New York Times* review notes that "*Red Dead Redemption* is perhaps most distinguished by the brilliant voice acting and pungent, pitch-perfect writing we have come to expect from Rockstar."[2]

2 ANALYSIS. *RDR* may have "pitch-perfect writing," but a certain tune emerges. For example, African Americans and Native Americans are absent from the story line (although they were clearly present in the West of 1911). The roles of women are limited: They are portrayed as untrustworthy and chronically nagging wives, prostitutes, or nuns—and they can be blithely killed in front of sheriffs and husbands without ramifications. One special mission is to hogtie a nun or prostitute and drop her onto tracks in front of an oncoming train. One gamer in his popular how-to demo on YouTube calls this mission "the coolest achievement I've ever seen in a game."[3]

3 INTERPRETATION. *RDR* may give us a technologically rich immersion into the Wild West of 1911, but it relies on clichés to do so (macho white gunslinger as leading man, weak or contemptible women, vigilante justice). If the macho/misogynistic narrative possibilities and value system of *RDR* seem familiar, it's because the game is based on Rockstar's other video game hit, *Grand Theft Auto* (*GTA*), which lets players have sex with and then graphically kill hookers. *GTA* was heavily criticized for creating an "X-Rated wonderland" and was dubbed "Grand Theft Misogyny."[4] Indeed, Rockstar simply took the *GTA* engine and interface and overlaid new scenes, narratives, and characters, moving from the urban streets of Liberty City to American frontier towns.[5]

4 EVALUATION. The problem with *Red Dead Redemption* is its limited view of history, lack of imagination, and reliance on misogyny as entertainment. Since its gameplay is so similar to that of *GTA*, the specifics of time and place are beside the point—all that's left is killing and hating women. Video games are fun, but what effect do they have on men's attitudes toward women?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Talk to friends about games like *GTA*, *RDR*, and Rockstar's latest, *L.A. Noire*. (Set in 1940s Los Angeles, it also contains scenes with nudity and graphic violence against women.) Comment on blog sites about the ways some games can provide a mask for misogyny, and write to Rockstar itself (www.rockstargames.com), demanding less demeaning narratives regarding women and ethnic minorities.

Regulating Gaming

For decades, concern about violence in video games has led to calls for regulation. Back in 1976, an arcade game called *Death Race* prompted the first public outcry over the violence of electronic gaming. The primitive graphics of the game depicted a blocky car running down stick-figure Gremlins that, if struck, turned into grave markers. Described as "sick and morbid" by the National Safety Council, *Death Race* inspired a *60 Minutes* report on the potential psychological damage of playing video games. Over the next forty years, violent video games would prompt citizen groups and politicians to call for government regulation of electronic games' content.

In 1993, after the violence of *Mortal Kombat* and *Night Trap* attracted the attention of religious and educational organizations, Senator Joe Lieberman conducted a hearing that proposed federal regulation of the gaming industry. Following a pattern established in the movie and music industries, the gaming industry implemented a self-regulation system enforced by an industry panel. The industry founded the **Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB)** in 1994 to institute a labeling system designed to inform parents of sexual and violent content that might not be suitable for younger players. Publishers aren't required to submit their games to the ESRB for a rating, but many retailers will only sell rated games, so gamemakers usually consent to the process. To get a rating, the game companies submit scripts that include any dialogue and music lyrics, and also fill out a questionnaire to describe the story and identify possibly offensive content.[30] Currently the ESRB sorts games into six categories: EC (Early Childhood), E (Everyone), E 10+, T (Teens), M (17+), and AO (Adults Only 18+).

In the most recent effort to regulate video games, California passed a law in 2005 to fine stores $1,000 for selling video games rated M or AO to minors. In 2011, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the law in a 7–2 decision, setting a difficult precedent for the establishment of other laws regulating electronic games.

The Future of Gaming and Interactive Environments

Gaming technology of the future promises a more immersive and portable experience that will touch even more aspects of our lives. The Wii has been successful in harnessing more interactive technology to attract nongamers with its motion-controlled games. Nintendo's latest Wii U system goes a step further—in one game, the controller serves as a shield to block virtual arrows shot by pirates on the TV screen. Microsoft's motion-sensing Xbox Kinect has been a hit since its introduction in late 2010, and with Avatar Kinect, users can control their avatar's motions as the Kinect senses even small physical gestures. In 2012, Sony released its SOEmote facial-tracking and voice-font software with its popular *Everquest II* game, enabling players to give their facial expressions and voices to their avatars. The anticipated release of the Oculus Rift virtual reality headset could further deepen the immersive play of games.

Video games in the future will also continue to move beyond just entertainment. The term *gamification* describes how interactive game experiences are being embedded to bring competition and rewards to everyday activities.[31] Games are already used in workforce training, for social causes, in classrooms, and as part of multimedia journalism. For example, to accompany a news report about texting while driving, the *New York Times* developed an interactive game, *Gauging Your Distraction*, to demonstrate the consequences of distractions (such as cell phones) on driving ability. All these developments continue to make games a larger part of our media experiences.

The Business of Digital Gaming

Today, about 72 percent of households play computer or video games. The entire U.S. video game market, including portable and console hardware and accessories, adds up to about $20.8 billion annually, with global sales reaching $111 billion in 2015. Thanks largely to the introduction of the Wii and mobile games, today's audience for games extends beyond the young-male gamer stereotype. Though the obsessive gamers who frequent GameSpot and IGN are largely youthful and male, the population of casual gamers has grown much more diverse.

According to the video and computer game industry's main trade group, the Entertainment Software Association, the average game player is thirty years old and has been playing games for thirteen years. Women constitute 52 percent of game players. Gamers play across a range of platforms: 51 percent of U.S. households have a video console, 43 percent play games on smartphones, and 37 percent play on a dedicated handheld player. Gamers are social, too: 62 percent of them play games with others, either in person or online.[32] These numbers speak to the economic health of the electronic gaming industry, which has proved recession-proof so far. Digital gaming companies can make money selling not just consoles and games but also online subscriptions, companion books, and movie rights.

The Ownership and Organization of Digital Gaming

For years, the two major components of the gaming industry have been console makers and game publishers. The biggest blockbuster games are still produced and distributed by the leading game publishers, and many are designed to be played on the leading game consoles connected to big television sets. At the same time, the emergence of game platforms on mobile devices and on social networks has expanded the game market and brought new game publishers into the field.

Console Makers

The video game console business is dominated by three major players: Nintendo, Sony, and Microsoft. Nintendo got its start manufacturing Japanese playing cards in 1889. After seventy-seven years, the playing card business was becoming less profitable, and Nintendo began venturing into toy production in the 1960s. By 1974, the toy business evolved into the company distributing Magnavox's *Odyssey* home video console. Nintendo would release its own video game console three years later. In the early 1980s, Nintendo had two major marketing successes. First, the company developed and released the very successful platform game *Donkey Kong* (1981), in which players help Jumpman rescue Lady from the giant ape, Donkey Kong. Developed for multiple consoles, the video game was the Japanese company's breakthrough into the U.S. console market. Second, Nintendo developed the Nintendo Entertainment System (NES) console, which reached U.S. markets in 1985 bundled with the *Super Mario Bros*. platform game. With this package, Nintendo set the standard for video game consoles, Mario and Luigi became household names, and *Super Mario Bros*. became the most successful video series for the next twenty-four years.

Sony, also headquartered in Japan, emerged after World War II as a manufacturer of tape recorders and radios (the name Sony is rooted in the Latin word *sonus*, meaning "sound"). Since then, Sony has been a major player in the consumer electronics industry, producing televisions, VCRs, computers, cameras, and, beginning in the mid-1990s, video game consoles. Its venture into video games came about because of a deal gone bad with Nintendo. Sony had been partnering with Nintendo to create an add-on device to Nintendo's NES that would control music CDs (hence the name they proposed: "play station"). When the partnership fell through, Sony went into direct competition with Nintendo, launching in 1994 the impressive PlayStation console, which doubled the microprocessor size introduced by Sega (from 16 bits to 32 bits) and played both full-motion and 3-D video. Described in the *New York Times* as the "CD-based video game machine," PlayStation was also capable of playing music CDs—a nice retort to Nintendo.[33]

Continuing the console battle, in 1996 Nintendo released Nintendo 64, a doubly powerful 64-bit microprocessor complete with even more realistic images and even clearer 3-D motion graphics. This launch created a buyer's frenzy—for the Nintendo 64 as well as for the *Super Mario 64* game **cartridge** that launched with the console, dubbed by critics "the best video

game ever."[34] Meanwhile, other console makers—such as Sega, Atari, and SNK—were trying to compete, sometimes making incredible technological leaps, like Sega's 128-bit Dreamcast, which came equipped with a built-in modem. Ultimately, these advancements were copied, and then overshadowed, by Nintendo and Sony products.

The main rivalry between Nintendo and Sony was more or less resolved by 1997, with Nintendo claiming the market for children up to age fourteen and Sony's PlayStation becoming the console of choice for serious young-adult gamers. By 1997, the newly broadened audience had created an impressive market for the video game industry worth $5.5 billion.[35] PlayStation 2, released in 2000, heightened this trend. As a masterpiece in console engineering, and through Sony's alliance with third-party game publishers who were churning out the world's most innovative titles (*Call of Duty*, *Final Fantasy*), PlayStation 2 would become the most successful console of all time.

And yet into this new world of serious gaming—so securely dominated by Sony PlayStation—came the computer software goliath Microsoft. "The machine, called Xbox," wrote *New York Times* technology writer John Markoff in 2000, "is both a technical tour de force by the world's largest software publisher and a shot fired across the bow of the giant Sony Corporation, which now dominates the $20 billion video game industry."[36] The Xbox, which represented a $500 million commitment from Microsoft, had many firsts: the first console to feature a built-in hard disk drive; the first to be connected to an online service (Xbox LIVE); and the first to have Dolby Digital sound, for a cinematic sound experience. While Xbox could not offer the arsenal of games that PlayStation gamers had access to, the console did launch with one particular game, *Halo*. Game critics and players immediately recognized this sci-fi first-person shooter game—now a multibillion-dollar franchise—as Microsoft's "killer app."[37]

Today, Sony's PlayStation 4 (2013), Microsoft's Xbox One (2013), and Nintendo's Wii U (2012) are the leading consoles, providing the most creative, interactive, hyperrealistic, and stimulating entertainments.

Game Publishers

As the video game industry moves away from consoles and toward streaming services, browsers, smartphones, and tablets, game publishers have had to adapt to technological innovations and predict future media trends, all while still offering good gameplay and stories. In some cases, the game-console makers are also the game publishers (sometimes making the game *proprietary*, meaning it only plays on that company's system). For example, Microsoft famously published its *Halo* game series to drive sales of the Xbox. Similarly, Sony publishes the *Uncharted* game series just for PlayStation, and Nintendo publishes *The Legend of Zelda* series solely for its gaming platforms.

More often, game publishers are independent companies, distributing games that play across multiple platforms. Sometimes the publishers are also the developers of the game—the people who write the actual code for the game. But publishers may also be just the distributors for the game developers (just as film studios may distribute the work of independent filmmakers). Two leading independent game publishing companies, Activision Blizzard and Electronic Arts, have been particularly good at adaptation and innovation, producing the most imaginative and ambitious titles and selling the most games across multiple platforms. King (*Candy Crush Saga*) and Rovio (*Angry Birds*) are two other major players, respectively dominating in social gaming and mobile gaming.

Activision Blizzard was created through the merging of Activision and Vivendi's Blizzard division in 2008. One half of the company—Activision—got its start in the 1970s as the first independent game developer and distributor, initially providing games for the Atari platform (before Activision, console makers like Atari created only proprietary games for their own systems). Activision was unique in that it rewarded its developers with royalty payments and name credits

on game box covers, something that hadn't yet been considered by other game publishing companies, which kept their developers anonymous. As a result, top game designers and programmers migrated to Activision, and Activision began to produce a number of top-selling games, including the *X-Men* series (2000–), the *Call of Duty* series (2003–), and *Guitar Hero* (2006–2011).

Meanwhile, Blizzard Entertainment, established in 1991 as an independent game publisher, has three famous franchises in game publishing: *Diablo* (1996–), *StarCraft* (1998–), and *World of Warcraft* (2004–). Dedicated, as the company says in its mission statement, to "creating the most epic entertainment experiences . . . ever,"[38] and known for its obsession with game quality, artistic achievement, and commitment to its fans, Blizzard has dominated in real-time strategy games and remains one of the most critically acclaimed game publishers in the world. As one company, Activision Blizzard has become a publishing giant in the industry.

Electronic Arts (EA) got its name by recognizing that the video game is an art form and that software developers are indeed artists; the name Electronic Arts is also a tribute to the United Artists film studio, established in 1919 by three actors and one director—Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and D. W. Griffith—who broke away from the studio-dominated film industry (see page 239). Operating under the same principle that Activision pioneered—of recognizing game developers on the package and paying them high royalty fees—EA was able to secure a stable of top talent and begin producing a promising lineup of titles: *Archon*, *Pinball Construction Set*, *M.U.L.E.*, *Seven Cities of Gold*, *The Bard's Tale*, *Starflight*, and *Wasteland*.

The company's big breakthrough, though, was signing a contract with Super Bowl–winning coach and television football commentator John Madden in 1984. The game, *John Madden Football*, was released in 1988, with annual versions coming out every year since 1990. This became the modus operandi for EA: Create a popular game (or, more typically, buy the company that produces the popular game) and then create annual updates until the game stops selling. The *Madden* series has become a billion-dollar enterprise, and EA has since developed a reputation for specializing in sports games, with such series as *FIFA* (soccer) and *NASCAR* (racing). EA also struck gold with *Battlefield*, *Crysis*, *Rock Band*, *Mass Effect*, and *Dragon Age: Origins*.

Unlike Activision Blizzard, EA has quickly moved toward mobile and social gaming platforms. Electronic Arts acquired PopCap Games, the company that produces both *Bejeweled* and *Plants vs. Zombies*, as well as other social media gaming start-ups, and has more than 127 iPhone game apps and 41 Android game apps for direct download. The company has also sought to compete directly with Activision Blizzard's *World of Warcraft* series by developing (through its Canadian subsidiary, BioWare) the lavish MMORPG game *Star Wars: The Old Republic* (2012), the most expensive game made to date, with a price tag approaching $200 million.[39]

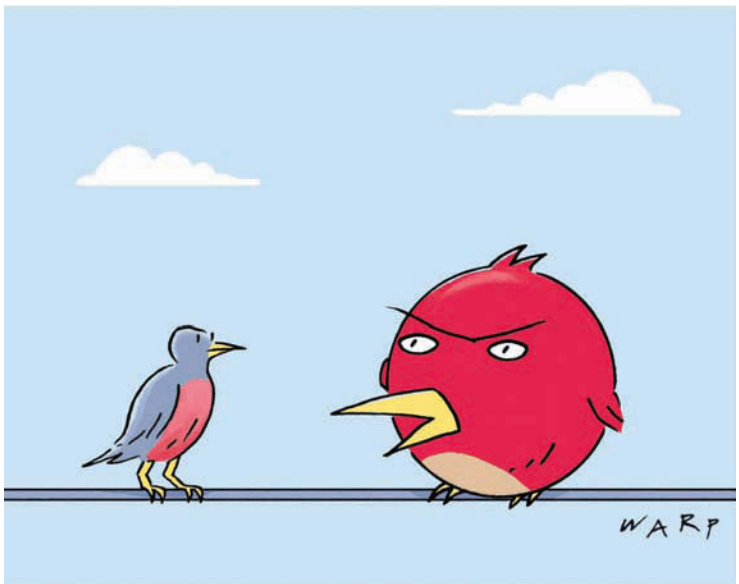
One of the newest major game publishers, Zynga, was established in 2007 and specializes in casual games. *FarmVille*, *Draw Something*, *Zynga Poker*, and *Hidden Chronicles* are among its hit games. But in recent years, Zynga's games on the Facebook platform have lost players to competing developers like King (*Candy Crush Saga*, *Bubble Witch Saga*) and Wooga (*Diamond Dash*, *Bubble Island*). Zynga's next step is developing games for mobile devices to decrease its reliance on Facebook.

The most well-known developer and publisher of games for mobile devices is Rovio, founded in Finland in 2003. In 2010, Rovio's *Angry Birds* became an international phenomenon, as millions of players downloaded the game on touchscreen devices for the chance to slingshot-launch birds at pigs hiding in increasingly complex structures. By 2012 (as Rovio released *Angry Birds Space*), the downloads of all of the company's *Angry Birds* titles reached a billion.[40] Like Zynga, Rovio has moved to diversify, and it brought *Angry Birds* to Facebook in 2012.

Other top game publishers around the world include Square Enix (*Deus Ex*, *Final Fantasy*), Ubisoft (*Assassin's Creed*, *Rayman*), Sega (*Sonic the Hedgehog*, *Super Monkey Ball*), THQ (*Saints Row*, *Red Faction*), and Namco Bandai (*Dark Souls*, *Tekken*).

The Structure of Digital Game Publishing

AAA game titles (games that represent the current standard for technical excellence) can cost as much as a blockbuster film to make and promote. For example, Electronic Art's MMORPG *Star Wars: The Old Republic* (2012) took six years of production, with hundreds of programmers, writers, and artists working on the game, as well as an untold number of contract workers. Using recorded voice dialogue rather than text, *Star Wars: The Old Republic* has more voice acting than any previous game, online or off. To get the game ready for its global launch, EA assembled 1.6 million players to test an early version of the game.[41] Development, licensing, manufacturing, and marketing constitute the major expenditures in game publishing (see Figure 3.2).



© Kim Warp/The New Yorker Collection/www.CartoonBank.com.

"Of course I'm angry—look at me."

ANGRY BIRDS, Rovio's popular mobile video game, had over 2 billion downloads across all mobile platforms by 2014. With a mention on NBC's *30 Rock*, a tie-in with Twentieth Century Fox's animated film *Rio*, and a *New Yorker* cartoon, these fearsome birds have permeated our media culture. A feature film followed in 2016.

Development

The largest part of the **development** budget—the money spent designing, coding, scoring, and testing a game—goes to paying talent, digital artists, and game testers. Each new generation of gaming platforms doubles the number of people involved in designing, programming, and mixing digitized images and sounds.

Licensing

Independent gamemakers must also deal with two types of licensing. First, they have to pay royalties to console manufacturers (Microsoft, Sony, or Nintendo) for the right to distribute a game using their system. These royalties vary from $3 to $10 per unit sold. (Of course, if a console manufacturer such as Nintendo makes its own games exclusively for the Wii, then it doesn't have to pay a console royalty to itself.) The other form of licensing involves **intellectual properties**—stories, characters, personalities, and music that require licensing

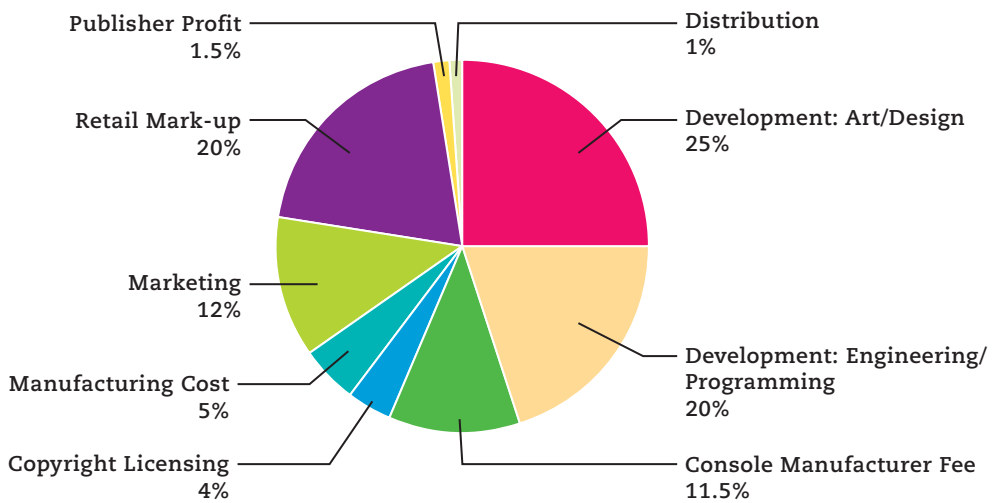


FIGURE 3.2

WHERE THE MONEY GOES ON A $60 VIDEO GAME

Data from: Altered Gamer, *March 30, 2012, www.alteredgamer.com /free-pcgaming/21118-why-are-video -games-so-expensive.*

agreements. In 2005, for instance, John Madden reportedly signed a $150 million deal with EA Sports that allowed the company to use his name and likeness for the next ten years.[42]

Marketing

The marketing costs of launching an electronic game often equal or exceed the development costs. The successful launch of a game involves online promotions, banner ads, magazine print ads, in-store displays, and the most expensive of all: television advertising. In many ways, the marketing blitz associated with introducing a major new franchise title, including cinematic television trailers, resembles the promotional campaign surrounding the debut of a blockbuster movie. For example, Rockstar Games reportedly spent $150 million for the marketing of its 2013 blockbuster release, *Grand Theft Auto V*. In this case, the marketing budget eclipsed the $115 million development budget.[43] Just as avid fans line up for the midnight release of a new *Spider-Man* or *Hunger Games* movie, devoted gamers mob participating retail outlets during the countdown to the midnight launch of a hotly anticipated new game.

Selling Digital Games

Just as digital distribution has altered the relationship between other mass media and their audiences, it has transformed the selling of electronic games. Although the selling of $60 AAA console games at retail stores is an enduring model, many games are now free (with opportunities for hooked players to pay for additional play features), and digital stores are making access to games almost immediate.

Pay Models

There are three main pay models in the electronic game industry: the boxed game/retail model, the subscription model, and free-to-play.

The *boxed game/retail model* is the most traditional and dates back to the days of cartridges on Atari, Sega, and Nintendo console systems from the 1970s to the 1990s. By the 1990s, games were being released on CD-ROMs, and later DVDs, to better handle the richer game files. Many boxed games are now sold with offers of additional downloadable content, known as DLC in gaming circles. For blockbuster console games, retail sales of boxed games still reign as the venue for a game premiere. As of 2013, the biggest game launch ever—in fact, the biggest launch of *any* media product ever—was the September 17, 2013, release of *Grand Theft Auto V*. The game, published by Rockstar Games, generated more than $1 billion in sales in just three days, more than any other previous game or movie release.[44]

Some of the most popular games are also sold via a *subscription model*, in which gamers pay a monthly fee to play. Notable subscription games include *World of Warcraft* and *Star Wars: The Old Republic*. Subscriptions can generate enormous revenue for game publishers. At its height of popularity, *World of Warcraft* earned more than $1 billion a year for Activision Blizzard.[45] Players first buy the game (either boxed or as a download at $19.99, with expansions costing $29.99–$39.99) and then pay a subscription from $12.99 to $14.99 a month. EA's *Star Wars: The Old Republic* has a similar subscription cost.

Free-to-play (sometimes called *freemium*) is the latest pay model and is common with casual and online games, like *100 Balls*. Free-to-play games are offered online or as downloads for free to gain or retain a large audience. These games make money by selling extras, like power boosters (to aid in gameplay), or in-game subscriptions for upgraded play. In addition to free casual games (like *Angry Birds Seasons*, *Clash of Clans*, and *Temple Run*), popular MMORPG games like Sony Online Entertainment's *EverQuest* and *DC Universe Online* offer free-to-play versions. Even *World of Warcraft*, the largest MMORPG, began offering free-to-play for up to twenty levels of the game in 2011 to lure in new players.

Video Game Stores

Apart from buying boxed game titles at stores like Walmart, Best Buy, and Target, or online stores like Amazon, there is really only one major video game store chain devoted entirely to new and used video games: GameStop. The chain, which started in Dallas, Texas, in 1984 as Babbage's, today operates more than sixty-six hundred company stores in the United States and in fourteen other countries, including Canada, Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, and Germany.[46] GameStop stores usually appear in shopping and strip malls, and beyond video titles, they also specialize in gaming magazines (including their own proprietary title, *Game Informer*), strategy guides, and video game accessories.

Today, the traditional brick-and-mortar chain GameStop is trying to negotiate the shifting ground of the digital turn. Some of GameStop's digital survival strategies include selling customers access codes to digital game downloads in the stores, selling Android tablets and refurbished iPads, and investing in other digital gaming companies.

Richard B. Levine/Newscom

MAJOR GAME FRANCHISES like *Call of Duty* from Activision receive launches that rival the biggest film events (like *The Avengers* or the *Transformers* movies) or book publications (like *Harry Potter* or *The Hunger Games*). In fact, the most popular games can match the grosses of the year's biggest movies in a matter of days, thanks to sky-high demand and higher prices.

Digital Distribution

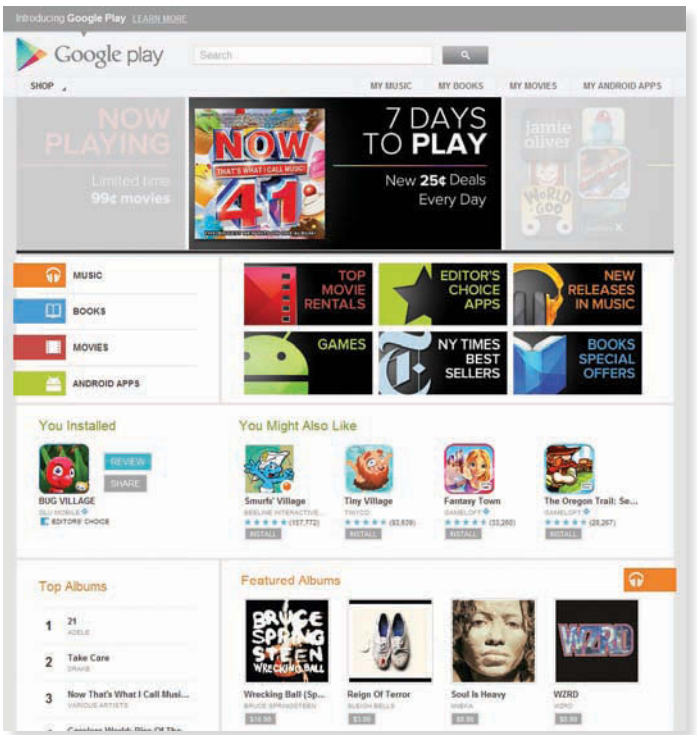
With the advent and growing popularity of digital game distribution, game players don't need to go to a big-box store or retail game shop to buy video games. All three major consoles are Wi-Fi capable, and each has its own digital store—Xbox Games Store, Wii Shop Channel, and PlayStation Store. Customers can purchase and download games, get extra downloadable content, and buy other media—including television shows and movies—as the consoles compete to be the sole entertainment center of people's living rooms. These console-connected digital stores present the biggest threat to brick-and-mortar game stores.

Although the three major console companies control digital downloads to their devices, several companies compete for the download market in PC games. The largest is Steam, with more than seventy-five million subscribers and about 50 percent of the PC game distribution market.[47] Steam is owned by Valve Corporation, which used the digital store to help distribute its *Counter-Strike* game online starting in 2003. Steam also carries more than three thousand games from a wide range of game publishers. Other companies that sell digital game downloads for PCs include Amazon's Appstore, GameStop, Microsoft's Games Marketplace, Origin (owned by EA), and GameFly.

Of course, the most ubiquitous digital game distributors are Apple's App Store and Google Play, where users can purchase games on mobile devices. Although Google's Android system has surpassed the iPhone in market penetration, Apple customers are more likely to purchase apps, including games. This has drawn more independent developers to work in the Apple operating system. As one technology writer summarized, "Quite simply, developers have long known that Apple device owners are closely locked into the Apple ecosystem, with credit cards on file."[48]

Alternative Voices

The advent of mobile gaming has provided a new entry point for independent game developers. As *Canadian Business* magazine noted, the cost of entry has decreased substantially. "The average cost of making a major console game for Xbox 360 and PlayStation3 is about $20 million, but almost anyone can churn out a new game app for the iPhone. And independent



GOOGLE PLAY, formerly known as the Android Market, allows Android users to browse and download their favorite video games directly to their mobile devices. And while it has been shown that Apple customers are more likely to purchase apps, Google Play kept pace with Apple's App Store, with 1.2 million apps available by 2014.

Google, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

developers need only pay Apple's $99 fee for a developer's account to get their creations to the market—no Best Buy or Walmart shelf space required."[49]

But even so, time and money are still required to develop quality games. Many independent game developers and smaller game companies, shunned by big game publishers who are focused on the next big blockbuster games, are finding funding through Kickstarter, the crowdsource fund-raising social media Web site for creative projects. Video game developers make a brief pitch on Kickstarter and then request a modest amount—sometimes just a few thousand dollars—from supporters to get started. "Rather than seeking help from publishers who demand a high rate of return and, thus, a product that appeals to a broad group of gamers, developers can turn directly to their most devoted fans," the *Washington Post* explained. "And if enough of those fans are willing to pony up cash for the promise of a game that suits their tastes, it gets made, regardless of how quirky or niche-oriented it is."[50] (The Oculus Rift virtual reality headset that Facebook bought for $2 billion got its start in a comparatively modest Kickstarter campaign, which raised more than $2.4 million, far exceeding its $250,000 goal.) A number of top games at Apple's App Store—including *Temple Run*, *Tiny Wings*, and *Jetpack Joyride*—are great success stories, started by small independent developers. But the cautionary tale is that it takes incredible persistence against great odds to make a successful game. Rovio made fifty-one failed app games in six years and nearly folded before *Angry Birds* became a worldwide success in 2009.

Digital Gaming, Free Speech, and Democracy

Though 80 percent of retail outlets voluntarily chose to observe the ESRB guidelines and not sell M- and AO-rated games to minors, the ratings did not have force of law. That changed in 2005, when California enacted a law to make renting or selling an M-rated game to a minor an offense enforced by fines. The law was immediately challenged by the industry and struck down by a lower court as unconstitutional. California petitioned the Supreme Court to hear the case. In a landmark decision handed down in 2011, the Supreme Court granted electronic games speech protections afforded by the First Amendment. According to the opinion written by Justice Antonin Scalia, video games communicate ideas worthy of such protection:

Like the protected books, plays, and movies that preceded them, video games communicate ideas—and even social messages—through many familiar literary devices (such as characters, dialogue, plot, and music) and through features distinctive to the medium (such as the player's interaction with the virtual world).[51]

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Video Game Industry

Ian Williams, Student and Freelance Writer

I started as a QA (Quality Assurance) engineer, and a QA's job is to break things in-game, record how the things were broken, and then pass the information to the content creation team, who would hopefully fix them. It's a common entry-level gig in the industry, one that gives you a broad enough knowledge of how things work to eventually launch something more specialized.

Lisa Brown, Designer, Insomniac Games

Should people learn to code? I think so! Even if you aren't planning on becoming a programmer, it really helps you get a feel and an appreciation for the medium you're working in—and will help you talk to your programmer teammates in the future.

Sarah Ford, Indie Developer

I'm useless with code, so most of my beginner games were made in conjunction with coders and designers, many of whom found my art online and dug it enough to want to work with me. It helps if you think in assets, if you're wanting to get into games art. It's not just about creating a picture of a cool car in a neon cityscape—it's about thinking about all the little parts that make up that scene, from the car to the buildings that create the skyline down to the surface of the road itself.

Andy Grossman, Video Game Developer

Even if you're lucky enough to land that dream job at Valve or Nintendo or Blizzard, and you get to work on a beloved franchise, you'll hate it when you're done. Try enjoying *Halo* after you get reprimanded for slightly coloring Master Chief's helmet off the style guide. You won't. The magic will be gone: An endless universe filled with infinite stories will be replaced by a group of bug logs reporting that Nathan Drake's eyes are missing in cut scenes.

Allison Salmon, Game Developer and Software Engineer, Learning Games Network

I experienced far more discrimination and harassment during my time in college than I did while working in AAA. So I guess some of my advice would be don't let the unfriendliness of certain gamer cultures scare you away from the video game industry.

Keith Stuart, Games Editor, the *Guardian*

We are entering an era of diverse artistic and emotional expression. It's no longer about dumb muscle-heads saving the princess (not that games were ever about just that)—this is a creative medium bursting with interesting, weird, and challenging ideas. In the seventies, kids turned to guitars and the punk movement to express themselves. Now they're just as likely to write and distribute games that reach thousands.

Scalia even mentions *Mortal Kombat* in footnote 4 of the decision:

Reading Dante is unquestionably more cultured and intellectually edifying than playing Mortal Kombat. *But these cultural and intellectual differences are not constitutional ones. Crudely violent video games, tawdry TV shows, and cheap novels and magazines are no less forms of speech than* The Divine Comedy. . . . *Even if we can see in them "nothing of any possible value to society . . . they are as much entitled to the protection of free speech as the best of literature."*

With the Supreme Court decision, electronic games achieved the same First Amendment protection afforded to other mass media. However, as in the music, television, and film industries, First Amendment protections will not make the rating system for the gaming industry go away. Parents continue to have legitimate concerns about the games their children play. Game publishers and retailers understand it is still in their best interest to respect those concerns even though the ratings cannot be enforced by law.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of our favorite quotes that we like to use in our teaching is from writer Joan Didion, in her book* The White Album. *She wrote: "We tell ourselves stories in order to live." Telling stories is one of the constants of cultural expression across the mass media. But with digital games, is it still a story—or, better yet, what is it that is being communicated—if we are crafting our own individual narrative as we play through a game?

Books, television, movies, newspapers, magazines, and even musical recordings tell us stories about the human experience. Digital games, especially ones in which we play as a character or an avatar, offer perhaps the most immersive storytelling experience of any medium.

Gamers have already shifted away from traditional media stories to those of video games. The Entertainment Software Association reported that gamers who played more video games than they had three years earlier were spending less time going to the movies (47 percent of respondents), watching TV (48 percent), and watching movies at home (47 percent).[52] Clearly, video games are in competition with movies and television for consumers' attention. But as we move from the kind of storytelling we experience as audience members of TV and movies to the storytelling we experience as players of games, what happens to the story? Is it still a mass mediated story, or is it something else?

Jon Spaihts, screenwriter of the science-fiction film *Prometheus* (2012), identified an essential difference between the stories and storytelling in games and in films. "The central character of a game is most often a cipher—an avatar into which the player projects himself or herself. The story has to have a looseness to accommodate the player's choices," Spaihts said. Conversely, "a filmmaker is trying to make you look at something a certain way—almost to force an experience on you," he added.[53] Thus the question of who is doing the storytelling—a producer/director or the game player—is a significant one.

Such was the case in the furor over *Mass Effect 3* in 2012. After players spent from 120 to 150 hours advancing through the trilogy, in which they could make hundreds of choices in the sequence of events, the final act took that power away from them with a tightly scripted finish. The players complained loudly, and the cofounder of BioWare, the game's developer, issued an apology: "*Mass Effect 3* concludes a trilogy with so much player control and ownership of the story that it was hard for us to predict the range of emotions players would feel when they finished playing through it. The journey you undertake in *Mass Effect* provokes an intense range of highly personal emotions in the player; even so, the passionate reaction of some of our most loyal players to the current endings in *Mass Effect 3* is something that has genuinely surprised us." BioWare said that it would create a new ending with "a number of game content initiatives that will help answer the questions, providing more clarity for those seeking further closure to their journey."[54]

Certainly the audience of a movie will have a range of interpretations of the movie's story. But what of the stories we are telling ourselves as players of games like *Mass Effect*? Is such personally immersive storytelling better, worse, or just different? And who is doing the storytelling?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

penny arcade, 76
pinball machine, 76
arcades, 78
avatar, 79
consoles, 79
massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs), 81
online fantasy sports, 82
gameplay, 84
action games, 86
first-person shooter (FPS), 86
adventure games, 88
role-playing games (RPGs), 88
strategy games, 88
simulation games, 88
casual games, 89
PUGs, 90
noobs, 90
ninjas, 90
trolls, 90
guilds *or* clans, 90
collective intelligence, 91
modding, 91
advergames, 93
in-game advertisements, 93
Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB), 99
cartridge, 100
development, 103
intellectual properties, 103

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

The Development of Digital Gaming

1. What sparked the creation of mechanical games in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries?
2. What technology enabled the evolution of the first video games?
3. How are classic arcade games and the culture of the arcade similar to today's popular console games and gaming culture?
4. What are the three major consoles, and what distinguishes them from each other?
5. What advantages did personal computers have over video game consoles in the late 1980s and much of the 1990s?

The Internet Transforms Gaming

6. How are MMORPGs, virtual worlds, and online fantasy sports built around online social interaction?
7. How has digital convergence changed the function of gaming consoles?

The Media Playground

8. What are the main genres within digital gaming?
9. What are the two basic kinds of virtual communities?
10. How do collective intelligence, gaming Web sites, and game conventions enhance the social experience of gaming and make games different from other mass media?

Trends and Issues in Digital Gaming

11. How have digital games influenced media culture, and vice versa?
12. In what ways has advertising become incorporated into electronic games?
13. To what extent are video game addiction and violent and misogynistic representations problems for the gaming industry?
14. How are digital games regulated?
15. What might video games be like in the future?

The Business of Digital Gaming

16. What are the roles of two major components of the gaming industry: console makers and game publishers?
17. How do game publishers develop, license, and market new titles?
18. What are the three major pay models for selling video games today?
19. How can small, independent game developers get their start in the industry?

Digital Gaming, Free Speech, and Democracy

20. Why did the U.S. Supreme Court rule that games count as speech?
21. Why does the game industry still rate digital games, even if it isn't required by law to do so?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. Do you have any strong memories from playing early video games? To what extent did these games define your childhood?
2. What role does digital gaming play in your life today? Are you more inclined to play casual games or more involved games, and why?
3. Do you have a story about game addiction, either your own or from someone you know? Explain.
4. Have you ever been appalled at the level of violence, misogyny, or racism in a video game you played (or watched being played)? Discuss the game narrative and what made it problematic.
5. Most electronic games produced have a white, male, heterosexual point of view. Why is that? If you were a game developer, what kinds of game narratives would you like to see developed?

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PART 2

Sounds and Images

Richard B. Levine/Newscom

The dominant media of the twentieth century were all about sounds and images: music, radio, television, and film. Each of these media industries was built around a handful of powerful groups—record labels, radio networks, television networks, and film studios—that set the terms for creating and distributing this popular media content. The main story of these media industries was one of ever-improving technology. For example, television moved from black-and-white to color, from analog broadcast transmissions to digital cable.

Music, radio, TV, and movies are still significant media in our lives. But convergence and the digital turn have changed the story of our sound and image media. Starting with the music industry and the introduction of Napster in 1999, one by one these media industries have had to cope with revolutionary changes. More than a decade later, the traditional media corporations have much less power in dictating what we listen to and watch. The narrative of ever-improving technology has been upended and replaced with wholly different technology.

We now live in a world where any and all media can be consumed via the Internet on laptops, tablets, smartphones, and video game consoles. As a result, we have seen the demise of record stores and video stores, local radio deejays, and the big network TV hit. Traditional media corporations are playing catch-up, devising new online services to bring their offerings to us and still make money. (Hulu, NBC.com, and iHeartRadio are good examples.) Meanwhile, start-up technology and content companies and anyone with a video camera and a YouTube account are competing with the major media corporations on the same Internet playing field. Pandora, iTunes, Vevo, YouTube, Amazon, and Netflix have all become significant distributors of sounds and images.

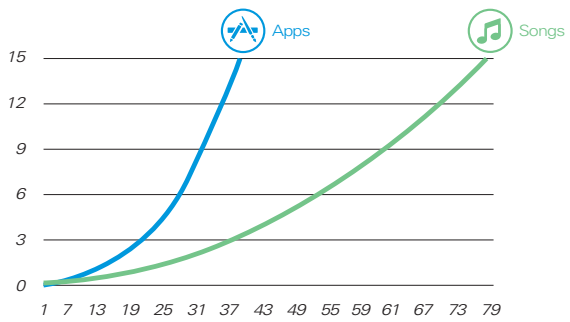
Moreover, as we consume all types of media content on a single device or through a single service, the traditionally separate "identities" of music, radio, television, and film have become blurred. For example, people might download an audio book and the latest pop single onto their iPods, or stream an album on a subscription service like Spotify, or listen to a genre of music on streaming radio. Similarly, more and more people are choosing to watch their video content on Netflix or Hulu—where TV programs and movies exist side by side.

The major media of the twentieth century are mostly still with us, but the twenty-first-century story of what form that content will take, how we will experience it, and even what we might call the activity (we may need new words for incessantly Snapchatting our friends or creating a customized Internet radio channel) is still up for grabs.

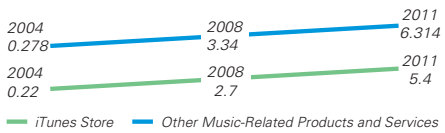
HOW WE WATCH AND LISTEN TODAY

ITUNES AND PANDORA REINVENT HOW WE LISTEN TO MUSIC

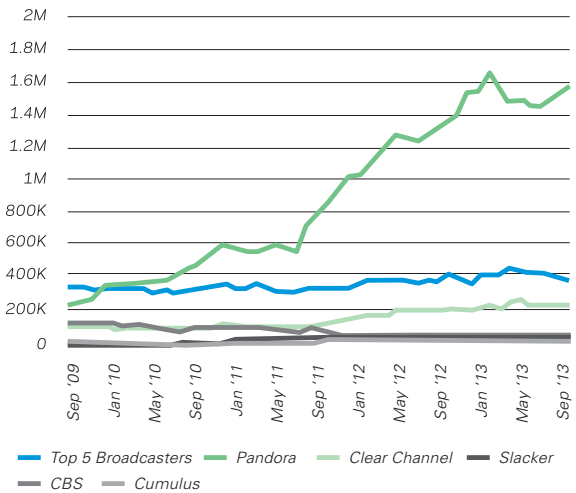
iTunes Downloads Totals (Billions of Units, Months after Launch)



iTunes Revenues. Shown in Billions (USD)

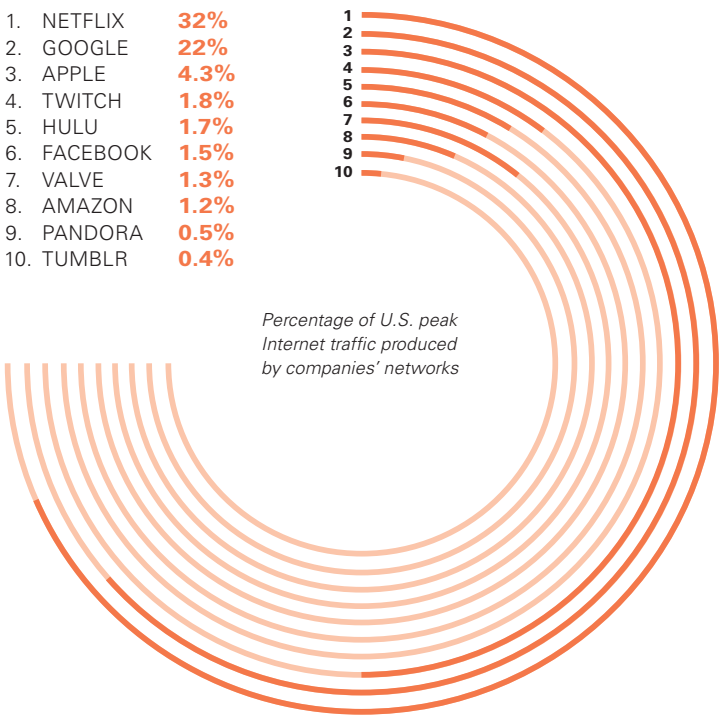


Historical Trend. Average Active Sessions (Domestic, Mon–Sun 6a–12m)



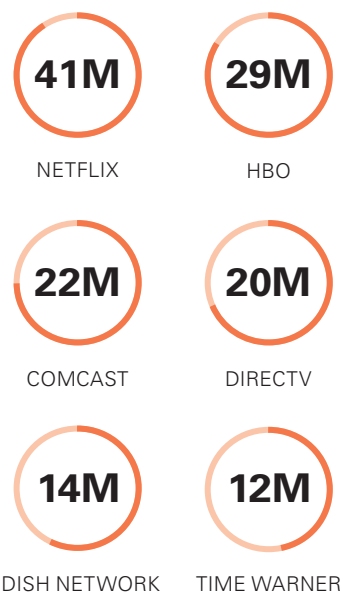
NETFLIX, YOUTUBE, AND APPLE REINVENT HOW WE WATCH MOVIES AND TELEVISION

1.	NETFLIX	32%
2.	GOOGLE	22%
3.	APPLE	4.3%
4.	TWITCH	1.8%
5.	HULU	1.7%
6.	FACEBOOK	1.5%
7.	VALVE	1.3%
8.	AMAZON	1.2%
9.	PANDORA	0.5%
10.	TUMBLR	0.4%



Percentage of U.S. peak Internet traffic produced by companies' networks

U.S. VIDEO SUBSCRIBERS
1st Quarter 2015



Jun Sato/Getty Images for TS

4

Sound Recording and Popular Music

115
The Development of Sound Recording

122
U.S. Popular Music and the Formation of Rock

129
A Changing Industry: Reformations in Popular Music

136
The Business of Sound Recording

144
Sound Recording, Free Expression, and Democracy

Taylor Swift has become such a music-industry phenomenon that the only artist in the world able to compete with her isn't even human: It's Elsa, the cartoon ice princess from Disney's *Frozen*, who sang the smash hit "Let It Go." Even with Elsa on her heels, Swift still had the No. 1 album in the United States in 2014, with her 3.66-million-selling *1989* edging out the 3.57 million copies sold of the *Frozen* soundtrack. No other artist was even close; the next-biggest release was Sam Smith's smash release *In the Lonely Hour,* which reached album sales of 1.2 million in 2014.[1]

Since her debut release of *Taylor Swift* in 2006, at the age of sixteen, Swift has become one of the best-selling singer-songwriters—not only of the past decade but of all time, transitioning from a country-based artist to a top pop-chart star. Her songs often tell personal stories and have gained a stronger feminist perspective over time, exemplified in such hits as "Love Story," "You Belong with Me," "Fifteen," "We Are Never Ever Getting Back Together," "I Knew You Were Trouble," "Shake It Off," "Blank Space," and "Bad Blood."

Swift's career has blossomed in the midst of a changing music industry, and she has been a pioneer in terms of maintaining control of her own career. Her first mark of independence was when she signed in 2005 with a new independent music label in Nashville, Big Machine Records. Swift, along with label-mates Rascal Flatts and Tim McGraw, have propelled Big Machine to its current status as one of the most significant independent labels in the country. Even with her initial success, Swift has stuck with the independent label for five albums, never seeing the need to jump to a major label. (She has one more album to go under her current contract with Big Machine.)

Swift has also developed unique sponsorships for her album sales. For example, Target stores carried special editions of her last three recordings, adding extra promotion to her marketing efforts alongside her celebrity endorsement deals with Subway, Diet Coke, Papa Johns, Walgreens, Keds, Elizabeth Arden, and Cover Girl.

Yet ultimately Swift's success comes down to the connection with her fans. She is the only artist to sell more than one million copies of an album in its debut week *three* times in the past fifteen years (with *Speak Now* in 2010, *Red* in 2012, and *1989* in 2014). In the first week of *1989*'s release, its sales accounted for 22 percent of *all* album sales in the United States. Swift is such a dominant force in music today that *Bloomberg Businessweek* published a story with the headline "Taylor Swift *Is* the Music Industry."[2]

With that success comes a certain amount of power, and Swift has wielded it to advocate for fair compensation for artists. In 2014, she removed her music from the streaming site Spotify, becoming the biggest among many artists dissatisfied with the company's low compensation for music creators. "I'm not willing to contribute my life's work to an experiment that I don't feel fairly compensates the writers, producers, artists, and creators of this music," she told Yahoo! "And I just don't agree with perpetuating the perception that music has no value and should be free."[3] Swift also wrote a column for the *Wall Street Journal* reinforcing her views on the industry.[4]

In 2015, Swift took on an even bigger music company: Apple. In a post to her Tumblr blog titled "To Apple, Love Taylor," Swift wrote, "I'm sure you are aware that Apple Music will be offering a free three-month trial to anyone who signs up for the service. I'm not sure you know that Apple Music will not be paying writers, producers, or artists for those three months. I find it to be shocking, disappointing, and completely unlike this historically progressive and generous company."[5]

Though Swift stood to miss out on plenty of revenue without payment for trial uses, she said she was speaking up for artists who didn't have the power to do so. "These are not the complaints of a spoiled, petulant child. These are the echoed sentiments of every artist, writer and producer in my social circles who are afraid to speak up publicly because we admire and respect Apple so much."[6] Although just in her mid-twenties, Swift is assured enough to take on the biggest company in music. And like the strong young woman in her song lyrics, she isn't willing to back down.

In less than one day, Apple capitulated and agreed to pay artists royalties for the three-month Apple Music trial period.

THE MEDIUM OF SOUND RECORDING has had an immense impact on our culture. The music that helps shape our identities and comforts us during the transition from childhood to adulthood resonates throughout our lives, and it often stirs debate among parents and teenagers, teachers and students, and politicians and performers, many times leading to social change. Throughout its history, popular music has been banned by parents, school officials, and even governments under the guise of protecting young people from corrupting influences. As far back as the late eighteenth century, authorities in Europe, thinking that it was immoral for young people to dance close together, outlawed waltz music as "savagery." Between the 1920s and the 1940s, jazz music was criticized for its unbridled and sometimes free-form sound and the unrestrained dance crazes (such as the Charleston and the jitterbug) it inspired. Rock and roll from the 1950s onward and hip-hop from the 1980s to today have also added their own chapters to the age-old musical battle between generations.

In this chapter, we will place the impact of popular music in context and:

- Investigate the origins of recording's technological "hardware," from Thomas Edison's early phonograph to Emile Berliner's invention of the flat disk record and the development of audiotape, compact discs, and MP3s
- Study radio's early threat to sound recording and the subsequent alliance between the two media when television arrived in the 1950s
- Explore the impact of the Internet on music, including the effects of online piracy and how the industry is adapting to the new era of convergence with new models for distributing and promoting music, from downloads to streaming
- Examine the content and culture of the music industry, focusing on the predominant role of rock music and its extraordinary impact on mass media forms and a diverse array of cultures, both American and international
- Explore the economic and democratic issues facing the recording industry

As you consider these topics, think about your own relationship with popular music and sound recordings. Who was your first favorite group or singer? How old were you, and what was important to you about this music? How has the way you listen to music changed in the past five years? For more questions to help you think through the role of music in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

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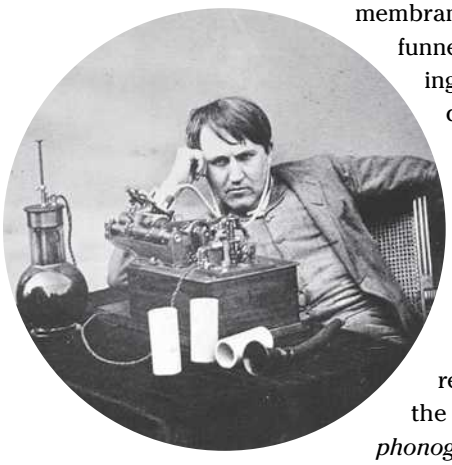
The Development of Sound Recording

New mass media have often been defined in terms of the communication technologies that preceded them. For example, movies were initially called *motion pictures*, a term that derived from photography; radio was known as *wireless telegraphy*, referring to telegraphs; and television was often called *picture radio*. Likewise, sound recording instruments were initially described as talking machines and later as phonographs, indicating the existing innovations, the tele*phone* and the tele*graph*. This early blending of technology foreshadowed our contemporary era, in which media as diverse as newspapers and movies converge on the Internet. Long before the Internet, however, the first major media convergence involved the relationship between the sound recording and radio industries.

From Cylinders to Disks: Sound Recording Becomes a Mass Medium

In the 1850s, the French printer Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville conducted the first experiments with sound recording. Using a hog's hair bristle as a needle, he tied one end to a thin membrane stretched over the narrow part of a funnel. When the inventor spoke into the funnel, the membrane vibrated and the free end of the bristle made grooves on a revolving cylinder coated with a thick liquid called *lamp black*. De Martinville noticed that different sounds made different trails in the lamp black, but he could not figure out how to play back the sound. However, his experiments did usher in the *development stage* of sound recording as a mass medium. In 2008, audio researchers using high-resolution scans of the recordings and a digital stylus were finally able to play back some of de Martinville's recordings for the first time.[7]



THOMAS EDISON
In addition to inventing the phonograph, Edison (1847–1931) ran an industrial research lab that is credited with inventing the motion picture camera, the first commercially successful lightbulb, and a system for distributing electricity.

© Bettmann/Corbis

In 1877, Thomas Edison had success playing back sound. He recorded his own voice by using a needle to press his voice's sound waves onto tinfoil wrapped around a metal cylinder about the size of a cardboard toilet-paper roll. After recording his voice, Edison played it back by repositioning the needle to retrace the grooves in the foil. The machine that played these cylinders became known as the *phonograph*, derived from the Greek terms for "sound" and "writing."

Thomas Edison was more than an inventor—he was also able to envision the practical uses of his inventions and ways to market them. Moving sound recording into its *entrepreneurial stage*, Edison patented his phonograph in 1878 as a kind of answering machine. He thought the phonograph would be used as a "telephone repeater" that would "provide invaluable records, instead of being the recipient of momentary and fleeting communication."[8] Edison's phonograph patent was specifically for a device that recorded and played back foil cylinders. Because of this limitation, in 1886 Chichester Bell (cousin of telephone inventor Alexander Graham Bell) and Charles Sumner Tainter were able to further sound recording by patenting an improvement on the phonograph. Their sound recording device,

Sound Recording and Popular Music

de Martinville
The first experiments with sound are conducted in the 1850s using a hog's hair bristle as a needle; de Martinville can record sound, but he can't play it back (p. 116).

Flat Disk
Berliner invents the flat disk in 1887 and develops the gramophone to play it. The disks are easily mass-produced, a labeling system is introduced, and sound recording becomes a mass medium (p. 117).

Radio Threatens the Sound Recording Industry
By 1925, "free" music can be heard over the airwaves (p. 121).

Audiotape
Developed in Germany in the early 1940s, audiotape enables multitrack recording. Taping technology comes to the United States after WWII (p. 118).

1850 • 1880 • 1890 • 1900 • 1910 • 1920 • 1930 • 1940

Phonograph
In 1877, Edison figures out how to play back sound, thinking this invention would make a good answering machine (p. 116).

Victrolas
Around 1910, music players enter living rooms as elaborate furniture centerpieces, replacing pianos as musical entertainment (p. 117).

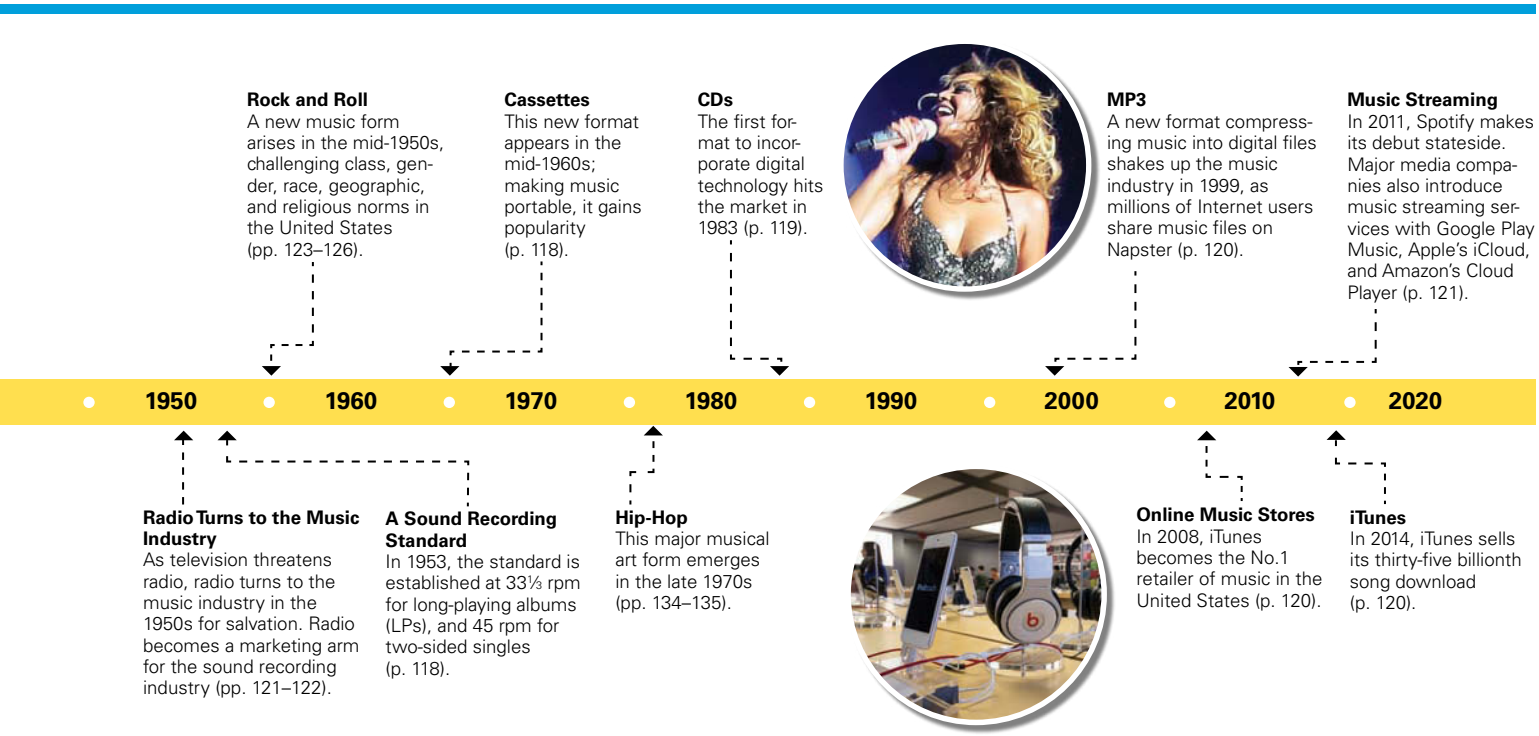
Photo by Robert Johnson Estate/Hulton Archive/Getty Images (top); Popperfoto/Getty Images (bottom)

known as the *graphophone*, played back more durable wax cylinders.[9] Both Edison's phonograph and Bell and Tainter's graphophone had only marginal success as voice-recording office machines. Eventually, both sets of inventors began to produce cylinders with prerecorded music, which proved to be more popular but difficult to mass-produce and not very durable for repeated plays.

Using ideas from Edison, Bell, and Tainter, Emile Berliner, a German engineer who had immigrated to America, developed a better machine that played round, flat disks, or records. Made of zinc and coated with beeswax, these records played on a turntable, which Berliner called a *gramophone* and patented in 1887. Berliner also developed a technique that enabled him to mass-produce his round records, bringing sound recording into its *mass medium stage*. Previously, using Edison's cylinder, performers had to play or sing into the speaker for each separate recording. Berliner's technique featured a master recording from which copies could be easily duplicated in mass quantities. In addition, Berliner's records could be stamped with labels, allowing the music to be differentiated by title, performer, and songwriter. This led to the development of a "star system," wherein fans could identify and choose their favorite artists across many records.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, record-playing phonographs were widely available for home use. In 1906, the Victor Talking Machine Company placed the hardware, or "guts," of the record player inside a piece of furniture. These early record players, known as Victrolas, were mechanical and had to be primed with a crank handle. As more homes were wired for electricity, electric record players, first available in 1925, gradually replaced Victrolas, and the gramophone soon became an essential appliance in most American homes.

The appeal of recorded music was limited at first because of sound quality. The original wax records were replaced by shellac discs, but these records were also very fragile and didn't improve the sound quality much. By the 1930s, in part because of the advent of radio and in part because of the Great Depression, record and phonograph sales declined dramatically. However, in the early 1940s, shellac was needed for World War II munitions production, so the record industry turned to manufacturing polyvinyl plastic records instead. The vinyl



© Rick Davis/Splash News/Corbis (top);
Richard B. Levine/Newscom (bottom)

recordings turned out to be more durable than shellac records and less noisy, paving the way for a renewed consumer desire to buy recorded music.

In 1948, CBS Records introduced the 33⅓-rpm (revolutions per minute) *long-playing record* (LP), with about twenty minutes of music on each side, creating a market for multisong albums and classical music. This was an improvement over the three to four minutes of music contained on the existing 78-rpm records. The next year, RCA developed a competing 45-rpm record that featured a quarter-size hole (best for jukeboxes) and invigorated the sales of songs heard on jukeboxes throughout the country. Unfortunately, the two new record standards were not technically compatible, meaning the two types of records could not be played on each other's machines. A five-year marketing battle ensued, similar to the Macintosh-versus-Windows conflict over computer-operating-system standards in the 1980s and 1990s or the battle between Blu-ray and HD DVD in the mid-2000s. In 1953, CBS and RCA compromised. The LP became the standard for long-playing albums, the 45 became the standard for singles, and record players were designed to accommodate 45s, LPs, and, for a while, 78s.

From Phonographs to CDs: Analog Goes Digital

The inventions of the phonograph and the record were the key sound recording advancements until the advent of magnetic **audiotape** and tape players in the 1940s. Magnetic tape sound recording was first developed as early as 1929 and further refined in the 1930s, but it didn't catch on initially because the first machines were bulky reel-to-reel devices, the amount of tape required to make a recording was unwieldy, and the tape itself broke or became damaged easily. However, owing largely to improvements by German engineers who developed plastic magnetic tape during World War II, audiotape eventually found its place.

Audiotape's lightweight magnetized strands finally made possible sound editing and multiple-track mixing, in which instrumentals or vocals could be recorded at one location and later mixed onto a master recording in another studio. This led to a vast improvement in studio recordings and subsequent increases in sales, although the recordings continued to be sold primarily in vinyl format rather than on reel-to-reel tape. By the mid-1960s, engineers had placed miniaturized reel-to-reel audiotape inside small plastic *cassettes* and developed portable cassette players, permitting listeners to bring recorded music anywhere and creating a market for prerecorded cassettes. Audiotape also permitted "home dubbing": Consumers could copy their favorite records onto tape or record songs from the radio. The cassette format also gave rise to the Sony Walkman, a portable cassette player that foreshadowed the release of the iPod two decades later.

Some thought the portability, superior sound, and recording capabilities of audiotape would mean the demise of records. Although records had retained essentially the same format since the advent of vinyl, the popularity of records continued, in part due to the improved sound fidelity that came with stereophonic sound. Invented in 1931 by engineer Alan Blumlein but not put to commercial use until 1958, **stereo** permitted the recording of two separate channels, or tracks, of sound. Recording-studio engineers, using audiotape, could now record many instrumental or vocal tracks, which they "mixed down" to two stereo tracks. When played back through two loudspeakers, stereo creates a more natural sound distribution. By 1971, stereo sound had been advanced into *quadraphonic*, or four-track, sound, but that never caught on commercially.

The biggest recording advancement came in the 1970s, when electrical engineer Thomas Stockham made the first digital audio recordings on standard computer equipment. Although the digital recorder was invented in 1967, Stockham was the first to put it to practical use. In contrast to **analog recording**, which captures the fluctuations of sound waves and stores those signals in a record's grooves or a tape's continuous stream of magnetized particles, **digital recording** translates sound waves into binary on-off pulses and stores that information

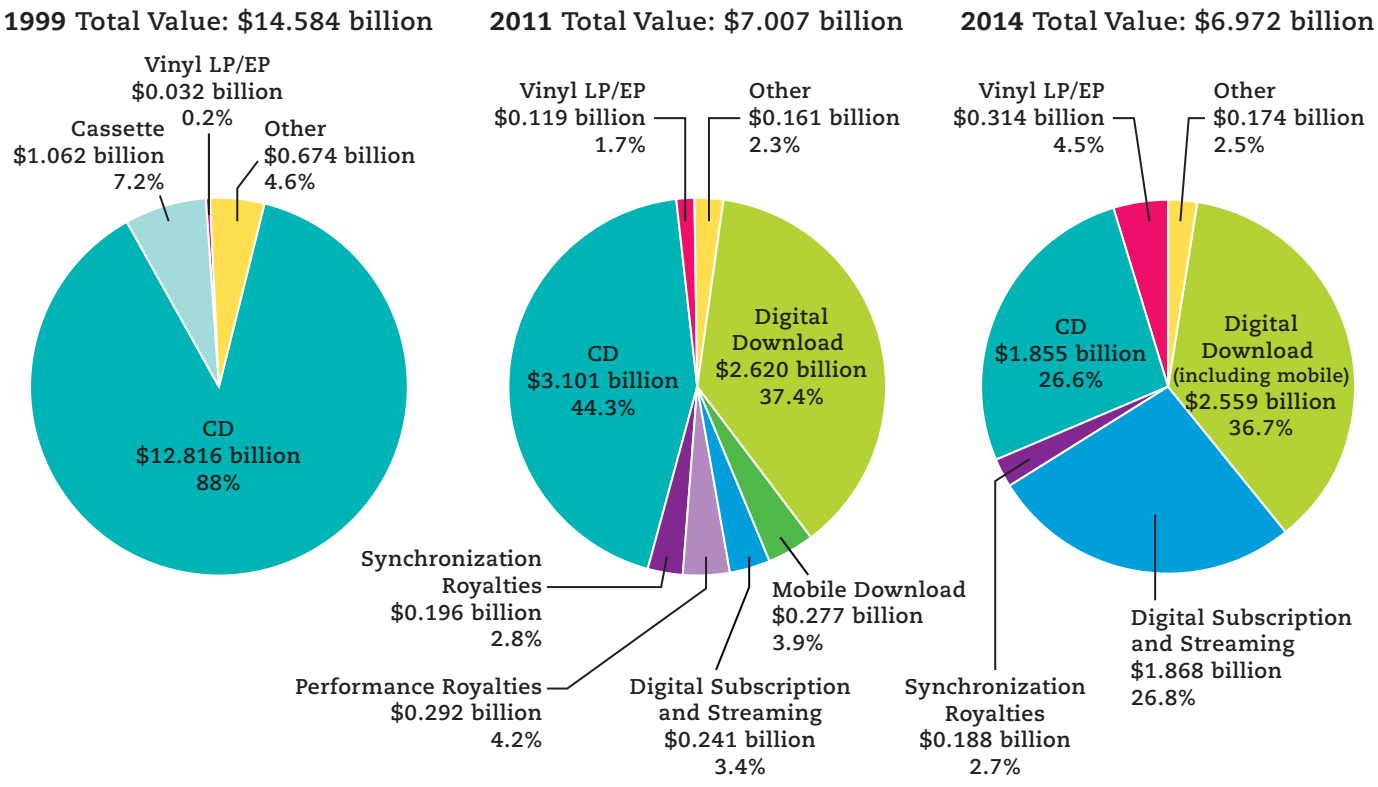


FIGURE 4.1

THE EVOLUTION OF DIGITAL SOUND RECORDING SALES (REVENUE IN BILLIONS)

Data from: Recording Industry Association of America, Annual Year-End Statistics. Figures are rounded.

Note: The year 1999 is the year Napster arrived, and the peak year of industry revenue. In 2011, digital product revenue surpassed physical product revenue for the first time. In 2014, digital download revenue dropped for the second year in a row as digital subscriptions and streaming gained in popularity. Synchronization royalties are those from music being licensed for use in television, movies, and advertisements.

as numerical code. When a digital recording is played back, a microprocessor translates those numerical codes back into sounds and sends them to loudspeakers. By the late 1970s, Sony and Philips were jointly working on a way to design a digitally recorded disc and player to take advantage of this new technology, which could be produced at a lower cost than either vinyl records or audiocassettes. As a result of their efforts, digitally recorded **compact discs (CDs)** hit the market in 1983.

By 1987, CD sales were double the amount of LP record album sales. By 2000, CDs rendered records and audiocassettes nearly obsolete, except for DJs and record enthusiasts who continued to play and collect vinyl LPs. In an effort to create new product lines and maintain consumer sales, the music industry promoted two advanced digital disc formats in the late 1990s, which it hoped would eventually replace standard CDs. However, the introduction of these formats was ill-timed for the industry, because the biggest development in music formatting was already on the horizon—the MP3.

Convergence: Sound Recording in the Internet Age

Music, perhaps more so than any other mass medium, is bound up in the social fabric of our lives. Ever since the introduction of the tape recorder and the heyday of homemade mixtapes, music has been something that we have shared eagerly with friends.

It is not surprising, then, that the Internet, a mass medium that links individuals and communities together like no other medium, became a hub for sharing music. In fact, the reason college student Shawn Fanning said he developed the groundbreaking file-sharing site Napster in 1999 was "to build communities around different types of music."[10] But this convergence with the Internet began to unravel the music industry in the 2000s. The changes in the music industry were set in motion about two decades ago, with the proliferation of Internet use and the development of a new digital file format.

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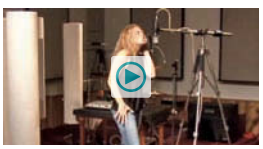


Recording Music Today
Composer Scott Dugdale discusses technological innovations in music recording.
Discussion: What surprised you the most about the way the video showed a song being produced, and why?

MP3s and File-Sharing

The **MP3** file format, developed in 1992, enables digital recordings to be compressed into smaller, more manageable files. With the increasing popularity of the Internet in the mid-1990s, computer users began swapping MP3 music files online because they could be uploaded or downloaded in a fraction of the time it took to exchange noncompressed music files.

By 1999, the year Napster's infamous free file-sharing service brought the MP3 format to popular attention, music files were widely available on the Internet—some for sale, some legally available for free downloading, and many for trading in possible violation of copyright laws. Despite the higher quality of industry-manufactured CDs, music fans enjoyed the convenience of downloading and burning MP3 files to CD. Some listeners skipped CDs altogether, storing their music on hard drives and essentially using their computers as stereo systems. Losing countless music sales to illegal downloading, the music industry fought the proliferation of the MP3 format with an array of lawsuits (aimed at file-sharing companies and at individual downloaders), but the popularity of MP3s continued to increase.

In 2001, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the music industry and against Napster, declaring free music file-swapping illegal and in violation of music copyrights held by recording labels and artists. It was relatively easy for the music industry to shut down Napster (which later relaunched as a legal service) because it required users to log into a centralized system. However, the music industry's elimination of file-sharing was not complete, as decentralized *peer-to-peer* (P2P) systems, such as Grokster, LimeWire, Morpheus, Kazaa, eDonkey, eMule, and BitTorrent, once again enabled online free music file-sharing.

The recording industry fought back with thousands of lawsuits, many of them successful. In 2005, P2P service Grokster shut down after it was fined $50 million by U.S. federal courts, and in upholding the lower court rulings, the Supreme Court reaffirmed that the music industry could pursue legal action against any P2P service that encouraged its users to illegally share music or other media. By 2010, eDonkey, Morpheus, and LimeWire had been shut down, while Kazaa settled a lawsuit with the music industry and became a legal service.[11] By 2011, several major Internet service providers, including AT&T, Cablevision, Comcast, Time Warner Cable, and Verizon, agreed to help the music industry identify customers who may be illegally downloading music and try to prevent them from doing so by sending them "copyright alert" warning letters, redirecting them to Web pages about digital piracy, and ultimately slowing download speeds or closing their broadband accounts.

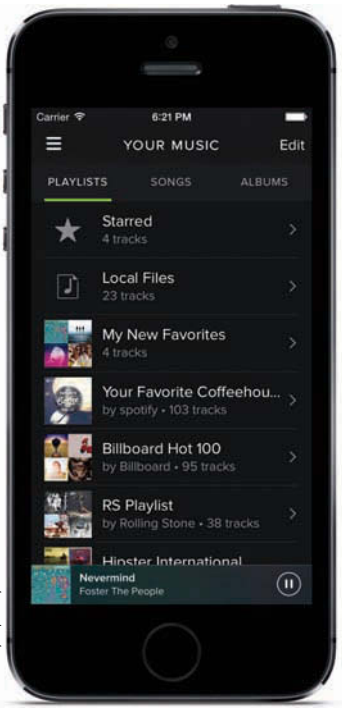
BEATS BY DR. DRE headphones became the must-have status companion item for iPods, replacing the simple white iPod earbuds. Apple purchased Beats in 2014 for $3 billion, obtaining a premium headphone brand for customers and a company (Beats Music) to help strengthen Apple's streaming music service.

Richard B. Levine/Newscom

As it cracked down on digital theft, the music industry also realized that it would have to somehow adapt its business to the digital format and embraced services like iTunes (launched by Apple in 2003 to accompany the iPod), which has become the model for legal online distribution. In 2008, iTunes became the top music retailer in the United States, and by 2013, iTunes had sold more than twenty-five billion songs, hitting thirty-five billion in 2014. Ironically, iTunes' 2013 sales milestone came in the same year that global digital download sales fell for the first time.[12] What happened? It was the arrival of the next big digital format.

The Next Big Thing: Streaming Music

If the history of recorded music tells us anything, it's that over time tastes change and formats change. The digital music era began in 1983 with the debut of the CD. Next was the digital download, made a commercially viable option by iTunes in 2003. Today, streaming music is quickly growing in popularity. In the language of the music industry, we are shifting from *ownership* of music to *access* to music.[13] The access model has been driven by the availability of streaming services such as the Sweden-based Spotify, which made its debut in the United States in 2011 and hit fifteen million worldwide paying subscribers in 2015. Other services include Rhapsody, Rdio, Deezer (outside of the United States), and Google Play Music; Amazon has also added a streaming music component to its Prime subscription accounts. With these services, listeners can pay a subscription fee (typically $5 to $10 per month), or in some cases sign up for an ad-supported free account, and instantly play millions of songs on demand via the Internet. One of the newest services is Beats Music, a subscription-only streaming service founded by music executive Jimmy Iovine and the renowned artist/producer Dr. Dre, the same team behind the trendy and pricey Beats by Dr. Dre headphones (some of which cost up to $450). Just a few months after the Beats Music streaming service launched in early 2014, Apple purchased the company for $3 billion. Apple gained a premium headphone brand to sell and a streaming service to complement its iTunes download business (though in the summer of 2015, Apple launched its own streaming service, Apple Music).[14] The streaming market also includes ad-supported streaming services that initially specialized in video, such as YouTube and Vevo, which have wide international use.



Courtesy Spotify

SPOTIFY became popular in Europe before the streaming service made its U.S. debut in 2011. Now available in more than fifty-five countries, it has a vast catalog of music, with more than twenty million songs globally.

The Rocky Relationship between Records and Radio

Some streaming services, like Pandora, closely resemble commercial radio; the recording industry and radio have always been closely linked. Although they work almost in unison now, in the beginning they had a tumultuous relationship. Radio's very existence sparked the first battle. By 1915, the phonograph had become a popular form of entertainment. The recording industry sold thirty million records that year, and by the end of the decade, sales more than tripled each year. In 1924, though, record sales dropped to only half of what they had been the previous year. Why? Because radio had arrived as a competing mass medium, providing free entertainment over the airwaves, independent of the recording industry.

The battle heated up when, to the alarm of the recording industry, radio stations began broadcasting recorded music without compensating the music industry. The American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), founded in 1914 to collect copyright fees for music publishers and writers, charged that radio was contributing to plummeting sales of records and sheet music. By 1925, ASCAP established music rights fees for radio, charging stations between $250 and $2,500 a week to play recorded music—and causing many stations to leave the air.

But other stations countered by establishing their own live, in-house orchestras, disseminating "free" music to listeners. This time, the recording industry could do nothing, as original radio music did not infringe on any copyrights. Throughout the late 1920s and 1930s, record and phonograph sales continued to fall, although the recording industry got a small boost when Prohibition ended in 1933 and record-playing jukeboxes became the standard musical entertainment in neighborhood taverns.

The recording and radio industries only began to cooperate with each other after television became popular in the early 1950s. Television pilfered radio's variety shows, crime dramas, and comedy programs, and, along with those formats, much of its advertising revenue and audience. Seeking to reinvent itself, radio turned to the recording industry, and this time

both industries greatly benefited from radio's new "hit songs" format. The alliance between the recording industry and radio was aided enormously by rock-and-roll music, which was just emerging in the 1950s. Rock created an enduring consumer youth market for sound recordings and provided much-needed new content for radio precisely when television made it seem like an obsolete medium.

After the digital turn, that mutually beneficial arrangement between the recording and radio industries began to fray. While Internet streaming radio stations were being required to pay royalties to music companies when they played their songs, radio stations still got to play music royalty-free over the air. In 2012, Clear Channel, the largest radio station chain in the United States and one of the largest music streaming companies, with more than 1,500 live stations on iHeartRadio, was the first company to strike a new deal with the recording industry and pay royalties for music played over the air. Clear Channel pledged to pay royalties to Big Machine Label Group—one of the country's largest independent labels—for broadcasting the songs of its artists (including Taylor Swift, Tim McGraw, and the Band Perry) in exchange for a limit on royalties it must pay for streaming those artists' music. With the agreement, Big Machine Label Group gained a new source of royalty income, and Clear Channel (which renamed itself iHeartMedia in 2014) crafted a more stable future for its growing digital streaming operations. Since the first deal, other radio groups have begun to forge agreements with Big Machine and other music labels, paying royalties for on-air play while getting reduced rates for streaming music.

U.S. Popular Music and the Formation of Rock

Popular music, or **pop music**, is music that appeals either to a wide cross section of the public or to sizable subdivisions within the larger public based on age, region, or ethnic background (e.g., teenagers, southerners, and Mexican Americans). U.S. pop music today encompasses styles as diverse as blues, country, Tejano, salsa, jazz, rock, reggae, punk, hip-hop, and dance. The word *pop* has also been used to distinguish popular music from classical music, which is written primarily for ballet, opera, ensemble, or symphony. As various subcultures have intersected, U.S. popular music has developed organically, constantly creating new forms and reinvigorating older musical styles.

The Granger Collection

SCOTT JOPLIN (1868–1917) published more than fifty compositions during his life, including "Maple Leaf Rag"—arguably his most famous piece.

The Rise of Pop Music

Although it is commonly assumed that pop music developed simultaneously with the phonograph and radio, it actually existed prior to these media. In the late nineteenth century, the sale of sheet music for piano and other instruments sprang from a section of Broadway in Manhattan known as Tin Pan Alley, a derisive term used to describe the sound of these quickly produced tunes, which supposedly resembled cheap pans clanging together. Tin Pan Alley's tradition of song publishing began in the late 1880s with such music as the marches of John Philip Sousa and the ragtime piano pieces of Scott Joplin. It continued through the first half of the twentieth century with the show tunes and vocal ballads of Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, and Cole Porter, and into the 1950s and 1960s with such rock-and-roll writing teams as Jerry Leiber–Mike Stoller and Carole King–Gerry Goffin.

At the turn of the twentieth century, with the newfound ability of song publishers to mass-produce sheet music for a growing middle class, popular songs moved from being a novelty

to being a major business enterprise. With the emergence of the phonograph, song publishers also discovered that recorded tunes boosted interest in and sales of sheet music. Thus, songwriting and Tin Pan Alley played a key role in transforming popular music into a mass medium.

As sheet music grew in popularity, **jazz** developed in New Orleans. An improvisational and mostly instrumental musical form, jazz absorbed and integrated a diverse body of musical styles, including African rhythms, blues, and gospel. Jazz influenced many bandleaders throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Groups led by Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Tommy Dorsey, Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman, and Glenn Miller were among the most popular of the "swing" jazz bands, whose rhythmic music also dominated radio, recordings, and dance halls in their day.

The first pop vocalists of the twentieth century were products of the vaudeville circuit, which radio, movies, and the Depression would bring to an end in the 1930s. In the 1920s, Eddie Cantor, Belle Baker, Sophie Tucker, and Al Jolson were all extremely popular. By the 1930s, Rudy Vallée and Bing Crosby had established themselves as the first "crooners," or singers of pop standards. Bing Crosby also popularized Irving Berlin's "White Christmas," one of the most covered songs in recording history. (A song recorded or performed by another artist is known as **cover music**.) Meanwhile, the Andrews Sisters' boogie-woogie style helped them sell more than sixty million records in the late 1930s and 1940s. In one of the first mutually beneficial alliances between sound recording and radio, many early pop vocalists had their own network of regional radio programs, which vastly increased their exposure.

Frank Sinatra arrived in the 1940s, and his romantic ballads foreshadowed the teen love songs of rock and roll's early years. Nicknamed "the Voice" early in his career, Sinatra, like Crosby, parlayed his music and radio exposure into movie stardom. Helped by radio, pop vocalists like Sinatra were among the first vocalists to become popular with a large national teen audience. Their record sales helped stabilize the industry, and in the early 1940s, Sinatra's concerts caused the kind of audience riots that would later characterize rock-and-roll performances.

ROBERT JOHNSON (1911–1938), who ranks among the most influential and innovative American guitarists, played the Mississippi delta blues and was a major influence on early rock and rollers, especially the Rolling Stones and Eric Clapton. His intense slide-guitar and finger-style playing also inspired generations of blues artists, including Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, Bonnie Raitt, and Stevie Ray Vaughan. To get a sense of his style, visit the Internet Archive's Robert Johnson collection: www.archive.org/details/RobertJohnsonMp3AudioSongs.

Photo by Robert Johnson Estate/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

Rock and Roll Is Here to Stay

The cultural storm called **rock and roll** hit in the mid-1950s. As with the term *jazz*, *rock and roll* was a blues slang term for "sex," lending it instant controversy. Early rock and roll was considered the first "integrationist music," merging the black sounds of rhythm and blues, gospel, and Robert Johnson's screeching blues guitar with the white influences of country, folk, and pop vocals.[15] From a cultural perspective, only a few musical forms have ever sprung from such a diverse set of influences, and no new style of music has ever had such a widespread impact on so many different cultures as rock and roll. From an economic perspective, rock and roll was the first musical form to simultaneously transform the structure of sound recording and radio. Rock's development set the stage for how music is produced, distributed, and performed today. Many social, cultural, economic, and political factors leading up to the 1950s contributed to the growth of rock and roll, including black migration, the growth of youth culture, and the beginnings of racial integration.

The migration of southern blacks to northern cities in search of better jobs during the first half of the twentieth century helped spread different popular music styles. In particular, **blues** music, the foundation of rock and roll, came to the North. Influenced by African American spirituals, ballads, and work songs

Michael Ochs Archives/Getty Images

BESSIE SMITH (1895–1937) is considered the best female blues singer of the 1920s and 1930s. Mentored by the famous Ma Rainey, Smith had many hits, including "Down Hearted Blues" and "Gulf Coast Blues." She also appeared in the 1929 film *St. Louis Blues*.

from the rural South, blues music was exemplified in the work of Robert Johnson, Ma Rainey, Son House, Bessie Smith, Charley Patton, and others. The introduction in the 1930s of the electric guitar—a major contribution to rock music—gave southern blues its urban style, popularized in the work of Muddy Waters, Howlin' Wolf, Sonny Boy Williamson, B.B. King, and Buddy Guy.[16]

During this time, blues-based urban black music began to be marketed under the name **rhythm and blues**, or **R&B**. Featuring "huge rhythm units smashing away behind screaming blues singers," R&B appealed to young listeners fascinated by the explicit (and forbidden) sexual lyrics in songs like "Annie Had a Baby," "Sexy Ways," and "Wild Wild Young Men."[17] Although it was banned on some stations, by 1953 R&B continued to gain airtime. In those days, black and white musical forms were segregated: Trade magazines tracked R&B record sales on "race" charts, which were kept separate from white record sales tracked on "pop" charts.

Another reason for the growth of rock and roll can be found in the repressive and uneasy atmosphere of the 1950s. To cope with the threat of the atomic bomb, the Cold War, and communist witch-hunts, young people sought escape from the menacing world created by adults. Teens have always sought out music that has a beat—music they can dance to—from the waltz in eighteenth-century Europe to the Charleston in 1920s America. More recent musical forms like disco and hip-hop began as dance and party music before their growing popularity eventually energized both record sales and radio formats.

Perhaps the most significant factor in the growth of rock and roll was the beginning of the integration of white and black cultures. In addition to increased exposure of black literature, art, and music, several key historical events in the 1950s broke down the borders between black and white cultures. In 1948, President Truman signed an executive order integrating the armed forces, bringing young men from very different ethnic and economic backgrounds together at the time of the Korean War. Even more significant was the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954. With this ruling, "separate but equal" laws, which had kept white and black schools, hotels, restaurants, rest rooms, and drinking fountains segregated for decades, were declared unconstitutional. A cultural reflection of the times, rock and roll would burst forth from the midst of these social and political tensions.

Rock Muddies the Waters

In the 1950s, legal integration accompanied a cultural shift, and the music industry's race and pop charts blurred. White deejay Alan Freed had been playing black music for his young audiences in Cleveland and New York since the early 1950s, and such white performers as Johnnie Ray and Bill Haley had crossed over to the race charts to score R&B hits. Meanwhile, black artists like Chuck Berry were performing country songs, and for a time Ray Charles even played in an otherwise all-white country band. Although continuing the work of breaking down racial borders was one of rock and roll's most important contributions, the genre also blurred other long-standing distinctions between high and low culture, masculinity and femininity, the country and the city, the North and the South, and the sacred and the secular.

High and Low Culture

In 1956, Chuck Berry's "Roll Over Beethoven" merged rock and roll, considered low culture by many, with high culture, thus forever blurring the traditional boundary between these cultural forms with lyrics like "You know my temperature's risin' / the jukebox is blowin' a fuse . . . / Roll over Beethoven / and tell Tchaikovsky the news." Although such early rock-and-roll lyrics seem tame by today's standards, at the time they sounded like sacrilege. Rock and rollers also challenged music decorum and the rules governing how musicians should behave or

misbehave: Berry's "duck walk" across the stage, Elvis Presley's pegged pants and gyrating hips, and Bo Diddley's use of the guitar as a phallic symbol were an affront to the norms of well-behaved, culturally elite audiences.

The blurring of cultures works both ways. Since the advent of rock and roll, some musicians performing in traditionally high-culture genres such as classical have even adopted some of rock and roll's ideas in an effort to boost sales and popularity—for example, performing in casual dress or in untraditional venues, like bars and subway stations.

Masculinity and Femininity

Rock and roll was also the first popular music genre to overtly confuse issues of sexual identity and orientation. Although early rock and roll largely attracted males as performers, the most fascinating feature of Elvis Presley, according to the Rolling Stones' Mick Jagger, was his androgynous appearance.[18] During this early period, though, the most sexually outrageous rock-and-roll performer was Little Richard (Penniman).

Wearing a pompadour hairdo and assaulting his Steinway piano, Little Richard was considered rock and roll's first drag queen, blurring the boundary between masculinity and femininity. Little Richard has said that given the reality of American racism, he blurred gender and sexuality lines because he feared the consequences of becoming a sex symbol for white girls: "I decided that my image should be crazy and way out so that adults would think I was harmless. I'd appear in one show dressed as the Queen of England and in the next as the pope."[19] Little Richard's playful blurring of gender identity and sexual orientation paved the way for performers like David Bowie, Elton John, Boy George, Annie Lennox, Prince, Grace Jones, Marilyn Manson, Lady Gaga, and Adam Lambert.

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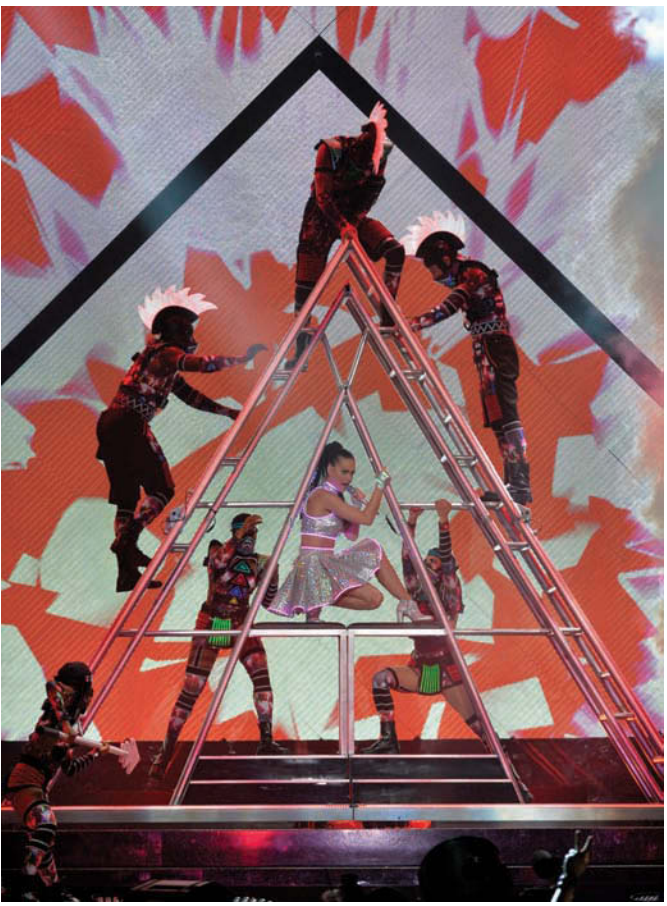
ROCK-AND-ROLL PIONEER
A major influence on early rock and roll, Chuck Berry, born in 1926, scored major hits between 1955 and 1958, writing "Maybellene," "Roll Over Beethoven," "School Day," "Sweet Little Sixteen," and "Johnny B. Goode." At the time, he was criticized by some black artists for sounding white, and his popularity among white teenagers was bemoaned by conservative critics. Today, young guitar players routinely imitate his style.

The Country and the City

Rock and roll also blurred geographic borders between country and city, between the white country & western music of Nashville and the black urban rhythms of Memphis. Early white rockers such as Buddy Holly and Carl Perkins combined country or hillbilly music, southern gospel, and Mississippi delta blues to create a sound called **rockabilly**. At the same time, an urban R&B influence on early rock came from Fats Domino ("Blueberry Hill"), Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton ("Hound Dog"), and Big Joe Turner ("Shake, Rattle, and Roll"). Many of these songs, first popular on R&B labels, crossed over to the pop charts during the mid to late 1950s (although many were performed by more widely known white artists). Chuck Berry borrowed from white country & western music (an old country song called "Ida Red") and combined it with R&B to write "Maybellene." His first hit, the song was No. 1 on the R&B chart in July 1955 and crossed over to the pop charts the next month.

Although rock lyrics in the 1950s may not have been especially provocative or overtly political, soaring record sales and the crossover appeal of the music itself represented an enormous threat to long-standing racial and class boundaries. In 1956, the secretary of the North Alabama White Citizens Council bluntly spelled out the racism and white fear concerning the new blending of urban-black and rural-white culture: "Rock and roll is a means of pulling the white man down to the level of the Negro. It is part of a plot to undermine the morals of the youth of our nation."[20] These days, distinctions between traditionally rural music and urban music continue to blur, with older hybrids such as country rock (think of the Eagles) and newer forms like alternative country—performed by artists like Ryan Adams, Steve Earle, the Avett Brothers, and Kings of Leon.



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KATY PERRY
Many of today's biggest pop music stars show off not just catchy radio-ready singles but also eye-grabbing fashion, memorable music videos, and multimillion-dollar live shows. Perry's 2014 Prismatic World Tour featured a spectacular concert production with at least seven different "acts" and costume and set changes.

The North and the South

Not only did rock and roll muddy the urban and rural terrain, but it also combined northern and southern influences. In fact, with so much blues, R&B, and rock and roll rising from the South in the 1950s, this region regained some of its cultural flavor, which (along with a sizable portion of the population) had migrated to the North after the Civil War and during the early twentieth century. Meanwhile, musicians and audiences in the North had absorbed blues music as their own, eliminating the understanding of blues as a specifically southern style. Like the many white teens today who are fascinated by hip-hop, musicians such as Carl Perkins, Elvis Presley, and Buddy Holly—all from the rural South—were fascinated with and influenced by the black urban styles they had heard on the radio or seen in nightclubs. These artists in turn brought southern culture to northern listeners.

But the key to record sales and the spread of rock and roll, according to famed record producer Sam Phillips of Sun Records, was to find a white man who sounded black. Phillips found that man in Elvis Presley. Commenting on Presley's cultural importance, one critic wrote: "White rockabillies like Elvis took poor white southern mannerisms of speech and behavior deeper into mainstream culture than they had ever been taken."[21]

The Sacred and the Secular

Although many mainstream adults in the 1950s complained that rock and roll's sexuality and questioning of moral norms constituted an offense against God, in fact many early rock figures had close ties to religion. Jerry Lee Lewis attended a Bible institute in Texas (although he was eventually thrown out); Ray Charles converted an old gospel tune he had first heard in church as a youth into "I Got a Woman," one of his signature songs; and many other artists transformed gospel songs into rock and roll.

Still, many people did not appreciate the blurring of boundaries between the sacred and the secular. In the late 1950s, public outrage over rock and roll was so great that even Little Richard and Jerry Lee Lewis, both sons of southern preachers, became convinced that they were playing the "devil's music." By 1959, Little Richard had left rock and roll to become a minister. Lewis had to be coerced into recording "Great Balls of Fire," a song by Otis Blackwell that turned an apocalyptic biblical phrase into a sexually charged teen love song that was banned by many radio stations but nevertheless climbed to No. 2 on the pop charts in 1957. The boundaries between sacred and secular music have continued to blur in the years since, with some churches using rock and roll to appeal to youth, and some Christian-themed rock groups recording music as seemingly incongruous as heavy metal.

Battles in Rock and Roll

The blurring of racial lines and the breakdown of other conventional boundaries meant that performers and producers were forced to play a tricky game to get rock and roll accepted by the masses. Two prominent white disc jockeys used different methods. Cleveland deejay Alan Freed, credited with popularizing the term *rock and roll*, played original R&B recordings from the race charts and black versions of early rock and roll on his program. In contrast, Philadelphia deejay Dick Clark believed that making black music acceptable to white audiences required cover versions by white artists. By the mid-1950s, rock and roll was gaining

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Kevin Winter/Getty Images

ELVIS PRESLEY AND HIS LEGACY

Elvis Presley remains the most popular solo artist of all time. From 1956 to 1962, he recorded seventeen No. 1 hits, from "Heartbreak Hotel" to "Good Luck Charm." According to Little Richard, Presley's main legacy was that he opened doors for many young performers and made black music popular in mainstream America. Presley's influence continues to be felt today in the music of artists such as Bruno Mars.

acceptance with the masses, but rock-and-roll artists and promoters still faced further obstacles: Black artists found that their music was often undermined by white cover versions; the payola scandals portrayed rock and roll as a corrupt industry; and fears of rock and roll as a contributing factor in juvenile delinquency resulted in censorship.

White Cover Music Undermines Black Artists

By the mid-1960s, black and white artists routinely recorded and performed one another's original tunes. For example, established black R&B artist Otis Redding covered the Rolling Stones' "Satisfaction" and Jimi Hendrix covered Bob Dylan's "All along the Watchtower," while just about every white rock-and-roll band, including the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, established its career by covering R&B classics.

Although today we take such rerecordings for granted, in the 1950s the covering of black artists' songs by white musicians was almost always an attempt to capitalize on popular songs from the R&B "race" charts by transforming them into hits on the white pop charts. Often, not only would white producers give cowriting credit to white performers for the tunes they merely covered, but the producers would also buy the rights to potential hits from black songwriters, who seldom saw a penny in royalties or received songwriting credit.

During this period, black R&B artists, working for small record labels, saw many of their popular songs covered by white artists working for major labels. These cover records, boosted by better marketing and ties to white deejays, usually outsold the original black versions. For instance, the 1954 R&B song "Sh-Boom," by the Chords on Atlantic's Cat label, was immediately covered by a white group, the Crew Cuts, for the major Mercury label. Record sales declined for the Chords, although jukebox and R&B radio play remained strong for the original version. By 1955, R&B hits regularly crossed over to the pop charts, but inevitably the cover music versions were more successful. Pat Boone's cover of Fats Domino's "Ain't That a Shame" went to No. 1 and stayed on the Top 40 pop chart for twenty weeks, whereas Domino's original made it only to No. 10. Boone's record sales at the time were second only to Elvis Presley's, and Boone found this success through releasing dozens of covers. Slowly, however, the cover situation changed. After watching Boone outsell his song "Tutti Frutti" in 1956, Little Richard wrote "Long Tall Sally," which included lyrics written and delivered in such a way that he believed Boone

would not be able to adequately replicate them. "Long Tall Sally" went to No. 6 for Little Richard and charted for twelve weeks; Boone's version got to No. 8 and stayed there for nine weeks.

Overt racism lingered in the music business well into the 1960s. A turning point, however, came in 1962, the last year that Pat Boone, then aged twenty-eight, ever had a Top 40 rock-and-roll hit. That year, Ray Charles covered "I Can't Stop Loving You," a 1958 country song by the Grand Ole Opry's Don Gibson. This marked the first time that a black artist, covering a white artist's song, had notched a No. 1 pop hit. With Charles's cover, the rock-and-roll merger between gospel and R&B, on one hand, and white country and pop, on the other, was complete. In fact, the relative acceptance of black crossover music provided a more favorable cultural context for the political activism that spurred important Civil Rights legislation in the mid-1960s.

Payola Scandals Tarnish Rock and Roll

The payola scandals of the 1950s were another cloud over rock-and-roll music and its artists. In the music industry, *payola* is the practice of record promoters paying deejays or radio programmers to play particular songs. As recorded rock and roll became central to commercial radio's success in the 1950s and the demand for airplay grew enormous, independent promoters hired by record labels used payola to pressure deejays into playing songs by the artists they represented.

Although payola was considered a form of bribery, no laws prohibited its practice. However, following closely on the heels of television's quiz-show scandals (see Chapter 6), congressional hearings on radio payola began in December 1959. The hearings were partly a response to generally fraudulent business practices, but they were also an opportunity to blame deejays and radio for rock and roll's supposedly negative impact on teens by portraying rock and roll (and its radio advocates) as a corrupt industry.

The payola scandals threatened, ended, or damaged the careers of a number of rock-and-roll deejays and undermined rock and roll's credibility for a number of years. When Chicago deejay Phil Lind broadcast secretly taped discussions in which a representative of a small independent record label acknowledged that it had paid $22,000 to ensure that a record would get airplay, he received calls threatening his life and was given police protection. At the hearings in 1960, Alan Freed admitted to participating in payola, although he said he did not believe there was anything illegal about such deals, and his career soon ended. Dick Clark, then an influential deejay and the host of TV's *American Bandstand*, would not admit to participating in payola. But the hearings committee chastised Clark and alleged that some of his complicated business deals were ethically questionable, a censure that hung over him for years. Congress eventually added a law concerning payola to the Federal Communications Act, prescribing a $10,000 fine and/or a year in jail for each violation (see Chapter 5).

Fears of Corruption Lead to Censorship

Since rock and roll's inception, one of the uphill battles the genre faced was the perception that it was a cause of juvenile delinquency, which was statistically on the rise in the 1950s. Looking for an easy culprit rather than considering contributing factors such as neglect, the rising consumer culture, or the growing youth population, many assigned blame to rock and roll. The view that rock and roll corrupted youth was widely accepted by social authorities, and rock-and-roll music was often censored, eventually even by the industry itself.

By late 1959, many key figures in rock and roll had been tamed. Jerry Lee Lewis was exiled from the industry, labeled southern "white trash" for marrying his thirteen-year-old third cousin; Elvis Presley, having already been censored on television, was drafted into the army; Chuck Berry was run out of Mississippi and eventually jailed for gun possession and transporting a minor across state lines; and Little Richard felt forced to tone down his image and left rock and roll to sing gospel music. A tragic accident led to the final taming of rock and roll's first front line. In February 1959, Buddy Holly ("Peggy Sue"), Ritchie Valens ("La Bamba"), and

the Big Bopper ("Chantilly Lace") all died in an Iowa plane crash—a tragedy mourned in Don McLean's 1971 hit "American Pie" as "the day the music died."

Although rock and roll did not die in the late 1950s, the U.S. recording industry decided that it needed a makeover. To protect the enormous profits the new music had been generating, record companies began to discipline some of rock and roll's rebellious impulses. In the early 1960s, the industry introduced a new generation of clean-cut white singers, like Frankie Avalon, Connie Francis, Ricky Nelson, Lesley Gore, and Fabian. Rock and roll's explosive violations of racial, class, and other boundaries were transformed into simpler generation-gap problems, and the music developed a milder reputation.

A Changing Industry: Reformations in Popular Music

As the 1960s began, rock and roll was tamer and "safer," as reflected in the surf and road music of the Beach Boys and Jan & Dean, but it was also beginning to branch out. For instance, the success of all-female groups, such as the Shangri-Las ("Leader of the Pack") and the Angels ("My Boyfriend's Back"), challenged the male-dominated world of early rock and roll. In the 1960s and the following decades, rock-and-roll music and other popular styles went through cultural reformations that significantly changed the industry, including the international appeal of the "British invasion"; the development of soul and Motown; the political impact of folk-rock; the experimentalism of psychedelic music; the rejection of music's mainstream by punk, grunge, and alternative rock movements; the reassertion of black urban style in hip-hop; and the transformation of music distribution, which resulted in an unprecedented market growth of music from independent labels.

The British Are Coming!

The global trade of pop music is evident in the exchanges and melding of rhythms, beats, vocal styles, and musical instruments across cultures. The origin of this global impact can be traced to England in the late 1950s, when the young Rolling Stones listened to the blues of Robert Johnson and Muddy Waters, and the young Beatles tried to imitate Chuck Berry and Little Richard.

Until 1964, rock-and-roll recordings had traveled on a one-way ticket to Europe. Even though American artists regularly reached the top of the charts overseas, no British performers had yet appeared on any Top 10 pop lists in the States. This changed almost overnight. In 1964, the Beatles invaded America with their mop haircuts and pop reinterpretations of American blues and rock and roll. Within the next few years, British bands as diverse as the Kinks, the Rolling Stones, the Zombies, the Animals, Herman's Hermits, the Who, the Yardbirds, Them, and the Troggs had hit the American Top 40 charts.

With the British invasion, "rock and roll" unofficially became "rock," sending popular music and the industry in two directions. On the one hand, the Rolling Stones would influence generations of musicians emphasizing gritty, chord-driven, high-volume rock, including bands in the glam rock, hard rock, punk, heavy metal, and grunge genres. On the other hand, the Beatles would influence countless artists interested in a more accessible, melodic, and softer sound, in genres such as pop-rock, power-pop, new wave, and alternative rock. In the end, the British invasion verified what Chuck Berry and Little Richard had already demonstrated—that rock-and-roll performers could write and produce popular songs as well as Tin Pan Alley had. The success of British groups helped change an industry arrangement in which most pop music was produced by songwriting teams hired by major labels and matched with selected performers. Even more

Popperfoto/Getty Images

Michael Putland/Getty Images

BRITISH ROCK GROUPS
Ed Sullivan, who booked the Beatles several times on his TV variety show in 1964, helped promote their early success. Sullivan, though, reacted differently to the Rolling Stones, who were perceived as the "bad boys" of rock and roll in contrast to the "good" Beatles. The Stones performed black-influenced music without "whitening" the sound and exuded a palpable aura of sexuality, particularly frontman Mick Jagger. Although the Stones appeared on his program as early as 1964 and returned on several occasions, Sullivan remained wary and forced them to change the lyrics of "Let's Spend the Night Together" to "Let's Spend Some Time Together" for a 1967 broadcast.

important, the British invasion showed the recording industry how older American musical forms, especially blues and R&B, could be repackaged as rock and exported around the world.

Motor City Music: Detroit Gives America Soul

Ironically, the British invasion, which drew much of its inspiration from black influences, drew many white listeners away from a new generation of black performers. Gradually, however, throughout the 1960s, black singers like James Brown, Aretha Franklin, Otis Redding, Ike and Tina Turner, and Wilson Pickett found large and diverse audiences. Transforming the rhythms and melodies of older R&B, pop, and early rock and roll into what became labeled as **soul**, they countered the British invaders with powerful vocal performances. Mixing gospel and blues with emotion and lyrics drawn from the American black experience, soul contrasted sharply with the emphasis on loud, fast instrumentals and lighter lyrical concerns that characterized much of rock music.[22]

The most prominent independent label that nourished soul and black popular music was Motown, started in 1959 by former Detroit autoworker and songwriter Berry Gordy with a $700 investment and named after Detroit's "Motor City" nickname. Beginning with Smokey Robinson and the Miracles' "Shop Around," Motown enjoyed a long string of hit records that rivaled the pop success of British bands throughout the decade. Motown's many successful artists included the Temptations ("My Girl"), Mary Wells ("My Guy"), the Four Tops ("I Can't Help Myself"), Martha and the Vandellas ("Heat Wave"), Marvin Gaye ("I Heard It through the Grapevine"), and, in the early 1970s, the Jackson 5 ("ABC"). But the label's most successful group was the Supremes, featuring Diana Ross, which scored twelve No. 1 singles between 1964 and 1969 ("Where Did Our Love Go," "Stop! In the Name of Love"). The Motown groups had a more stylized, softer sound than the grittier southern soul (later known as funk) of Brown and Pickett.

Folk and Psychedelic Music Reflect the Times

Popular music has always been a product of its time, so the social upheavals of the Civil Rights movement, the women's movement, the environmental movement, and the Vietnam War naturally brought social concerns into the music of the 1960s and early 1970s. By the late 1960s, the

CBS/Landov

THE SUPREMES
One of the most successful groups in rock-and-roll history, the Supremes started out as the Primettes in Detroit in 1959. They signed with Motown's Tamla label in 1960 and changed their name in 1961. Between 1964 and 1969, they recorded twelve No. 1 hits, including "Where Did Our Love Go," "Baby Love," "Come See about Me," "Stop! In the Name of Love," "I Hear a Symphony," "You Can't Hurry Love," and "Someday We'll Be Together." Lead singer Diana Ross (*center*) left the group in 1969 for a solo career. The group was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988.

Beatles had transformed themselves from a relatively lightweight pop band to one that spoke for the social and political concerns of their generation, and many other groups followed the same trajectory. (To explore how the times and personal taste influence music choices, see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Music Preferences across Generations" on page 132.)

Folk Inspires Protest

The musical genre that most clearly responded to the political happenings of the time was folk music, which had long been the sound of social activism. In its broadest sense, **folk music** in any culture refers to songs performed by untrained musicians and passed down mainly through oral traditions, from the banjo and fiddle tunes of Appalachia to the accordion-led zydeco of Louisiana and the folk-blues of the legendary Lead Belly (Huddie Ledbetter). During the 1930s, folk was defined by the music of Woody Guthrie ("This Land Is Your Land"), who not only brought folk to the city but also was extremely active in social reforms. Groups such as the Weavers, featuring labor activist and songwriter Pete Seeger, carried on Guthrie's legacy and inspired a new generation of singer-songwriters, including Joan Baez; Arlo Guthrie; Peter, Paul, and Mary; Phil Ochs; and—perhaps the most influential—Bob Dylan. Dylan's career as a folk artist began with acoustic performances in New York's Greenwich Village in 1961, and his notoriety was spurred by his measured nonchalance and unique nasal voice. Significantly influenced by the blues, Dylan identified folk as "finger pointin'" music that addressed current social circumstances. At a key moment in popular music's history, Dylan walked onstage at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival fronting a full electric rock band. He was booed and cursed by traditional "folkies," who saw amplified music as a sellout to the commercial recording industry. However, Dylan's change inspired the formation of **folk-rock** artists like the Byrds, who had a No. 1 hit with a cover of Dylan's "Mr. Tambourine Man," and led millions to protest during the turbulent 1960s.

Rock Turns Psychedelic

Alcohol and drugs have long been associated with the private lives of blues, jazz, country, and rock musicians. These links, however, became much more public in the late 1960s and

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

Music Preferences across Generations

We make judgments about music all the time. Older generations don't like some of the music younger people prefer, and young people often dismiss some of the music of previous generations. Even among our peers, we have different tastes in music and often reject certain kinds of music that have become too popular or that don't conform to our own preferences. The following exercise aims to understand musical tastes beyond our own individual choices. Be sure to include yourself in this project.

1 DESCRIPTION. Arrange to interview four to eight friends or relatives of different ages about their musical tastes and influences. Devise questions about what music they listen to and have listened to at different stages of their lives. What music do they buy or collect? What's the first album (or single) they acquired? What's the latest album? What stories or vivid memories do they relate to particular songs or artists? Collect demographic and consumer information: age, gender, occupation, educational background, place of birth, and current place of residence.

2 ANALYSIS. Chart and organize your results. Do you recognize any patterns emerging from the data or stories? What kinds of music did your interview subjects listen to when they were younger? What kinds of music do they listen to now? What formed/influenced their musical interests? If their musical interests changed, what happened? (If they stopped listening to music, note that and find out why.) Do they have any associations between music and their everyday lives? Are these music associations and lifetime interactions with songs and artists important to them?

3 INTERPRETATION. Based on what you have discovered and the patterns you have charted, determine what the patterns mean. Does age, gender, geographic location, or education matter in musical tastes? Over time, are the changes in musical tastes and buying habits significant? Why or why not? What kind of music is most important to your subjects? Finally, and most important, why do you think their music preferences developed as they did?

4 EVALUATION. Determine how your interview subjects came to like particular kinds of music. What constitutes "good" and "bad" music for them? Did their ideas change over time? How? Are they open- or closed-minded about music? How do they form judgments about music? What criteria did your interview subjects offer for making judgments about music? Do you think their criteria are a valid way to judge music?

5 ENGAGEMENT. To expand on your findings, consider the connections of music across generations, geography, and genres. Take a musical artist you like and input the name at www.music-map.com. Use the output of related artists to discover new bands. Input favorite artists of the people you interviewed in Step 1, and share the results with them. Expand your musical tastes.

early 1970s, when authorities busted members of the Rolling Stones and the Beatles. With the increasing role of drugs in youth culture and the availability of LSD (not illegal until the mid-1960s), more and more rock musicians experimented with and sang about drugs in what were frequently labeled rock's psychedelic years. Many groups and performers of the *psychedelic* era (named for the mind-altering effects of LSD and other drugs), like Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother and the Holding Company (featuring Janis Joplin), the Jimi Hendrix Experience, the Doors, and the Grateful Dead (as well as established artists like the Beatles and the Stones), believed that artistic expression could be enhanced through mind-altering drugs. The 1960s drug explorations coincided with the free-speech movement, in which many artists and followers saw experimenting with drugs as a form of personal expression and a response to the failure of traditional institutions to deal with social and political problems such as racism and America's involvement in the Vietnam War. But after a surge of optimism that culminated in the historic Woodstock concert in August 1969, the psychedelic movement was quickly overshadowed. In 1969, a similar concert at the Altamont racetrack in California started in chaos and ended in tragedy when one of the Hell's Angels hired as a bodyguard for the show murdered

a concertgoer. Around the same time, the shocking multiple murders committed by the Charles Manson "family" cast a negative light on hippies, drug use, and psychedelic culture. Then, in quick succession, a number of the psychedelic movement's greatest stars died from drug overdoses, including Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, and Jim Morrison of the Doors.

Punk, Grunge, and Alternative Respond to Mainstream Rock

By the 1970s, rock music was increasingly viewed as just another part of mainstream consumer culture. With major music acts earning huge profits, rock soon became another product line for manufacturers and retailers to promote, package, and sell—primarily to middle-class white male teens. According to critic Ken Tucker, this situation gave rise to "faceless rock—crisply recorded, eminently catchy"—featuring anonymous hits by bands with "no established individual personalities outside their own large but essentially discrete audiences" of young white males.[23] Some rock musicians like Bruce Springsteen and Elton John; glam artists like David Bowie, Lou Reed, and Iggy Pop; and soul artists like Curtis Mayfield and Marvin Gaye continued to explore the social possibilities of rock or at least keep its legacy of outrageousness alive. But they had, for the most part, been replaced by "faceless" supergroups, like REO Speedwagon, Styx, Boston, and Kansas. By the late 1970s, rock could only seem to define itself by saying what it wasn't; "Disco Sucks" became a standard rock slogan against the popular dance music of the era.

Punk Revives Rock's Rebelliousness

Punk rock rose in the late 1970s to challenge the orthodoxy and commercialism of the record business. By this time, the glory days of rock's competitive independent labels had ended, and rock music was controlled by just a half-dozen major companies. By avoiding rock's consumer popularity, punk attempted to return to the basics of rock and roll: simple chord structures, catchy melodies, and politically or socially challenging lyrics. The premise was "do it yourself": Any teenager with a few weeks of guitar practice could learn the sound and make music that was both more democratic and more provocative than commercial rock.

The punk movement took root in the small dive bar CBGB in New York City around bands such as the Ramones, Blondie, and the Talking Heads. (The roots of punk essentially lay in four pre-punk groups from the late 1960s and early 1970s—the Velvet Underground, the Stooges, the New York Dolls, and the MC5—none of which experienced commercial success in their day.) Punk quickly spread to England, where a soaring unemployment rate and growing class inequality ensured the success of socially critical rock. Groups like the Sex Pistols, the Clash, the Buzzcocks, and Siouxsie and the Banshees sprang up and even scored Top 40 hits on the U.K. charts.

Punk was not a commercial success in the United States, where (not surprisingly) it was shunned by radio. However, punk's contributions continue to be felt. Punk broke down the "boys' club" mentality of rock, launching unapologetic and unadorned frontwomen like Patti Smith, Joan Jett, Debbie Harry, and Chrissie Hynde, and it introduced all-women bands (writing and performing their own music) like the Go-Go's into the mainstream. It also reopened the door to rock experimentation at a time when the industry had turned music into a purely commercial enterprise. The influence of experimental, or post-punk, music is still felt today in alternative and indie bands such as the Yeah Yeah Yeahs, Speedy Ortiz, and Parquet Courts.

Andrew DeLory

BOB DYLAN
Born Robert Allen Zimmerman in Minnesota, Bob Dylan took his stage name from Welsh poet Dylan Thomas. He led a folk music movement in the early 1960s with engaging, socially provocative lyrics. He was also an astute media critic, as is evident in the seminal documentary *Don't Look Back* (1967).

Paul R. Giunta/Getty Images

SLEATER-KINNEY
All-female bands like Sleater-Kinney continue to take on the boys'-club mentality of rock and roll. The band formed in 1994 in Washington state and gained critical acclaim for its feminist take on punk rock. The band took an extended hiatus beginning in 2006 but returned in 2015 with a new album and tour.

Grunge and Alternative Reinterpret Rock

Taking the spirit of punk and updating it, the **grunge** scene represented a significant development in rock in the 1990s. Getting its name from its often-messy guitar sound and the anti-fashion torn jeans and flannel shirt appearance of its musicians and fans, grunge's lineage can be traced back to 1980s bands like Sonic Youth, the Minutemen, and Hüsker Dü. In 1992, after years of limited commercial success, the younger cousin of punk finally broke into the American mainstream with the success of Nirvana's "Smells Like Teen Spirit" on the album *Nevermind*. Led by enigmatic singer Kurt Cobain—who committed suicide in 1994—Nirvana produced songs that one critic described as "stunning, concise bursts of melody and rage that occasionally spilled over into haunting, folk-styled acoustic ballad."[24] Nirvana opened the floodgates to bands such as Green Day, Pearl Jam, Soundgarden, the Breeders, Hole, and Nine Inch Nails.

In some critical circles, both punk and grunge are considered subcategories or fringe movements of **alternative rock**. This vague label describes many types of experimental rock music that offered a departure from the theatrics and staged extravaganzas of 1970s glam rock, which showcased such performers as David Bowie and Kiss. Appealing chiefly to college students and twentysomethings, alternative rock has traditionally opposed the sounds of Top 40 and commercial FM radio. In the 1980s and 1990s, U2 and R.E.M. emerged as successful groups often associated with alternative rock. A key dilemma for successful alternative performers, however, is that their popularity results in commercial success, ironically a situation that their music often criticizes. While alternative rock music has more variety than ever, it is also not producing new mega-groups like Nirvana, Pearl Jam, and Green Day. Still, alternative groups like Arctic Monkeys, Vampire Weekend, and Deafheaven have launched successful recording careers the old-school way, but with a twist: starting out on independent labels, playing small concerts, and growing popular quickly with alternative music audiences through the immediate buzz of the Internet.

Hip-Hop Redraws Musical Lines

With the growing segregation of radio formats and the dominance of mainstream rock by white male performers, the place of black artists in the rock world diminished from the late 1970s onward. By the 1980s, few popular black successors to Chuck Berry or Jimi Hendrix had emerged in rock, though Prince and Lenny Kravitz were exceptions. These trends, combined with the rise of "safe" dance disco by white bands (the Bee Gees), black artists (Donna Summer), and integrated groups (the Village People), created a space for a new sound to emerge: **hip-hop**, a term for the urban culture that includes *rapping*, *cutting* (or *sampling*) by deejays, breakdancing, street clothing, poetry slams, and graffiti art.

In the same way that punk opposed commercial rock, hip-hop music stood in direct opposition to the polished, professional, and often less political world of soul. Its combination of social politics, swagger, and confrontational lyrics carried forward long-standing traditions in blues, R&B, soul, and rock and roll. Like punk and early rock and roll, hip-hop was driven by a democratic, nonprofessional spirit and was cheap to produce, requiring only a few mikes, speakers, amps, turntables, and vinyl records. Deejays, like the pioneering Jamaican émigré

Clive Campbell (a.k.a. DJ Kool Herc), emerged first in New York, scratching and re-cueing old reggae, disco, soul, and rock albums. These deejays, or MCs (masters of ceremony), used humor, boasts, and "trash talking" to entertain and keep the peace at parties.

The music industry initially saw hip-hop as a novelty, despite the enormous success of the Sugarhill Gang's "Rapper's Delight" in 1979 (which sampled the bass beat of a disco hit from the same year, Chic's "Good Times"). Then, in 1982, Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five released "The Message" and forever infused hip-hop with a political take on ghetto life, a tradition continued by artists like Public Enemy and Ice-T. By 1985, hip-hop had exploded as a popular genre with the commercial successes of groups like Run-DMC, the Fat Boys, and LL Cool J. That year, Run-DMC's album *Raising Hell* became a major crossover hit, the first No. 1 hip-hop album on the popular charts (thanks in part to a collaboration with Aerosmith on a rap version of the group's 1976 hit "Walk This Way"). But because most major labels and many black radio stations rejected the rawness of hip-hop, the music spawned hundreds of new independent labels. Although initially dominated by male performers, hip-hop was open to women, and some—Salt-N-Pepa and Queen Latifah among them—quickly became major players. Soon, white groups like the Beastie Boys, Limp Bizkit, and Kid Rock were combining hip-hop and punk rock in a commercially successful way, while Eminem found enormous success emulating black rap artists.

On the one hand, the conversational style of rap makes it a forum in which performers can debate issues of gender, class, sexuality, violence, and drugs. On the other hand, hip-hop, like punk, has often drawn criticism for lyrics that degrade women, espouse homophobia, and applaud violence. Although hip-hop encompasses many different styles, including various Latin and Asian offshoots, its most controversial subgenre is probably **gangster rap**, which, in seeking to tell the truth about gang violence in American culture, has been accused of creating violence. Gangster rap drew national attention in 1996 with the shooting death of Tupac Shakur, who lived the violent life he rapped about on albums like *Thug Life*. Then, in 1997, Notorious B.I.G. (Christopher Wallace, a.k.a. Biggie Smalls), whose followers were prominent suspects in Shakur's death, was shot to death in Hollywood. The result was a change in the hip-hop industry. Most prominently, Sean "Diddy" Combs led Bad Boy Entertainment (former home of Notorious B.I.G.) away from gangster rap to a more danceable hip-hop that combined singing and rapping with musical elements of rock and soul. Today, hip-hop's stars include artists such as YG, who emulates the gangster genre, and artists like will.i.am, Lupe Fiasco, Talib Kweli, and M.I.A., who bring an old-school social consciousness to their performances.

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NIRVANA'S lead singer, Kurt Cobain, is pictured here during his brief career in the early 1990s. The release of Nirvana's *Nevermind* in September 1991 bumped Michael Jackson's *Dangerous* from the top of the charts and signaled a new direction in popular music. Other grunge bands soon followed Nirvana onto the charts, including Pearl Jam, Alice in Chains, Stone Temple Pilots, and Soundgarden.

The Reemergence of Pop

After waves of punk, grunge, alternative, and hip-hop; the decline of Top 40 radio; and the demise of MTV's *Total Request Live* countdown show, it seemed as though pop music and the era of big pop stars was waning. But pop music has endured and even flourished in recent years, especially with the advent of iTunes. The era of digital downloads has again made the single (as opposed to the album) the dominant unit of music, with digital single download sales more than ten times as popular as digital album download sales. The dominance of singles has aided the reemergence of pop, since songs with catchy hooks generate the most digital sales. By 2014, iTunes offered more than twenty-eight million songs, and the top artists were leading

Jeff Kravitz/FilmMagic for Bonnaroo Arts and Music Festival/Getty Images

KENDRICK LAMAR gained a large Internet following early in his career and released one of his albums exclusively through iTunes in 2011. His major-label debut followed in 2012, along with a number of guest spots on songs by high-profile artists. His 2015 album, *To Pimp a Butterfly*, was one of the most acclaimed releases of the year, and he gained further visibility by appearing on a remix of Taylor Swift's hit single "Bad Blood."

© Rick Davis/Splash News/Corbis

ITUNES shifted the music business toward a singles-based model. While artists still release full albums, it's also possible to produce a massive iTunes hit, like Carly Rae Jepsen's "Call Me Maybe," before an album is even available (Jepsen's full album sold modestly upon its later release). But some artists can still sell full-album packages: Beyoncé's self-titled album (including a series of music videos to accompany the music) was released exclusively to iTunes for its first few weeks and promptly broke sales records for the site.

pop acts such as Katy Perry, Lana Del Rey, Rihanna, Jason Derulo, and Luke Bryan. Similarly, streaming services such as Spotify, Rdio, and Deezer, each offering more than twenty million tracks, have also greatly expanded accessibility to music. The digital formats in music have resulted in a leap in viability and market share for independent labels and have changed the cultural landscape of the music industry in the twenty-first century.

The Business of Sound Recording

For many in the recording industry, the relationship between music's business and artistic elements is an uneasy one. The lyrics of hip-hop or alternative rock, for example, often question the commercial value of popular music. Both genres are built on the assumption that musical integrity requires a complete separation between business and art. But, in fact, the line between commercial success and artistic expression is hazier than simply arguing that the business side is driven by commercialism and the artistic side is free of commercial concerns. The truth, in most cases, is that the business needs artists who are provocative, original, and appealing to the public, and the artists need the expertise of the industry's marketers, promoters, and producers to hone their sound and reach the public. And both sides stand to make a lot of money from the relationship. But such factors as the enormity of the major labels and

the complexities of making, selling, and profiting from music in an industry still adapting to the digital turn affect the economies of sound recording (see "Tracking Technology: The Song Machine: The Hitmakers behind Rihanna" on page 138).

Music Labels Influence the Industry

After several years of steady growth, revenues for the recording industry experienced significant losses beginning in 2000 as file-sharing began to undercut CD sales. In 2014, U.S. music sales were about $7 billion, down from a peak of $14.5 billion in 1999, but relatively stable since 2010 (file-sharing peaked in 2005, having since declined). The U.S. market accounts for about one-third of global sales, followed by Japan, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Canada. Despite the losses, the U.S. and global music business still constitutes a powerful **oligopoly**: a business situation in which a few firms control most of an industry's production and distribution resources. This global reach gives these firms enormous influence over what types of music gain worldwide distribution and popular acceptance.

Fewer Major Labels and Falling Market Share

From the 1950s through the 1980s, the music industry, though powerful, consisted of a large number of competing major labels, along with numerous independent labels. Over time, the major labels began swallowing up the independents and then buying one another. By 1998, only six major labels remained—Universal, Warner, Sony, BMG, EMI, and Polygram. That year, Universal acquired Polygram; and in 2003, BMG and Sony merged. (BMG left the partnership in 2008.) By 2012, Universal gained regulatory approval to purchase EMI's recorded music division, and then only three major music corporations remained: Universal Music Group, Sony Music Entertainment, and Warner Music Group. Together, these companies control about 65 percent of the recording industry market in the United States (see Figure 4.2). Although their revenue has eroded over the past decade, the major music corporations still wield great power, with a number of music stars under contract and enormous back catalogs of recordings that continue to sell. Despite the oligopoly in the music industry, the biggest change has been the rise in market share for independent music labels.

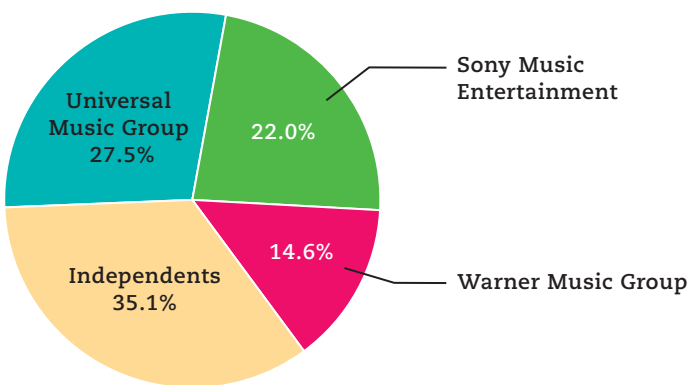
The Indies Grow with Digital Music

The rise of rock and roll in the 1950s and early 1960s showcased a rich diversity of independent labels—including Sun, Stax, Chess, and Motown—all vying for a share of the new music. That tradition lives on today. In contrast to the three global players, some five thousand large and small independent production houses—or **indies**—record less commercially viable music, or music they hope will become commercially viable. Often struggling enterprises, indies require only a handful of people to operate them. For years, indies accounted for 10 to 15 percent of all music releases. But with the advent of downloads and streaming, the enormous diversity of independent-label music became much more accessible, and the market share of indies more than doubled in size. Indies often still depend on wholesale distributors to promote and sell their music, or enter into deals with one of the three majors to gain wider distribution for their artists (in the same way that independent filmmakers use major studios for film distribution). Independent labels have produced some of the best-selling artists of recent years; examples include Big Machine Records (Taylor Swift, Rascal Flatts), Dualtone Records (the Lumineers), XL Recordings

FIGURE 4.2

U.S. MARKET SHARE OF THE MAJOR LABELS IN THE RECORDING INDUSTRY, 2014

Data from: Nielsen SoundScan, 2014. Figures are rounded.



TRACKING TECHNOLOGY

The Song Machine: The Hitmakers behind Rihanna

by John Seabrook

On a mild Monday afternoon in mid-January, Ester Dean, a songwriter and vocalist, arrived at Roc the Mic Studios in Manhattan for the first of five days of songwriting sessions. Her engineer, Aubry Delaine, whom she calls Big Juice, accompanied her. Tor Hermansen and Mikkel Eriksen, the team of Norwegian writer-producers professionally known as Stargate, were waiting there for Dean.

Most of the songs played on Top Forty radio are collaborations between producers like Stargate and "top line" writers like Ester Dean. The producers compose the chord progressions, program the beats, and arrange the "synths," or computer-made instrumental sounds; the top-liners come up with primary melodies, lyrics, and the all-important hooks, the ear-friendly musical phrases that lock you into the song. "It's not enough to have one hook anymore," Jay Brown, the president of Roc Nation, and Dean's manager, told me recently. "You've got to have a hook in the intro, a hook in the pre-chorus, a hook in the chorus, and a hook in the bridge." The reason, he explained, is that "people on average give a song seven seconds on the radio before they change the channel, and you got to hook them."

Today's Top Forty is almost always machine-made: lush sonic landscapes of beats, loops, and synths in which all the sounds have square edges and shiny surfaces, the voices are Auto-Tuned for pitch, and there are no mistakes. The music sounds sort of like this: *thump thooka whompa whomp pish pish pish thumpaty wompah pah pah pah*. The people who create the songs are often in different places. The artists, who spend much of the year touring, don't have time to come into the studio; they generally record new material in between shows, in mobile recording studios and hotel rooms, working with demos that producers and top-line writers make for them to use as a kind of vocal stencil pattern.

Kevin Winter/Getty Images

As was the case in the pre-rock era, when Phil Spector–produced girl groups led the hit parade, many of the leading artists of the post-rock era are women. Rarely a month goes by without a new song from Lady Gaga, Katy Perry, Beyoncé, Kelly Clarkson, Ke$ha, Rihanna, Nicki Minaj, or Pink near the top of the charts. But the artist who best embodies the music and the style of the new Top Forty is Rihanna, the Barbados-born pop singer. At twenty-four [in 2012], she is the queen of urban pop, and the consummate artist of the digital age, in which quantity is more important than quality and personality trumps song craft. She releases an album a year, often recording a new one while she is on an eighty-city world tour promoting the last one. To keep her supplied with material, her label, Def Jam, and her manager, Jay Brown, periodically convene "writer camps"—weeklong conclaves, generally held in Los Angeles, where dozens of top producers and writers from around the world are brought in to brainstorm on songs. After an album comes out, she may release remixes, like her recent ill-advised collaborations with Chris Brown, to give singles a boost. She has sold more digital singles than any other artist—a hundred and twenty million.

Rihanna is often described as a "manufactured" pop star, because she doesn't write her songs, but neither did Sinatra or Elvis. She embodies a song in the way an actor inhabits a role—and no one expects the actor to write the script. In the rock era, when the album was the standard unit of recorded music, listeners had ten or eleven songs to get to know the artist, but in the singles-oriented business of today the artist has only three or four minutes to put her personality across. The song must drip with attitude and swagger, or "swag," and nobody delivers that better than Rihanna, even if a good deal of the swag originates with Ester Dean.

Source: Excerpted from John Seabrook, "The Song Machine: The Hitmakers behind Rihanna," New Yorker, *March 26, 2012, www.newyorker.com/reporting/2012/03/26/120326fa_fact_seabrook.*

(Adele, Vampire Weekend), and Cash Money Records (Drake, Nicki Minaj). (See "Alternative Voices" on page 143.)

Making, Selling, and Profiting from Music

Like most mass media, the music business is divided into several areas, each working in a different capacity. In the music industry, those areas are making the music (signing, developing, and recording the artist), selling the music (selling, distributing, advertising, and promoting the music), and dividing the profits. All these areas are essential to the industry but have always shared in the conflict between business concerns and artistic concerns.

Making the Music

Labels are driven by **A&R (artist & repertoire) agents**, the talent scouts of the music business, who discover, develop, and sometimes manage artists. A&R executives scan online music sites and listen to demonstration tapes, or *demos*, from new artists and decide whom to sign and which songs to record. A&R executives naturally look for artists they think will sell, and they are often forced to avoid artists with limited commercial possibilities or to tailor artists to make them viable for the recording studio.

A typical recording session is a complex process that involves the artist, the producer, the session engineer, and audio technicians. In charge of the overall recording process, the producer handles most nontechnical elements of the session, including reserving studio space, hiring session musicians (if necessary), and making final decisions about the sound of the recording. The session engineer oversees the technical aspects of the recording session, everything from choosing recording equipment to managing the audio technicians. Most popular records are recorded part by part. Using separate microphones, the vocalists, guitarists, drummers, and other musical sections are digitally recorded onto separate audio tracks, which are edited and remixed during postproduction and ultimately mixed down to a two-track stereo master copy for reproduction to CD or online digital distribution.

Gary Wolstenholme/RedFerns/Getty Images

INDIE LABELS are able to take chances on artists like Titus Andronicus, an ambitious punk band from New Jersey recently signed to Merge Records, an independent label based in North Carolina. The band released a double-album rock opera in 2015.

Selling the Music

Selling and distributing music is a tricky part of the business. For years, the primary sales outlets for music were direct-retail record stores (independents or chains) and general retail outlets like Walmart, Best Buy, and Target. Such direct retailers could specialize in music, carefully monitoring new releases and keeping large, varied inventories. But as digital sales climbed, CD sales fell, forcing direct-retail record stores out of business and leaving general retail outlets to offer considerably less variety, stocking only top-selling CDs.

As recently as 2011, physical recordings (CDs and some vinyl) accounted for about 50 percent of U.S. music sales. But CD sales continue to decline and now constitute about 35 percent of the market. In some other Top 10 global music markets, such as Japan and Germany, CDs are still the top format, and the cultural shift from physical recordings to digital formats is just beginning.

Conversely, digital sales—which include digital downloads (like iTunes and Amazon), subscription streaming services (like Rhapsody and the paid version of Spotify), free streaming

services (like the ad-supported Spotify, Rdio, YouTube, and Vevo), streaming radio services (like Pandora and iHeartRadio), ringtones, and synchronization fees (payments for use of music in media like film, TV, and advertising)—have grown to capture almost two-thirds of the U.S. market and 39 percent of the global market.[25] About 40 percent of all music recordings purchased in the United States are downloads, and iTunes is the leading retailer of downloads.

Subscription and streaming services have been a big growth area in the United States and now account for about 21 percent of U.S. music industry revenues. The difference between a streaming music service (e.g., Spotify) and streaming radio (e.g., Pandora) is that streaming services enable listeners to stream specific songs, whereas streaming radio services allow listeners to select only a genre or style of music.

The international recording industry is a major proponent of music streaming services because they are a new revenue source. Although **online piracy**—unauthorized online file-sharing—still exists, the advent of advertising-supported music streaming services has satisfied consumer demand for free music and weakened interest in illegal file swapping. There are now about 450 licensed online music services worldwide.[26] Spotify, one of the leading services, has more than twenty million licensed songs to stream globally, with over twenty thousand songs added every day. Spotify carries so many songs that 20 percent of them have never been played.[27] Another service, Forgotify, creates playlists composed of these neglected songs.

Dividing the Profits

The digital upheaval in the music industry has shaken up the once-predictable sale of music through CDs. Now there are multiple digital venues for selling music and an equally high number of methods for dividing the profits. Although the digital download and streaming market has now surpassed physical sales, for the sake of example, we will first look at the various costs and profits from a typical CD that retails at $17.98.

The wholesale price for that CD is about $12.50, leaving the remainder as retail profit. Discount retailers like Walmart and Best Buy sell closer to the wholesale price to lure customers to buy other things (even if they make less profit on the CD itself). The wholesale price represents the actual cost of producing and promoting the recording, plus the recording label's profits. The record company reaps the highest revenue (close to $9.74 on a typical CD) but, along with the artist, bears the bulk of the expenses: manufacturing costs, packaging and CD design, advertising and promotion, and artists' royalties (see Figure 4.3 on page 141). The physical product of the CD itself costs less than a quarter to manufacture.

New artists usually negotiate a royalty rate of between 8 and 12 percent on the retail price of a CD, while more established performers might negotiate for 15 percent or higher. An artist who has negotiated a typical 11 percent royalty rate would earn about $1.93 per CD whose suggested retail price is $17.98. So a CD that "goes gold"—that is, sells 500,000 units—would net the artist around $965,000. But out of this amount, artists must repay the record company the money they have been advanced (from $100,000 to $500,000). And after band members, managers, and attorneys are paid with the remaining money, it's quite possible that an artist will end up with almost nothing—even after a certified gold CD. The financial risk is much lower for the songwriter/publisher, who makes a standard mechanical royalty rate of about 9.1 cents per song, or $0.91 for a ten-song CD, without having to bear any production or promotional costs.

The profits are divided somewhat differently in digital download sales. A $1.29 iTunes download generates about $0.40 for Apple (it gets 30 percent of every song sale) and a standard $0.09 mechanical royalty for the song publisher and writer, leaving about $0.60 for the record company. Artists at a typical royalty rate of about 15 percent would get $0.20 from the song download. With no CD printing and packaging costs, record companies can retain more of the revenue on download sales. Digital music sales also sometimes involve lucrative side deals: Jay-Z's 2013 album *Magna Carta Holy Grail* was packaged as a freebie with his Samsung

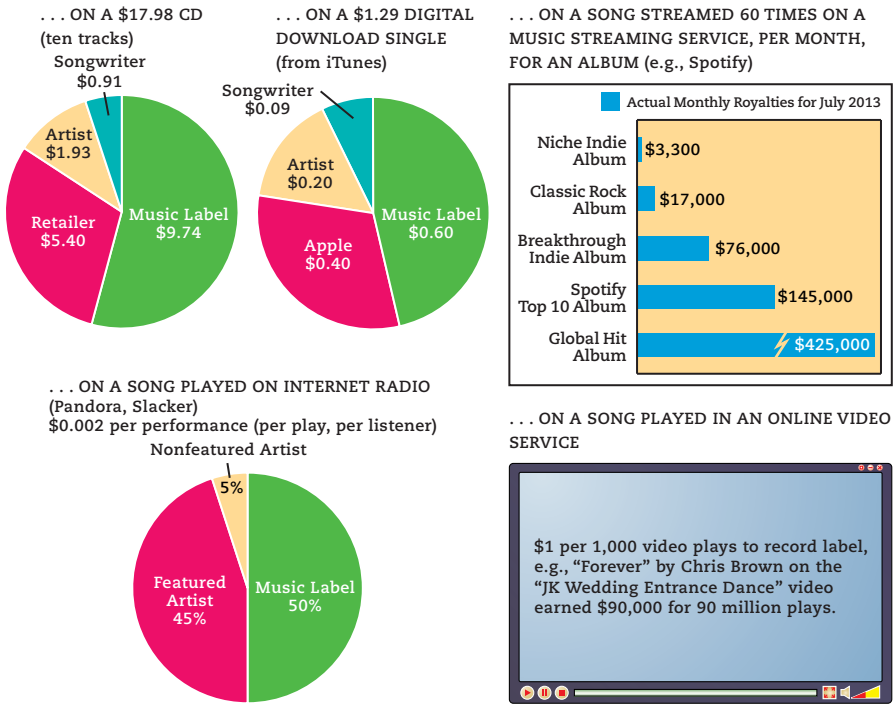


FIGURE 4.3

WHERE THE MONEY GOES

Data from: Steve Knopper, "The New Economics of the Music Industry," Rolling Stone, October 25, 2011, www.rollingstone.com/music/news/the-new-economics-of-the-music-industry-20111025; and Spotify, "Spotify Explained," accessed June 7, 2014, www.spotifyartists.com/spotify-explained/.

app, which meant Samsung "bought" over a million copies of it in advance, surpassing the album's first-week sales of 528,000 (the Samsung deal was not counted as part of the album's official sales).

Another venue for digital music is streaming services like Spotify, Rdio, and Beats Music. Some leading artists initially held back their new releases from such services due to concerns that streaming would eat into their digital download and CD sales and that the compensation from streaming services wasn't sufficient. One of the leading services, Spotify, reports that on average, each stream is worth about $0.007.[28] Depending on the popularity of the song, that could add up to a little or a lot of money. For example, Spotify reports that similar to Apple's iTunes, it pays out about 70 percent of its revenue to music rights holders (divided between the label, performers, and songwriters) and retains about 30 percent for itself. Spotify provided examples of what typical payouts might be for a range of albums in a single month (see Figure 4.3). For contrast, contemporary cellist Zoë Keating, an independent recording artist, reported that she earned just $808 in the first half of 2013 from 201,412 Spotify streams of two of her older recordings distributed by CD Baby.[29]

Songs played on Internet radio, like Pandora, Slacker, or iHeartRadio, have yet another formula for determining royalties. In 2000, the nonprofit group SoundExchange was established to collect royalties for Internet radio. (The significant difference between Internet radio and subscription streaming services is that on Internet radio, listeners can't select specific songs to play. Instead, Internet stations have "theme" stations.) SoundExchange charges fees of $0.002 per play, per listener. Large Internet radio stations can pay up to 25 percent of their gross revenue (less for smaller Internet radio stations, and a small flat fee for streaming nonprofit stations). About 50 percent of the fees go to the music label, 45 percent go to the featured artists, and 5 percent go to nonfeatured artists.

Finally, video services like YouTube and Vevo have become sites to generate advertising revenue through music videos, which can attract tens of millions of views (see "Case Study: Psy and the Meaning of 'Gangnam Style'" on page 142). For example, Beyoncé's 2014 video for "Drunk in Love" drew more than 166 million views in just five months. Even popular amateur

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Alternative Strategies for Music Marketing

This video explores the strategies independent artists and marketers now employ to reach audiences.

Discussion: Even with the ability to bypass major record companies, many of the most popular artists still sign with those companies. Why do you think that is?

CASE STUDY

Psy and the Meaning of "Gangnam Style"

by Michael Park

South Korean musician Psy (aka Park Jae-Sang) became a pop-cultural sensation in the fall of 2012 with his viral Internet meme "Gangnam Style." The video has now generated over two and a half billion views, making it the most popular YouTube video ever. Within a few months of the video's release, Psy was making appearances on national talk shows, such as *The Today Show*, *Ellen*, and *Chelsea Lately*, and even an appearance on *Saturday Night Live*. Never before had a Korean pop ("K-pop") artist reached such epic crossover success, despite dozens of musical acts from Korea and Asia making the attempt.

Although Psy's crossover appeal is largely unprecedented, his overwhelming popularity has many Koreans both gratified and puzzled.[1] The K-pop music industry is primarily made up of young and attractive singers who often flaunt their sexuality. Psy, however, is a comedic performer who is significantly older (mid-30s), portly, and without the leading-man looks that have come to dominate the K-pop scene. Without question, the "Gangnam Style" music video is visually seductive, with its colorful setups, its catchy melody, and Psy's signature horse dance. As a seasoned comedic performer, Psy offers wacky juxtapositions, and the video has been the subject of exhaustive parody by mainstream and user-generated media. Unbeknownst to most viewers, the video and the song's lyrics offer a subversive message: Psy's scathing critique of materialism and conspicuous superficiality run amok in Korea's trendiest district—"Gangnam" ("south of the river" in Korean).

On one hand, it is possible to conclude that Psy's crossover success represents greater social acceptance of Asian men who have historically been absent or marginalized in mainstream media representations. However, Psy and his physicality in the video also evoke one of the stereotyped roles that mainstream media has situated Asian men in: the emasculated and clownish Asian male. The celebratory reception of Psy's "Gangnam Style" indicates that in order for Asian males to find popular appeal in the audiovisual realm, they too must negotiate with a "codified visual hierarchy" where consumers will only accept caricatured images of Asian men.

Ozan Kose/AFP/Getty Images

On *The Ellen DeGeneres Show*, it becomes clear that Psy's value as a guest is centered on his comical dance; he is relegated to an object of humor who elicits laughs with his minstrel performance. Psy teaches Britney Spears and Ellen his horse dance before performing the song for the audience. Ellen fails to properly introduce Psy, and the audience and viewers learn nothing about him, nor are the song's lyrics or subversive message inquired about. On *Saturday Night Live*, Psy's comical horse dance and minstrelsy are further exploited in a sketch featuring host Seth MacFarlane. The point is clear: the comical dance moves and wacky visuals are consumed as silly entertainment and comic relief. Psy never speaks a word except for "Oppa Gangnam Style." Like his debut on *Ellen*, Psy stands as a recognizable prop, eager to entertain with his comical physicality. On *Chelsea Lately*, Psy makes an appearance in a bit that has him galloping his signature horse dance while performing menial office tasks, such as stomping on cardboard boxes, dusting office portraits, and stapling papers. Throughout the skit, he never speaks; he never even blurts out "Gangnam Style" while performing his dance.

Psy's "crossover success" into America's mainstream cultural imaginary, coupled with the absence of prototypical male K-pop artists (e.g., Rain, Se7en, or Big Bang), who display high fashion and flaunt hyper-sexuality, bolsters the assertion that a codified visual hierarchy operates in the audiovisual space as well. While Psy's popular appeal and celebrated reception in the American cultural imaginary are unprecedented, his image and physicality are tightly aligned with popular constructions of Asian men that define Asian masculinity as synonymous with emasculation and comic relief.

Source: Adapted from Michael Park, "Psy-zing Up the Mainstreaming of 'Gangnam Style': Embracing Asian Masculinity as Neo-minstrelsy?" an award-winning paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication conference, Montreal, Canada, August 2014.

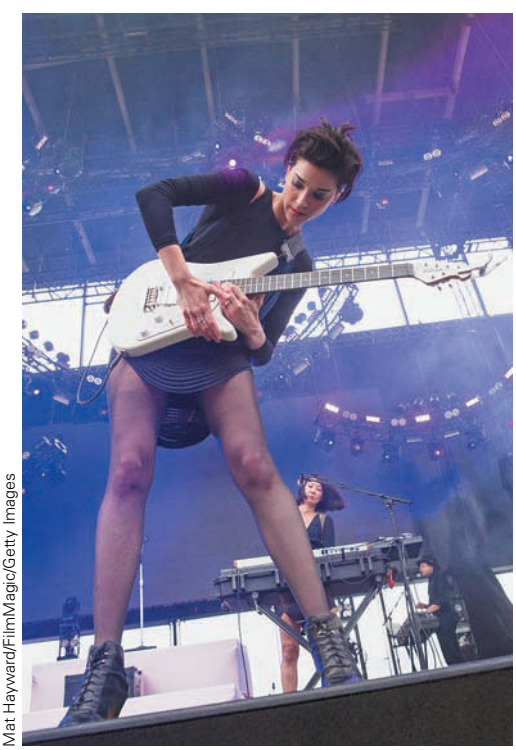
Tim Mosenfelder/Getty Images

HAIM
Though fewer rock bands have found enormous success following the digital turn, this band of sisters, influenced by 1970s and 1980s acts, has built a large mainstream following. Even bigger bands, though, can sometimes make more money licensing their songs to ads or other media than from record sales. Haim's song "The Wire," for example, has been used in multiple TV shows.

videos that use copyrighted music can create substantial revenue for music labels and artists. The 2009 amateur video "JK Wedding Entrance Dance" (reprised in a wedding scene in TV's *The Office*) has about 90 million views. Instead of asking YouTube to remove the wedding video for its unauthorized use of Chris Brown's song "Forever," Sony licensed the video to stay on YouTube. At the rate of $1 per thousand video plays, it ultimately generated about $90,000 in ad revenue.

There aren't standard formulas for sharing ad revenue from music videos, but there is movement in that direction. In 2012, Universal Music Group and the National Music Publishers' Association agreed that music publishers would be paid 15 percent of advertising revenues generated by music videos licensed for use on YouTube and Vevo.

ST. VINCENT, the stage name of singer, songwriter, and guitarist Annie Clark, released three albums on indie labels like Beggars Banquet and 4AD before she put out her critically beloved self-titled fourth album through a division of Universal in 2014.



Mat Hayward/FilmMagic/Getty Images

Alternative Voices

A vast network of independent (indie) labels, distributors, stores, publications, and Internet sites devoted to music outside of the major label system has existed since the early days of rock and roll. The indie industry nonetheless continues to thrive, providing music fans access to all styles of music, including some of the world's most respected artists.

Independent labels have become even more viable by using the Internet as a low-cost distribution and promotional outlet for downloads, streaming, and merchandise sales, as well as for fan discussion groups, regular e-mail updates of tour schedules, and promotion of new releases. Consequently, bands that in previous years would have signed to a major label have found another path to success in the independent music industry, with labels like Merge Records (Arcade Fire, She & Him, the Mountain Goats), Matador (Yo La Tengo, Sonic Youth, Pavement), 4AD (the National, Bon Iver), and Epitaph (Bad Religion, Alkaline Trio, Frank Turner). Unlike artists on major labels who need to sell 500,000 copies

or more in order to recoup expenses and make a profit, indie artists "can turn a profit after selling roughly 25,000 copies of an album."[30] Some musical artists also self-publish CDs and sell them at concerts or use popular online services like CD Baby, the largest online distributer of independent music, where artists can earn $6 to $12 per CD. One of the challenges of being an independent, unsigned artist is figuring out how to sell one's music on iTunes, Amazon, Spotify, YouTube, and other digital music services. TuneCore, founded in 2006, is one of many companies (including CD Baby) that have emerged to fulfill that need. For less than $100, the company will distribute recordings to online music services and then collect royalties for the artist (charging an additional 10 percent for recovered royalty fees).

Some established rock acts, like Nine Inch Nails and Amanda Palmer, are taking another approach to their business model, shunning major labels and independents and using the Internet to directly reach their fans. By selling music online at their own Web sites or selling CDs at live concerts, music acts generally do better, cutting out the retailer and keeping more of the revenue themselves. Artists and bands can also build online communities around their Web sites, listing shows, news, tours, photos, and downloadable songs. Social networking sites are another place for fans and music artists to connect. MySpace was one of the first dominant sites, but Facebook eventually eclipsed it as the go-to site for music lovers. In addition, social music media sites like the Hype Machine and SoundCloud; music streaming sites like Blip.fm, Rhapsody, Grooveshark, and DatPiff; Internet radio stations like Pandora, Slacker, and 8tracks; and video sites like YouTube and Vevo are becoming increasingly popular places for fans to sample and discover new music.

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Streaming Music Videos
On LaunchPad for *Media & Culture,* watch a clip of recent music videos from Katy Perry.
Discussion: Music videos get less TV exposure than they did in their heyday, but they can still be a crucial part of major artists' careers. How do these videos help sell Perry's music?

Sound Recording, Free Expression, and Democracy

From sound recording's earliest stages as a mass medium, when the music industry began stamping out flat records, to the breakthrough of MP3s and Internet-based music services, fans have been sharing music and pushing culture in unpredictable directions. Sound recordings allowed for the formation of rock and roll, a genre drawing from such a diverse range of musical styles that its impact on culture is unprecedented: Low culture challenged high-brow propriety, black culture spilled into white, southern culture infused the North, masculine and feminine stereotypes broke down, rural and urban styles came together, and artists mixed the sacred and the profane. Attempts to tame music were met by new affronts, including the British invasion, the growth of soul, and the political force of folk and psychedelic music. The gradual mainstreaming of rock led to the establishment of other culture-shaking genres, including punk, grunge, alternative, and hip-hop.

The battle over rock's controversial aspects speaks to the heart of democratic expression. Nevertheless, rock and other popular recordings—like other art forms—also have a history of reproducing old stereotypes: limiting women's access as performers, fostering racist or homophobic attitudes, and celebrating violence and misogyny.

Popular musical forms that test cultural boundaries face a dilemma: how to uphold a legacy of free expression while resisting giant companies bent on consolidating independents and maximizing profits. Since the 1950s, forms of rock music have been breaking boundaries, then becoming commercial, then reemerging as rebellious, and then repeating the pattern. The congressional payola hearings of 1959 and the Senate hearings of the mid-1980s triggered by Tipper Gore's Parents Music Resource Center (which led to music advisory labels) are just two

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Music Industry

Ariel Hyatt, Founder, Ariel Publicity and Cyber PR (firms that have worked with over one thousand musicians and bands of all genres)

If you love a specific band or artist, look up whom they work with and put those companies on your list because nothing is more thrilling and satisfying than working for your *favorite* artists and bands (I still get a thrill out of that, and I've been working in the music industry for fourteen years).

Morna Cook, Head of Human Resources, Universal Music UK

Any music-related experience is valuable, whether you've volunteered at a festival, done work experience for a small label, or worked on a blog or Web site on your own time. It's always good to see work experience on candidates' CVs. Volunteering to work not only shows that you are dedicated and proactive but will also mean you have a better understanding of how things work in a practical sense. This will give you the edge over candidates who have purely theoretical knowledge.

John Kellogg, Assistant Chair of Music Business/ Management Department, Berklee College of Music

I think the growth area is in management. [Managers] can coordinate all the various activities of creative talents and maximize those careers. It used to be [that] record companies were the central place where that happened. . . . That's completely different now.

Lauren Drell, Branded Content Editor, *Mashable*

If you're applying for a tech position, and the Spotify team likes what they see on your résumé, you'll be contacted for a phone or Skype interview with an engineer. Then you'll have a half day of on-site interviews (three hour-long meetings with engineers, and lunch with an engineer). Depending on the position, you may have to complete a coding challenge at home before arriving on-site. If you're applying to work on the business side, you can expect one or two phone interviews and two or three hours of on-site interviews. The ideal candidate [according to Alexandra Cohen, Technical Director at Spotify]: "We are looking for motivated, passionate people who want to accept the mission of helping people find the right music for every moment."

Lady Gaga

Stop taking selfies, because that won't make you a star.

of the many attempts to rein in popular music, whereas the infamous antics of performers from Elvis Presley onward, the blunt lyrics of artists from rock and roll and rap, and the independent paths of the many garage bands and cult bands of the early rock-and-roll era through the present are among those actions that pushed popular music's boundaries.

Still, this dynamic between popular music's clever innovations and capitalism's voracious appetite is crucial to sound recording's constant innovation and mass appeal. Ironically, successful commerce requires periodic infusions of the diverse sounds that come from ethnic communities, backyard garages, dance parties, and neighborhood clubs. No matter how it is produced and distributed, popular music endures because it speaks to both individual and universal themes, from a teenager's first romantic adventure to a nation's outrage over social injustice. Music often reflects the personal or political anxieties of a society. It also breaks down artificial or hurtful barriers better than many government programs do. Despite its tribulations, music at its best continues to champion a democratic spirit. Writer and free-speech advocate Nat Hentoff addressed this issue in the 1970s when he wrote, "Popular music always speaks, among other things, of dreams—which change with the times."[31] The recording industry continues to capitalize on and spread those dreams globally, but in each generation, musicians and their fans keep imagining new ones.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the developmental stages of mass media. But as new audio and sound recording technologies evolve, do they drive the kind of music we hear?

In the recent history of the music industry, it would seem as if technology has been the driving force behind the kind of music we hear. Case in point: The advent of the MP3 file as a new format in 1999 led to a new emphasis on single songs as the primary unit of music sales. The Recording Industry Association of America reports that there were more than 1.3 billion downloads of digital singles in 2013. In that year, digital singles outsold physical CD albums more than 7 to 1. In the past decade, we have come to live in a music business dominated by digital singles.

What have we gained by this transition? Thankfully, there are fewer CD jewel boxes (which always shattered with the greatest of ease). And there is no requirement to buy the lackluster "filler" songs that often come with the price of an album, when all we want are the two or three hit songs. But what have we lost culturally in the transition away from albums?

First, there is no physical album art for digital singles (although department stores now sell frames to turn vintage 12-inch album covers into art). And second, we have lost the concept of an album as a thematic collection of music and a medium that provides a much broader canvas to a talented musical artist. Consider this: How would the Beatles' *The White Album* have been created in a business dominated by singles? A look at *Rolling Stone* magazine's 500 Greatest Albums and *Time* magazine's All-Time 100 Albums indicates the apex of album creativity in earlier decades, with selections such as Jimi Hendrix's *Are You Experienced* (1967), the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967), David Bowie's *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust* (1972), Public Enemy's *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back* (1988), and Radiohead's *OK Computer* (1997). Has the movement away from albums changed possibilities for musical artists? That is, if an artist wants to be commercially successful, is there more pressure to generate just hit singles instead of larger bodies of work that constitute an album? Have the styles of artists like Kesha, Nicki Minaj, OneRepublic, and Lil Wayne been shaped by the predominance of the single?

Still, there is a clear case against technological determinism—the idea that technological innovations determine the direction of the culture. Back in the 1950s, the vinyl album caught on despite its newness—and despite the popularity of the 45-rpm single format, which competed with it at the same time. When the MP3 single format emerged in the late 1990s, the music industry had just rolled out two formats of advanced album discs that were technological improvements on the CD. Neither caught on. Of course, music fans may have been lured both by the ease of acquiring music digitally via the Internet and by the price—usually free (but illegal).

So, if it isn't technological determinism, why doesn't a strong digital album market coexist with the digital singles of today? Can you think of any albums of the past few years that merit being listed among the greatest albums of all time?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

audiotape, 118
stereo, 118
analog recording, 118
digital recording, 118
compact discs (CDs), 119
MP3, 120
pop music, 122
jazz, 123
cover music, 123
rock and roll, 123
blues, 123
rhythm and blues (R&B), 124
rockabilly, 125
soul, 130
folk music, 131
folk-rock, 131
punk rock, 133
grunge, 134
alternative rock, 134
hip-hop, 134
gangster rap, 135
oligopoly, 137
indies, 137
A&R (artist & repertoire) agents, 139
online piracy, 140

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

The Development of Sound Recording

1. The technological configuration of a particular medium sometimes elevates it to mass market status. Why did Emile Berliner's flat disk replace the wax cylinder, and why did this reconfiguration of records matter in the history of the mass media? Can you think of other mass media examples in which the size and shape of the technology have made a difference?
2. How did sound recording survive the advent of radio?
3. How did the music industry attempt to curb illegal downloading and file-sharing?

U.S. Popular Music and the Formation of Rock

4. How did rock and roll significantly influence two mass media industries?
5. Although many rock-and-roll lyrics from the 1950s are tame by today's standards, this new musical development represented a threat to many parents and adults at that time. Why?
6. What moral and cultural boundaries were blurred by rock and roll in the 1950s?
7. Why did cover music figure so prominently in the development of rock and roll and the record industry in the 1950s?

A Changing Industry: Reformations in Popular Music

8. Explain the British invasion. What was its impact on the recording industry?
9. What were the major influences of folk music on the recording industry?
10. Why did hip-hop and punk rock emerge as significant musical forms in the late 1970s and 1980s? What do their developments have in common, and how are they different?
11. Why does pop music continue to remain powerful today?

The Business of Sound Recording

12. What companies control the bulk of worldwide music production and distribution?
13. Why have independent labels grown to have a significantly larger market share in the 2010s?
14. Which major parties receive profits when a digital download, music stream, or physical CD is sold?
15. How is a mechanical royalty different from a performance royalty?

Sound Recording, Free Expression, and Democracy

16. Why is it ironic that so many forms of alternative music become commercially successful?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. If you ran a noncommercial campus radio station, what kind of music would you play, and why?
2. Think about the role of the 1960s drug culture in rock's history. How are drugs and alcohol treated in contemporary and alternative forms of rock and hip-hop today?
3. Is it healthy for, or detrimental to, the music business that so much of the recording industry is controlled by just a few large international companies? Explain.
4. Do you think the Internet as a technology helps or hurts musical artists? Why do so many contemporary musical performers differ in their opinions about the Internet?
5. How has the Internet changed your musical tastes? Has it exposed you to more global music? Do you listen to a wider range of music because of the Internet?

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DESTROY EVERY
iHeart
MUSIC
VIL
tRADIO
FESTIVAL

Michael Tran/FilmMagic/
Getty Images

5 Popular Radio and the Origins of Broadcasting

151
Early Technology and the Development of Radio

157
The Evolution of Radio

165
Radio Reinvents Itself

169
The Sounds of Commercial Radio

178
The Economics of Broadcast Radio

182
Radio and the Democracy of the Airwaves

"You can't stop technology, nor can you control it. The only winning strategy is to embrace it—and embrace it as early as you can."[1] So says Bob Pittman, the media executive who founded MTV in the 1980s and who became an executive at Clear Channel Communications, the largest radio corporation in the United States, in 2010.

Long before Pittman was hired, a profit-minded Clear Channel embraced technology by making drastic cuts to news and programming staffs at its local radio stations across the country and simulcasting much of the same programming (including prerecorded announcers playing as if live) across multiple distant cities.

This is how Clear Channel became the poster child for the success—and the excess—of media consolidation following the Telecommunication Act of 1996. Not only a radio giant, the company has long been one of the biggest live-music-event promoters and outdoor billboard owners, among its other media and entertainment enterprises. But the technologies of station consolidation and automation were not entirely a winning strategy

for Clear Channel. From its peak of owning more than 1,200 stations in 2005, it sold off hundreds of stations a decade later, settling at about 850 stations. During that time, it earned a reputation as the company that killed much of local radio news, stifled deejays' individuality and passion for music, and lost sight of the public's interest.

Under Pittman, part of embracing technology is the attempt to create a new reputation for Clear Channel. So in 2014, Clear Channel Communications became iHeartMedia, named to reflect the brand of its new streaming radio network, iHeartRadio. Although the majority of profits at iHeartMedia still comes from its AM and FM radio stations, iHeartMedia is banking on its 1,900 live broadcast and digital-only radio streaming stations for the future.

Whereas Clear Channel was distant and corporate, iHeartMedia is throwing its promotional energy into a number of national music events, including the iHeartRadio Music Festival, the iHeartRadio Ultimate Pool Party, the iHeartRadio Jingle Ball Concert Tour, the iHeartRadio Country Festival, the iHeartRadio Ultimate Valentine's Escape, and the iHeartRadio Fiesta Latina. True to its word, the company's professed strategy is "delivering entertaining and informative content across multiple platforms, including broadcast, mobile and digital as well as events," and then delivering its audiences to "advertisers, business partners, music labels and artists."[2]

Is this the future of radio? Other radio corporations and stations around the world are also part of the trend toward streaming audio content (see "Global Village: Radio Goes Local, Global, and Local Again" on page 176). But does streaming mean that the radio industry is running itself out of the local radio business? Pittman doesn't think so. "In the most simple terms, what we added were more radios. We've always had radios in the car, radios by the bed and radios at work, and now we also have what are new radios to the consumer—digital devices—at workstations and in everyone's hands," Pittman says. "More ways to listen to the radio means more occasions for our listeners to connect to our legendary brands and our one of a kind personalities—and it's a very good thing for us, our listeners, our advertisers and the music industry."[3]

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

EVEN WITH THE ARRIVAL OF TV IN THE 1950s and the "corporatization" of broadcasting in the 1990s, the historical and contemporary roles played by radio have been immense. From the early days of network radio, which gave us "a national identity" and "a chance to share in a common experience,"[4] to the more customized, demographically segmented medium today, radio's influence continues to reverberate throughout our society. Though television displaced radio as our most common media experience, radio specialized and adapted. The daily music and persistent talk that resonate from radios all over the world continue to play a key role in contemporary culture.

In this chapter, we examine the scientific, cultural, political, and economic factors surrounding radio's development and perseverance. We will:

- Explore the origins of broadcasting, from the early theories about radio waves to the critical formation of RCA as a national radio monopoly
- Probe the evolution of commercial radio, including the rise of NBC as the first network, the development of CBS, and the establishment of the first federal radio legislation
- Review the fascinating ways in which radio reinvented itself in the 1950s
- Examine television's impact on radio programming, the invention of FM radio, radio's convergence with sound recording, and the influence of various formats
- Investigate newer developments, like satellite and HD radio; radio's convergence with the Internet; and radio's hopes for greater convergence with the mobile phone industry
- Survey the economic health, increasing conglomeration, and cultural impact of commercial and noncommercial radio today, including the emergence of noncommercial low-power FM service

As you read through this chapter, think about your own relationship with radio. What are your earliest memories of radio listening? Do you remember a favorite song or station? How old were you when you started listening? Why did you listen? What types of radio stations are in your area today? How has the Internet made radio better? How has it made it worse? For more questions to help you think through the role of radio in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Early Technology and the Development of Radio

Radio did not emerge as a full-blown mass medium until the 1920s, though the technology that made radio possible had been evolving for years. The **telegraph**—the precursor of radio technology—was invented in the 1840s. American inventor Samuel Morse developed the first practical system, sending electrical impulses from a transmitter through a cable to a reception point. Using what became known as **Morse code**—a series of dots and dashes that stood for letters in the alphabet—telegraph operators transmitted news and messages simply by interrupting the electrical current along a wire cable. By 1844, Morse had set up the first telegraph line between Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. By 1861, telegraph lines ran coast to coast. By 1866, the first transatlantic cable, capable of transmitting about six words a minute, ran between Newfoundland and Ireland along the ocean floor.

Although it was a revolutionary technology, the telegraph had its limitations. For instance, while it dispatched complicated language codes, it was unable to transmit the human voice. Moreover, ships at sea still had no contact with the rest of the world. As a result, navies could not find out when wars had ceased on land and often continued fighting for months.

SSPL/Getty Images

A TELEGRAPH OPERATOR reads the perforated tape. Sending messages using Morse code across telegraph wires was the precursor to radio, which did not fully become a mass medium until the 1920s.

Commercial shipping interests also lacked an efficient way to coordinate and relay information from land and between ships. What was needed was a telegraph without wires.

Maxwell and Hertz Discover Radio Waves

The key development in wireless transmissions came from James Maxwell, a Scottish physicist who in the mid-1860s theorized the existence of **electromagnetic waves**: invisible electronic impulses similar to visible light. Maxwell's equations showed that electricity, magnetism, light, and heat are part of the same electromagnetic spectrum and that they radiate in space at the speed of light, about 186,000 miles per second (see Figure 5.1 on page 154). Maxwell further theorized that a portion of these phenomena, later known as **radio waves**, could be harnessed so that signals could be sent from a transmission point to a reception point.

It was German physicist Heinrich Hertz, however, who in the 1880s proved Maxwell's theories. Hertz created a crude device that permitted an electrical spark to leap across a small gap between two steel balls. As the electricity jumped the gap, it emitted waves; this was the first recorded transmission and reception of an electromagnetic wave. Hertz's experiments significantly advanced the development of wireless communication.

Marconi and the Inventors of Wireless Telegraphy

In 1894, Guglielmo Marconi—a twenty-year-old, self-educated Italian engineer—read Hertz's work and understood that developing a way to send high-speed messages over great distances would transform communication, the military, and commercial shipping. Although revolutionary, the

Popular Radio and the Origins of Broadcasting

Samuel Morse
The first telegraph line is set up between Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Maryland, in 1844. For the first time in history, communication exceeds the speed of land transportation (p. 151).

Guglielmo Marconi
The Italian inventor begins experiments on wireless telegraphy in 1894. He sees his invention as a means for point-to-point communication (pp. 152–153).

Practical Use for Wireless Technology
Wireless operators save 705 lives during the *Titanic* tragedy in 1912, boosting interest in amateur radio across the United States (p. 156).

Commercial Radio
The first advertisements beginning in 1922 cause an uproar as people question the right to pollute the public airwaves with commercial messages (p. 158).

1830 • 1850 • 1870 • 1890 • 1910

Nikola Tesla
The Serbian-Croatian inventor creates a wireless device in America in 1892. His transmitter can make a tube thirty feet away light up (p. 154).

Lee De Forest
The American inventor writes the first dissertation on wireless technology in 1899 and goes on to invent wireless telephony and a means for amplifying radio sound (p. 154).

Wireless Ship Act
In 1910, Congress passes this act, requiring that all major ships be equipped with wireless radio (p. 156).

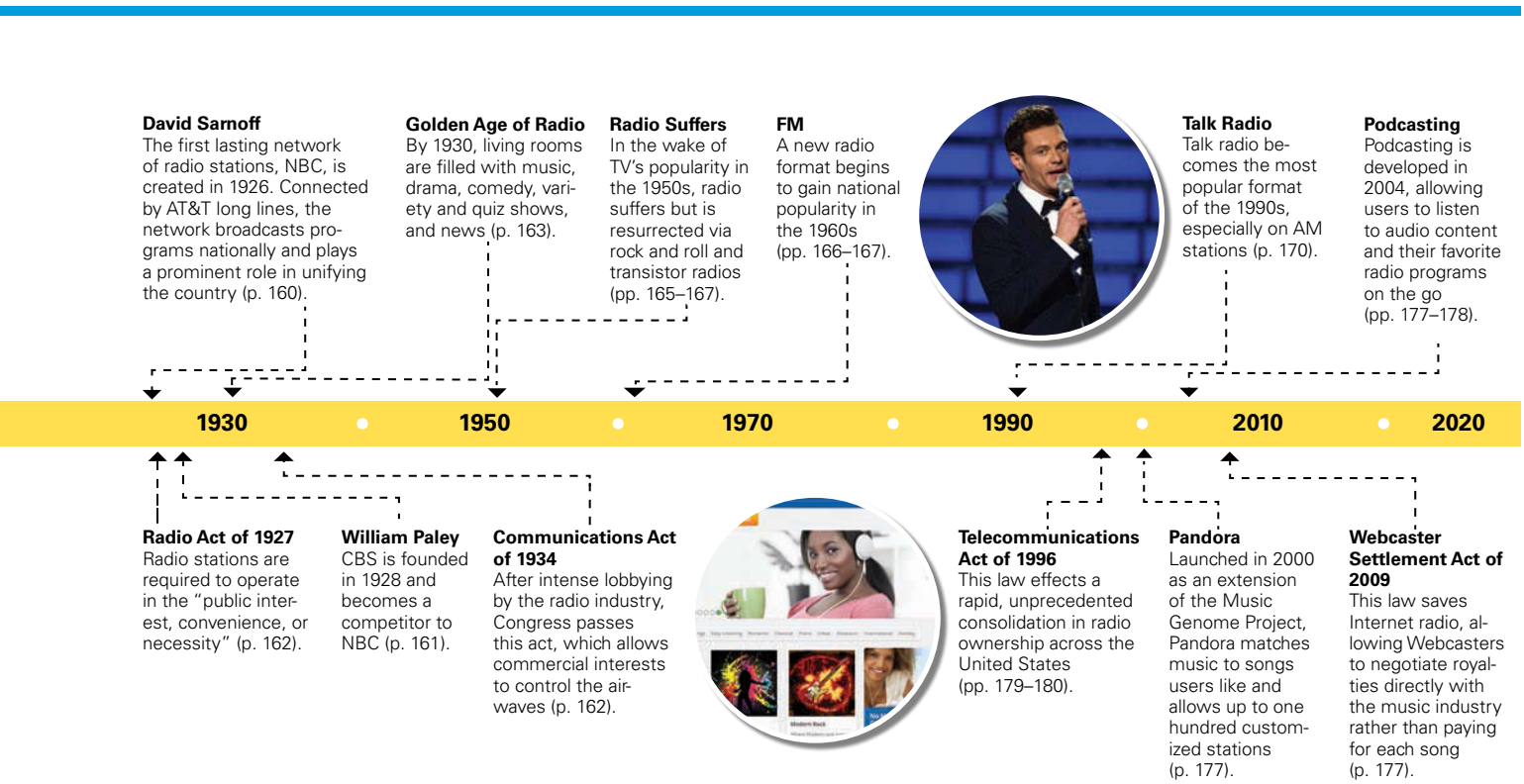
Amateur Radio Shutdown
The navy closes down all amateur radio operations in 1917 to ensure military security as the United States enters World War I (p. 156).

SSPL/Getty Images (top); © Bettmann/Corbis (bottom)

telephone and the telegraph were limited by their wires, so Marconi set about trying to make wireless technology practical. First, he attached Hertz's spark-gap transmitter to a Morse telegraph key, which could send out dot-dash signals. The electrical impulses traveled into a Morse inker, the machine that telegraph operators used to record the dots and dashes onto narrow strips of paper. Second, Marconi discovered that grounding—connecting the transmitter and receiver to the earth—greatly increased the distance over which he could send signals.

In 1896, Marconi traveled to England, where he received a patent on **wireless telegraphy**, a form of voiceless point-to-point communication. In London, in 1897, he formed the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, later known as British Marconi, and began installing wireless technology on British naval and private commercial ships. In 1899, he opened a branch in the United States, establishing a company nicknamed American Marconi. That same year, he sent the first wireless Morse-code signal across the English Channel to France; and in 1901, he relayed the first wireless signal across the Atlantic Ocean. Although Marconi was a successful innovator and entrepreneur, he saw wireless telegraphy only as point-to-point communication, much like the telegraph and the telephone, not as a one-to-many mass medium. He also confined his applications to Morse-code messages for military and commercial ships, leaving others to explore the wireless transmission of voice and music.

History often cites Marconi as the "father of radio," but another inventor unknown to him was making parallel discoveries about wireless telegraphy in Russia. Alexander Popov, a professor of physics in St. Petersburg, was also experimenting with sending wireless messages over distances. Popov announced to the Russian Physicist Society of St. Petersburg on May 7, 1895, that he had transmitted and received signals over a distance of six hundred yards.[5] Yet Popov was an academic, not an entrepreneur, and after Marconi accomplished a similar feat that same summer, Marconi was the first to apply for and receive a patent. However, May 7 is celebrated as Radio Day in Russia.



Mark Davis/Getty Images (top); Courtesy RadioTunes.com (bottom)

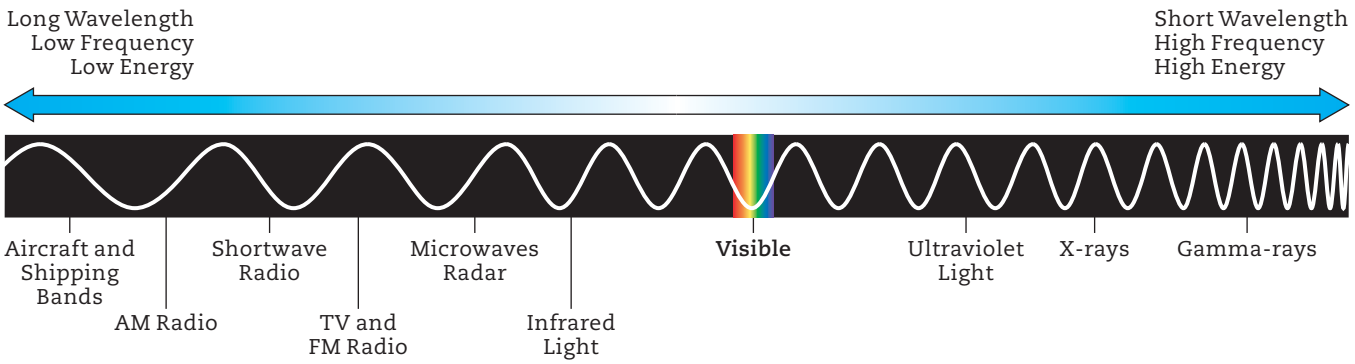


FIGURE 5.1

THE ELECTROMAGNETIC SPECTRUM

Data from: NASA, http://imagine.gsfc.nasa.gov/docs/science/know_l1/emspectrum.html.

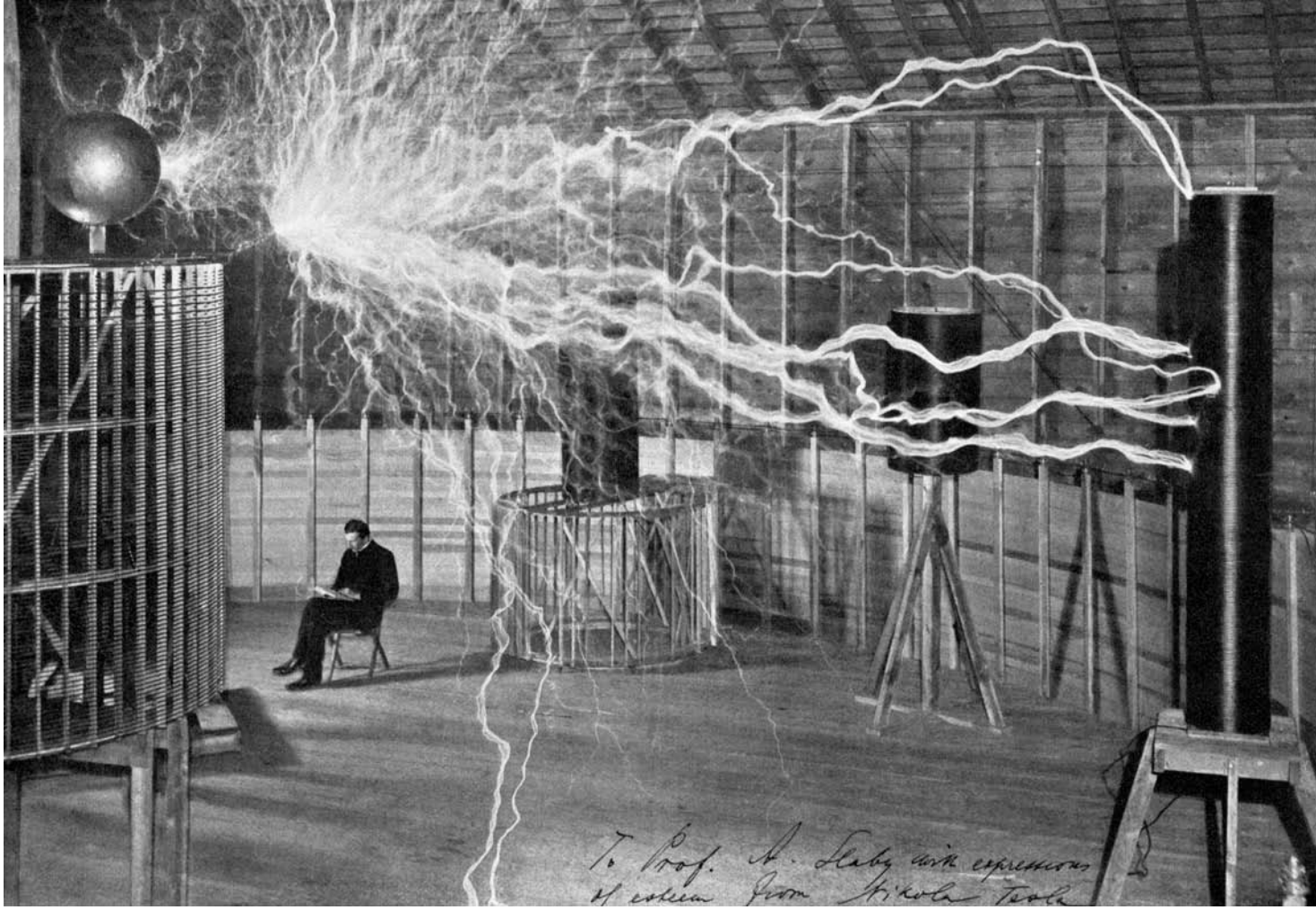
It is important to note that the work of Popov and Marconi was preceded by that of Nikola Tesla, a Serbian-Croatian inventor who immigrated to New York in 1884. Tesla, who also conceived the high-capacity alternating current systems that made worldwide electrification possible, invented a wireless system in 1892. A year later, Tesla successfully demonstrated his device in St. Louis, with his transmitter lighting up a receiver tube thirty feet away.[6] However, Tesla's work was overshadowed by Marconi's; Marconi used much of Tesla's work in his own developments, and for years Tesla was not associated with the invention of radio. Tesla never received great financial benefits from his breakthroughs, but in 1943 (a few months after he died penniless in New York), the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Marconi's wireless patent and deemed Tesla the inventor of radio.[7]

Wireless Telephony: De Forest and Fessenden

In 1899, inventor Lee De Forest (who, in defiance of other inventors, liked to call himself the "father of radio") wrote the first Ph.D. dissertation on wireless technology, building on others' innovations. In 1901, De Forest challenged Marconi, who was covering New York's International Yacht Races for the Associated Press, by signing up to report the races for a rival news service. The competing transmitters jammed each other's signals so badly, however, that officials ended up relaying information on the races in the traditional way—with flags and hand signals. The event exemplified a problem that would persist throughout radio's early development: noise and interference from competition for the finite supply of radio frequencies.

In 1902, De Forest set up the Wireless Telephone Company to compete head-on with American Marconi, by then the leader in wireless communication. A major difference between Marconi and De Forest was the latter's interest in wireless voice and music transmissions, later known as **wireless telephony** and, eventually, radio. Although sometimes an unscrupulous competitor (inventor Reginald Fessenden won a lawsuit against De Forest for using one of his patents without permission), De Forest went on to patent more than three hundred inventions.

De Forest's biggest breakthrough was the development of the Audion, or triode, vacuum tube, which detected radio signals and then amplified them. De Forest's improvements greatly increased listeners' ability to hear dots and dashes and, later, speech and music on a receiver set. His modifications were essential to the development of voice transmission, long-distance radio, and television. In fact, the Audion vacuum tube, which powered radios until the arrival of transistors and solid-state circuits in the 1950s, is considered by many historians to be the beginning of modern electronics. But again, bitter competition taints De Forest's legacy; although De Forest won a twenty-year court battle for the rights to the Audion patent, most engineers at the time agreed that Edwin Armstrong (who later developed FM radio) was the true inventor and disagreed with the U.S. Supreme Court's 1934 decision on the case that favored De Forest.[8]



Bettmann/Corbis

NIKOLA TESLA
A double-exposed photograph combines the image of inventor Nikola Tesla reading a book in his Colorado Springs, Colorado, laboratory in 1899 with the image of his Tesla coil discharging several million volts.

The credit for the first voice broadcast belongs to Canadian engineer Reginald Fessenden, formerly a chief chemist for Thomas Edison. Fessenden went to work for the U.S. Navy and eventually for General Electric (GE), where he played a central role in improving wireless signals. Both the navy and GE were interested in the potential for voice transmissions. On Christmas Eve in 1906, after GE built Fessenden a powerful transmitter, he gave his first public demonstration, sending a voice through the airwaves from his station at Brant Rock, Massachusetts. A radio historian describes what happened:

That night, ship operators and amateurs around Brant Rock heard the results: "someone speaking! . . . a woman's voice rose in song. . . . Next someone was heard reading a poem." Fessenden himself played "O Holy Night" on his violin. Though the fidelity was not all that it might be, listeners were captivated by the voices and notes they heard. No more would sounds be restricted to mere dots and dashes of the Morse code.[9]

Ship operators were astonished to hear voices rather than the familiar Morse code. (Some operators actually thought they were having a supernatural encounter.) This event showed that the wireless medium was moving from a point-to-point communication tool (wireless operator to wireless operator) toward a one-to-many communication tool. **Broadcasting**, once an agricultural term that referred to the process of casting seeds over a large area, would come to mean the transmission of radio waves (and, later, TV signals) to a broad public audience. Prior to radio broadcasting, wireless was considered a form of **narrowcasting**, or person-to-person communication, like the telegraph and the telephone.

In 1910, De Forest transmitted a performance of *Tosca* by the Metropolitan Opera to friends in the New York area with wireless receivers. At this point in time, radio passed from the novelty stage to the entrepreneurial stage, during which various practical uses would be tested before radio would launch as a mass medium.

Getty Images

NEWS OF THE *TITANIC*
Despite the headline in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* actually 1,523 people died and only 705 were rescued when the *Titanic* hit an iceberg on April 14, 1912 (the ship technically sank at 2:20 A.M. on April 15). The crew of the *Titanic* used the Marconi wireless equipment on board to send distress signals to other ships. Of the eight ships nearby, the *Carpathia* was the first to respond with lifeboats.

Regulating a New Medium

The two most important international issues affecting radio in the first decade of the twentieth century were ship radio requirements and signal interference. Congress passed the Wireless Ship Act in 1910, which required that all major U.S. seagoing ships carrying more than fifty passengers and traveling more than two hundred miles off the coast be equipped with wireless equipment with a one-hundred-mile range. The importance of this act was underscored by the *Titanic* disaster two years later. A brand-new British luxury steamer, the *Titanic* sank in 1912. Although more than fifteen hundred people died in the tragedy, wireless reports played a critical role in pinpointing the *Titanic*'s location, enabling rescue ships to save over seven hundred lives.

Radio Waves as a Natural Resource

In the wake of the *Titanic* tragedy, Congress passed the **Radio Act of 1912**, which addressed the problem of amateur radio operators increasingly cramming the airwaves. Because radio waves crossed state and national borders, legislators determined that broadcasting constituted a "natural resource"—a kind of interstate commerce. This meant that radio waves could not be owned; they were the collective property of all Americans, just like national parks. Therefore, transmitting on radio waves would require licensing in the same way that driving a car requires a license.

A short policy guide, the first Radio Act required all wireless stations to obtain radio licenses from the Commerce Department. This act, which governed radio until 1927, also formally adopted the SOS Morse-code distress signal that other countries had been using for several years. Further, the "natural resource" mandate led to the idea that radio, and eventually television, should provide a benefit to society—in the form of education and public service. The eventual establishment of public radio stations was one consequence of this idea; the Fairness Doctrine was another.

The Impact of World War I

By 1915, more than twenty American companies sold wireless point-to-point communication systems, primarily for use in ship-to-shore communication. Having established a reputation for efficiency and honesty, American Marconi (a subsidiary of British Marconi) was the biggest and best of these companies. But in 1914, with World War I beginning in Europe and with America warily watching the conflict, the U.S. Navy questioned the wisdom of allowing a foreign-controlled company to wield so much power. American corporations, especially GE and AT&T, capitalized on the navy's xenophobia and succeeded in undercutting Marconi's influence.

As wireless telegraphy played an increasingly large role in military operations, the navy sought tight controls on information. When the United States entered the war in 1917, the navy closed down all amateur radio operations and took control of key radio transmitters to ensure military security. As the war was nearing its end in 1919, British Marconi placed an order with GE for twenty-four potent new alternators, which were strong enough to power a transoceanic system of radio stations that could connect the world. But the U.S. Navy, influenced by Franklin Roosevelt—at that time the navy's assistant secretary—grew concerned and moved to ensure that such powerful new radio technology would not fall under foreign control.

Roosevelt was guided in turn by President Woodrow Wilson's goal of developing the United States as an international power, a position greatly enhanced by American military successes during the war. Wilson and the navy saw an opportunity to slow Britain's influence over communication and to promote a U.S. plan for the control of emerging wireless operations. Thus corporate heads and government leaders conspired to make sure radio communication would serve American interests.

The Formation of RCA

Some members of Congress and the corporate community opposed federal legislation that would grant the government or the navy a radio monopoly. Consequently, GE developed a compromise plan that would create a *private sector monopoly*—that is, a private company that would have the government's approval to dominate the radio industry. First, GE broke off negotiations to sell key radio technologies to European-owned companies like British Marconi, thereby limiting those companies' global reach. Second, GE took the lead in founding a new company, **Radio Corporation of America (RCA)**, which soon acquired American Marconi and radio patents of other U.S. companies. Upon its founding in 1919, RCA had pooled the necessary technology and patents to monopolize the wireless industry and expand American communication technology throughout the world.[10]

Under RCA's patent pool arrangement, wireless patents from the navy, AT&T, GE, the former American Marconi, and other companies were combined to ensure U.S. control over the manufacture of radio transmitters and receivers. Initially AT&T, then the government-sanctioned monopoly provider of telephone services, manufactured most transmitters, while GE (and later Westinghouse) made radio receivers. RCA administered the pool, collecting patent royalties and distributing them to pool members. To protect these profits, the government did not permit RCA to manufacture equipment or to operate radio stations under its own name for several years. Instead, RCA's initial function was to ensure that radio parts were standardized by manufacturers and to control frequency interference by amateur radio operators, which increasingly became a problem after the war.

A government restriction at the time mandated that no more than 20 percent of RCA could be owned by foreigners. This restriction, later raised to 25 percent, became law in 1927 and applied to all U.S. broadcasting stocks and facilities. Because of this rule, Rupert Murdoch—the head of Australia's News Corp.—became a U.S. citizen in 1985, so he could buy a number of TV stations and form the Fox television network. In 2013, the FCC ruled it would allow exemptions to the 25 percent foreign ownership limit on a case-by-case basis.

RCA's most significant impact was that it gave the United States almost total control over the emerging mass medium of broadcasting. At the time, the United States was the only country that placed broadcasting under the care of commercial, rather than military or government, interests. By pooling more than two thousand patents and sharing research developments, RCA ensured the global dominance of the United States in mass communication, a position it maintained in electronic hardware into the 1960s and maintains in program content today.

The Evolution of Radio

When Westinghouse engineer Frank Conrad set up a crude radio studio above his Pittsburgh garage in 1916, placing a microphone in front of a phonograph to broadcast music and news to his friends (whom Conrad supplied with receivers) two evenings a week on experimental station 8XK, he unofficially became one of the medium's first disc jockeys. In 1920, a Westinghouse executive, intrigued by Conrad's curious hobby, realized the potential of radio as a mass medium. Westinghouse then established station KDKA, which is generally regarded as the first commercial broadcast station. KDKA is most noted for airing national returns from the Cox–Harding presidential election on November 2, 1920, an event most historians consider the first professional broadcast.

Other amateur broadcasters could also lay claim to being first. One of the earliest stations, operated by Charles "Doc" Herrold in San Jose, California, began in 1909 and later became KCBS. Additional experimental stations—in places like New York; Detroit; Medford, Massachusetts; and Pierre, South Dakota—broadcast voice and music prior to the establishment of KDKA. But KDKA's success, with the financial backing of Westinghouse, signaled the start of broadcast radio.

In 1921, the U.S. Commerce Department officially licensed five radio stations for operation; by early 1923, more than six hundred commercial and noncommercial stations were operating. Some stations were owned by AT&T, GE, and Westinghouse, but many were run by amateurs or were independently owned by universities or businesses. By the end of 1923, as many as 550,000 radio receivers, most manufactured by GE and Westinghouse, had been sold for about $55 each (about $701 in today's dollars). Just as the "guts" of the phonograph had been put inside a piece of furniture to create a consumer product, the vacuum tubes, electrical posts, and bulky batteries that made up the radio receiver were placed inside stylish furniture and marketed to households. By 1925, 5.5 million radio sets were in use across America, and radio was officially a mass medium.

Building the First Networks

In a major power grab in 1922, AT&T, which already had a government-sanctioned monopoly in the telephone business, decided to break its RCA agreements in an attempt to monopolize radio as well. Identifying the new medium as the "wireless telephone," AT&T argued that broadcasting was merely an extension of its control over the telephone. Ultimately, the corporate giant complained that RCA had gained too much monopoly power. In violation of its early agreements with RCA, AT&T began making and selling its own radio receivers.

In the same year, AT&T started WEAF (now WNBC) in New York, the first radio station to regularly sell commercial time to advertisers. AT&T claimed that under the RCA agreements it had the exclusive right to sell ads, which AT&T called *toll broadcasting*. Most people in radio at the time recoiled at the idea of using the medium for crass advertising, viewing it instead as a public information service. In fact, stations that had earlier tried to sell ads received "cease and desist" letters from the Department of Commerce. But by August 1922, AT&T had nonetheless sold its first ad to a New York real estate developer for $50. The idea of promoting the new medium as a public service, along the lines of today's noncommercial National Public Radio (NPR), ended when executives realized that radio ads offered another opportunity for profits long after radio-set sales had saturated the consumer market.

Bettmann/Corbis

WESTINGHOUSE ENGINEER FRANK CONRAD
Broadcasting from his garage, Conrad's hobby became Pittsburgh's KDKA, one of the first radio stations. Although this early station is widely celebrated in history books as the first broadcasting outlet, one can't underestimate the influence Westinghouse had in promoting this "historical first." Westinghouse clearly saw the celebration of Conrad's garage studio as a way to market the company and its radio equipment. The resulting legacy of Conrad's garage studio has thus overshadowed other individuals who also experimented with radio broadcasting.

The initial strategy behind AT&T's toll broadcasting idea was an effort to conquer radio. By its agreements with RCA, AT&T retained the rights to interconnect the signals between two or more radio stations via telephone wires. In 1923, when AT&T aired a program simultaneously on its flagship WEAF station and on WNAC in Boston, the phone company created the first **network**: a cost-saving operation that links (at that time, through special phone lines; today, through satellite relays) a group of broadcast stations that share programming produced at a central location. By the end of 1924, AT&T had interconnected twenty-two stations to air a talk by President Calvin Coolidge. Some of these

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DAVID SARNOFF
As a young man, Sarnoff taught himself Morse code and learned as much as possible in Marconi's experimental shop in New York. He was then given a job as wireless operator for the station on Nantucket Island. He went on to create NBC and network radio. Sarnoff's calculated ambition in the radio industry can easily be compared to Bill Gates's drive to control the computer software and Internet industries.

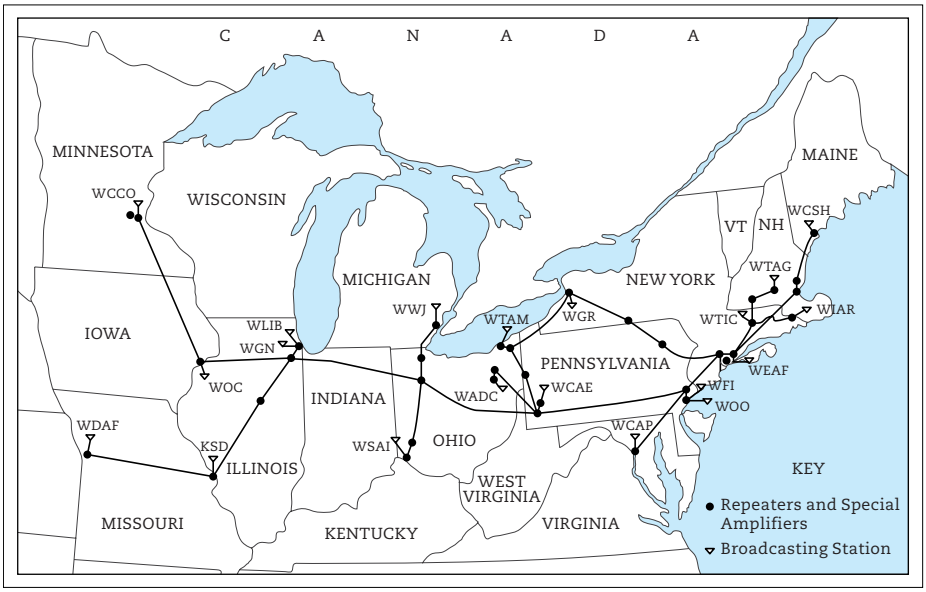
stations were owned by AT&T, but most simply consented to become AT&T "affiliates," agreeing to air the phone company's programs. These network stations informally became known as the *telephone group* and later as the Broadcasting Corporation of America (BCA).

In response, GE, Westinghouse, and RCA interconnected a smaller set of competing stations, known as the *radio group*. Initially, their network linked WGY in Schenectady, New York (then GE's national headquarters), and WJZ in Manhattan. The radio group had to use inferior Western Union telegraph lines when AT&T denied them access to telephone wires. By this time, AT&T had sold its stock in RCA and refused to lease its lines to competing radio networks. The telephone monopoly was now enmeshed in a battle to defeat RCA for control of radio.

This clash, among other problems, eventually led to a government investigation and an arbitration settlement in 1925. In the agreement, the Justice Department, irritated by AT&T's power grab, redefined patent agreements. AT&T received a monopoly on providing the wires, known as *long lines*, to interconnect stations nationwide. In exchange, AT&T sold its BCA network to RCA for $1 million and agreed not to reenter broadcasting for eight years (a banishment that actually extended into the 1990s).

Sarnoff and NBC: Building the "Blue" and "Red" Networks

After Lee De Forest, David Sarnoff was among the first to envision wireless telegraphy as a modern mass medium. From the time he served as Marconi's personal messenger (at age fifteen), Sarnoff rose rapidly at American Marconi. He became a wireless operator, helping relay information about the *Titanic* survivors in 1912. Promoted to a series of management positions, Sarnoff was closely involved in RCA's creation in 1919, when most radio executives saw wireless merely as point-to-point communication. But with Sarnoff as RCA's first commercial manager, radio's potential as a mass medium was quickly realized. In 1921, at age thirty, Sarnoff became RCA's general manager.



NBC'S RED NETWORK was formed by RCA in 1926. WEAF, the first station in New York, was the Red network's flagship station.

After RCA bought AT&T's telephone group network (BCA), Sarnoff created a new subsidiary in September 1926 called the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Its ownership was shared by RCA (50 percent), General Electric (30 percent), and Westinghouse (20 percent). This loose network of stations would be hooked together by AT&T long lines. Shortly thereafter, the original telephone group became known as the NBC-Red network, and the radio group (the network established by RCA, GE, and Westinghouse) became the NBC-Blue network.

Although NBC owned a number of stations by the late 1920s, many independent stations also began affiliating with the NBC networks to receive programming. NBC affiliates, though independently owned, signed contracts to be part of the network and paid NBC to carry its programs. In exchange, NBC reserved time slots, which it sold to national advertisers. NBC centralized costs and programming by bringing the best musical, dramatic, and comedic talent to one place, where programs could be produced and then distributed all over the country. By 1933, NBC-Red had twenty-eight affiliates, and NBC-Blue had twenty-four.

Network radio may have actually helped modernize America by de-emphasizing the local and the regional in favor of national programs broadcast to nearly everyone. For example, when Charles Lindbergh returned from the first solo transatlantic flight in 1927, an estimated twenty-five to thirty million people listened to his welcome-home party on the six million radio sets then in use. At the time, it was the largest shared audience experience in the history of any mass medium.

David Sarnoff's leadership at RCA was capped by two other negotiations that solidified his stature as the driving force behind radio's development as a modern medium: cutting a deal with General Motors for the manufacture of car radios (under the brand name Motorola) in 1929, and merging RCA with the Victor Talking Machine Company. Afterward, until the mid-1960s, the company was known as RCA Victor, adopting as its corporate symbol the famous terrier sitting alertly next to a Victrola radio-phonograph. The merger gave RCA control over Victor's records and recording equipment, making the radio company a major player in the sound recording industry. In 1930, David Sarnoff became president of RCA, and he ran it for the next forty years.

Government Scrutiny Ends RCA-NBC Monopoly

As early as 1923, the Federal Trade Commission had charged RCA with violations of antitrust laws, but the FTC allowed the monopoly to continue. By the late 1920s, the government, concerned about NBC's growing control over radio content, intensified its scrutiny. Then, in 1930, federal marshals charged RCA-NBC with a number of violations, including exercising too much control over manufacturing and programming. The government had originally sanctioned a closely supervised monopoly for wireless communication, but following the collapse of the stock market in 1929, the public became increasingly distrustful of big business.

RCA acted quickly. To eliminate its monopolizing partnerships, Sarnoff's company proposed buying out GE's and Westinghouse's remaining shares in RCA's manufacturing business.

Now RCA would compete directly against GE, Westinghouse, and other radio manufacturers, encouraging more competition in the radio manufacturing industry. In 1932, days before the antitrust case against RCA was to go to trial, the government accepted RCA's proposal for breaking up its monopoly. Ironically, in the mid-1980s, GE bought RCA, a shell of its former self and no longer competitive with foreign electronics firms.[11] GE was chiefly interested in RCA's brand-name status and its still-lucrative subsidiary, NBC.

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CBS HELPED ESTABLISH ITSELF as a premier radio network by attracting top talent from NBC, like comedic duo George Burns and Gracie Allen. They first brought their "Dumb Dora" and straight man act from stage to radio in 1929, and then continued on various radio programs in the 1930s and 1940s, with the most well known being *The Burns and Allen Show*. CBS also reaped the benefits when Burns and Allen moved their eponymous show to television in 1950.

CBS and Paley: Challenging NBC

Even with RCA's head start and its favored status, the two NBC networks faced competitors in the late 1920s. The competitors, however, all found it tough going. One group, United Independent Broadcasters (UIB), even lined up twelve prospective affiliates and offered them $500 a week for access to ten hours of station time in exchange for quality programs. UIB was cash-poor, however, and AT&T would not rent the new company its lines to link the affiliates.

Enter the Columbia Phonograph Company, which was looking for a way to preempt RCA's merger with the Victor Company, then the record company's major competitor. With backing from Columbia, UIB launched the new Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System (CPBS), a wobbly sixteen-affiliate network, in 1927. But after losing $100,000 in the first month, the record company pulled out. Later, CPBS dropped the word *Phonograph* from its title, creating the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

In 1928, William Paley, the twenty-seven-year-old son of Sam Paley, owner of a Philadelphia cigar company, bought a controlling interest in CBS to sponsor the cigar brand, La Palina. One of Paley's first moves was to hire the public relations pioneer Edward Bernays to polish the new network's image. (Bernays played a significant role in the development of the public relations industry; see Chapter 12.) Paley and Bernays modified a concept called **option time**, in which CBS paid affiliate stations $50 per hour for an option on a portion of their time. The network provided programs to the affiliates and sold ad space or sponsorships to various product companies. In theory, CBS could now control up to twenty-four hours a day of its affiliates' radio time. Some affiliates received thousands of dollars per week merely to serve as conduits for CBS programs and ads. Because NBC was still charging some of its affiliates as much as $96 a week to carry its network programs, the CBS offer was extremely appealing.

By 1933, Paley's efforts had netted CBS more than ninety affiliates, many of them defecting from NBC. Paley also concentrated on developing news programs and entertainment shows, particularly soap operas and comedy-variety series. In the process, CBS successfully raided NBC, not just for affiliates but for top talent as well. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Paley lured a number of radio stars from NBC, including Jack Benny, Frank Sinatra, George Burns, Gracie Allen, and Groucho Marx. During World War II, Edward R. Murrow's powerful firsthand news reports from bomb-riddled London established CBS as the premier radio news network, a reputation it carried forward to television. In 1949, near the end of big-time network radio, CBS finally surpassed NBC as the highest-rated network. Although William Paley had intended to run CBS only for six months to help get it off the ground, he ultimately ran it for more than fifty years.

Bringing Order to Chaos with the Radio Act of 1927

In the 1920s, as radio moved from narrowcasting to broadcasting, the battle for more frequency space and less channel interference intensified. Manufacturers, engineers, station

operators, network executives, and the listening public demanded action. Many wanted more sweeping regulation than the simple licensing function granted under the Radio Act of 1912, which gave the Commerce Department little power to deny a license or to unclog the airwaves.

Beginning in 1924, Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover ordered radio stations to share time by setting aside certain frequencies for entertainment and news, and others for farm and weather reports. To challenge Hoover, a station in Chicago jammed the airwaves, intentionally moving its signal onto an unauthorized frequency. In 1926, the courts decided that based on the existing Radio Act, Hoover had the power only to grant licenses, not to restrict stations from operating. Within the year, two hundred new stations clogged the airwaves, creating a chaotic period in which nearly all radios had poor reception. By early 1927, sales of radio sets had declined sharply.

To restore order to the airwaves, Congress passed the **Radio Act of 1927**, which stated an extremely important principle—licensees did not *own* their channels but could only license them as long as they operated to serve the "public interest, convenience, or necessity." To oversee licenses and negotiate channel problems, the 1927 act created the **Federal Radio Commission (FRC)**, whose members were appointed by the president. Although the FRC was intended as a temporary committee, it grew into a powerful regulatory agency. With passage of the **Communications Act of 1934**, the FRC became the **Federal Communications Commission (FCC)**. Its jurisdiction covered not only radio but also the telephone and the telegraph (and later television, cable, and the Internet). More significantly, by this time Congress and the president had sided with the already-powerful radio networks and acceded to a system of advertising-supported commercial broadcasting as best serving the "public interest, convenience, or necessity," overriding the concerns of educational, labor, and citizen broadcasting advocates.[12] (See Table 5.1.)

In 1941, an activist FCC went after the networks. Declaring that NBC and CBS could no longer force affiliates to carry programs they did not want, the government outlawed the practice of option time, which Paley had used to build CBS into a major network. The FCC also demanded that RCA sell one of its two NBC networks. RCA and NBC claimed that the rulings would bankrupt them. The Supreme Court sided with the FCC, however, and RCA eventually sold NBC-Blue to a group of businessmen for $8 million in the mid-1940s. It became the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). These government crackdowns brought long-overdue reform to the radio industry, but they had not come soon enough to prevent considerable damage to noncommercial radio.

TABLE 5.1

MAJOR ACTS IN THE HISTORY OF U.S. RADIO

Act	Provisions	Effects
Wireless Ship Act of 1910	Required U.S. seagoing ships carrying more than fifty passengers and traveling more than two hundred miles off the coast to be equipped with wireless equipment with a one-hundred-mile range.	Saved lives at sea, including more than seven hundred rescued by ships responding to the *Titanic*'s distress signals two years later.
Radio Act of 1912	Required radio operators to obtain a license, gave the Commerce Department the power to deny a license, and began a uniform system of assigning call letters to identify stations.	The federal government began to assert control over radio. Penalties were established for stations that interfere with other stations' signals.
Radio Act of 1927	Established the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) as a temporary agency to oversee licenses and negotiate channel assignments.	First expressed the now-fundamental principle that licensees did not *own* their channels but could only license them as long as they operated to serve the "public interest, convenience, or necessity."
Communications Act of 1934	Established the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to replace the FRC. The FCC regulated radio; the telephone; the telegraph; and later television, cable, and the Internet.	Congress tacitly agreed to a system of advertising-supported commercial broadcasting despite concerns of the public.
Telecommunications Act of 1996	Eliminated most radio and television station ownership rules, some dating back more than fifty years.	Enormous national and regional station groups formed, dramatically changing the sound and localism of radio in the United States.

The Golden Age of Radio

Many programs on television today were initially formulated for radio. The first weather forecasts and farm reports on radio began in the 1920s. Regularly scheduled radio news analysis started in 1927, with H. V. Kaltenborn, a reporter for the *Brooklyn Eagle*, providing commentary on AT&T's WEAF. The first regular network news analysis began on CBS in 1930 and featured Lowell Thomas, who would remain on radio for forty-four years.

Early Radio Programming

Early on, only a handful of stations operated in most large radio markets, and popular stations were affiliated with CBS, NBC-Red, or NBC-Blue. Many large stations employed their own in-house orchestras and aired live music daily. Listeners had favorite evening programs, usually fifteen minutes long, to which they would tune in each night. Families gathered around the radio to hear such shows as *Amos 'n' Andy*, *The Shadow*, *The Lone Ranger*, *The Green Hornet*, and *Fibber McGee and Molly*, or one of President Franklin Roosevelt's fireside chats.

Among the most popular early programs on radio, the variety show was the forerunner to popular TV shows like the *Ed Sullivan Show*. The variety show, developed from stage acts and vaudeville, began with the *Eveready Hour* in 1923 on WEAF. Considered experimental, the program presented classical music, minstrel shows, comedy sketches, and dramatic readings. Stars from vaudeville, musical comedy, and New York theater and opera would occasionally make guest appearances.

By the 1930s, studio-audience quiz shows—*Professor Quiz* and the *Old Time Spelling Bee*—had emerged. Other quiz formats, used on *Information Please* and *Quiz Kids*, featured guest panelists. The quiz formats were later copied by television, particularly in the 1950s. *Truth or Consequences*, based on a nineteenth-century parlor game, first aired on radio in 1940 and featured guests performing goofy stunts. It ran for seventeen years on radio and another twenty-seven years on television, influencing TV stunt shows like CBS's *Beat the Clock* in the 1950s and NBC's *Fear Factor* in the early 2000s.

Dramatic programs, mostly radio plays that were broadcast live from theaters, developed as early as 1922. Historians mark the appearance of *Clara, Lu, and Em* on WGN in 1931 as the first soap opera. One year later, Colgate-Palmolive bought the program, put it on NBC, and began selling the soap products that gave this dramatic genre its distinctive nickname. Early "soaps" were fifteen minutes in length and ran five or six days a week. By 1940, sixty different soap operas occupied nearly eighty hours of network radio time each week.

Most radio programs had a single sponsor that created and produced each show. The networks distributed these programs live around the country, charging the sponsors advertising fees. Many shows—the *Palmolive Hour*, *General Motors Family Party*, the *Lucky Strike Orchestra*, and the *Eveready Hour* among them—were named after the sole sponsor's product.

Radio Programming as a Cultural Mirror

The situation comedy, a major staple of TV programming today, began on radio in the mid-1920s. By the early 1930s, the most popular comedy was *Amos 'n' Andy*, which started on Chicago radio in 1925 before moving to NBC-Blue in 1929. *Amos 'n' Andy* was based on the conventions of the nineteenth-century minstrel show and featured black characters stereotyped as shiftless and stupid. Created as a blackface stage act by two white comedians, Charles Correll and Freeman Gosden, the program was criticized as racist. But NBC and the program's producers claimed that *Amos 'n' Andy* was as popular among black audiences as among white audiences.[13]

Amos 'n' Andy also launched the idea of the serial show: a program that featured continuing story lines from one day to the next. The format was soon copied by soap operas

© Bettmann/Corbis

FIRESIDE CHATS
This giant bank of radio network microphones makes us wonder today how President Franklin D. Roosevelt managed to project such an intimate and reassuring tone in his famous fireside chats. Conceived originally to promote FDR's New Deal policies amid the Great Depression, these chats were delivered between 1933 and 1944 and touched on topics of national interest. Roosevelt was the first president to effectively use broadcasting to communicate with citizens; he also gave nearly a thousand press conferences during his twelve-plus years as president, revealing a strong commitment to using media and news to speak early and often with the American people.

and other radio dramas. *Amos 'n' Andy* aired six nights a week from 7:00 to 7:15 P.M. During the show's first year on the network, radio-set sales rose nearly 25 percent nationally. To keep people coming to restaurants and movie theaters, owners broadcast *Amos 'n' Andy* in lobbies, rest rooms, and entryways. Early radio research estimated that the program aired in more than half of all radio homes in the nation during the 1930–31 season, making it the most popular radio series in history. In 1951, it made a brief transition to television (Correll and Gosden sold the rights to CBS for $1 million), becoming the first TV series to have an entirely black cast. But amid a strengthening Civil Rights movement and a formal protest by the NAACP (which argued that "every character is either a clown or a crook"), CBS canceled the program in 1953.[14]

The Authority of Radio

The most famous single radio broadcast of all time was an adaptation of H. G. Wells's *War of the Worlds* on the radio series *Mercury Theater of the Air*. Orson Welles produced, hosted, and acted in this popular series, which adapted science fiction, mystery, and historical adventure dramas for radio. On Halloween eve in 1938, the twenty-three-year-old Welles aired the 1898 Martian invasion novel in the style of a radio news program. For people who missed the opening disclaimer, the program sounded like a real news report, with eyewitness accounts of battles between Martian invaders and the U.S. Army.

Hulton Archive/Getty Images

© Bettmann/Corbis

EARLY RADIO'S EFFECT AS A MASS MEDIUM
On Halloween eve in 1938, Orson Welles's radio dramatization of *War of the Worlds* (*far left*) created a panic up and down the East Coast, especially in Grover's Mill, New Jersey—the setting for the fictional Martian invasion that many listeners assumed was real. A seventy-six-year-old Grover's Mill resident (*left*) guards a warehouse against alien invaders.

The program created a panic that lasted several hours. In New Jersey, some people walked through the streets with wet towels around their heads for protection from deadly Martian heat rays. In New York, young men reported to their National Guard headquarters to prepare for battle. Across the nation, calls jammed police switchboards. Afterward, Orson Welles, once the radio voice of *The Shadow*, used the notoriety of this broadcast to launch a film career. Meanwhile, the FCC called for stricter warnings both before and during programs that imitated the style of radio news.

Radio Reinvents Itself

Older media forms do not generally disappear when confronted by newer forms. Instead, they adapt. Although radio threatened sound recording in the 1920s, the recording industry adjusted to the economic and social challenges posed by radio's arrival. Remarkably, the arrival of television in the 1950s marked the only time in media history when a new medium stole virtually every national programming and advertising strategy from an older medium. Television snatched radio's advertisers, program genres, major celebrities, and large evening audiences. The TV set even physically displaced the radio as the living room centerpiece of choice across America. Nevertheless, radio adapted and continued to reach an audience.

The story of radio's evolution and survival is especially important today, as newspapers and magazines appear online and as publishers produce e-books for new generations of readers. In contemporary culture, we have grown accustomed to such media convergence, but to best understand this blurring of the boundaries between media forms, it is useful to look at the 1950s and the ways in which radio responded to the advent of television.

Image courtesy of the Advertising Archives

ADVERTISEMENTS for pocket transistor radios, which became popular in the 1950s, emphasized their portability.

Transistors Make Radio Portable

A key development in radio's adaptation to television occurred with the invention of the transistor by Bell Laboratories in 1947. **Transistors** were small electrical devices that, like vacuum tubes, could receive and amplify radio signals. However, they used less power and produced less heat than vacuum tubes, and they were more durable and less expensive. Best of all, they were tiny. Transistors, which also revolutionized hearing aids, constituted the first step in replacing bulky and delicate tubes, leading eventually to today's integrated circuits.

Texas Instruments marketed the first transistor radio in 1953 for about $40. Using even smaller transistors, Sony introduced the pocket radio in 1957. But it wasn't until the 1960s that transistor radios became cheaper than conventional tube and battery radios. For a while, the term *transistor* became a synonym for a small, portable radio.

The development of transistors let radio go where television could not—to the beach, to the office, into bedrooms and bathrooms, and into nearly all new cars. (Before the transistor, car radios were a luxury item.) By the 1960s, most radio listening took place outside the home.

The FM Revolution and Edwin Armstrong

By the time the broadcast industry launched commercial television in the 1950s, many people, including David Sarnoff of RCA, were predicting radio's demise. To fund television's development and to protect his radio holdings, Sarnoff had even delayed a dramatic breakthrough in broadcast sound, what he himself called a "revolution"—FM radio.

Edwin Armstrong, who first discovered and developed FM radio in the 1920s and early 1930s, is often considered the most prolific and influential inventor in radio history. He used De Forest's vacuum tube to invent an amplifying system that enabled radio receivers to pick up distant signals, rendering the enormous alternators used for generating power in early radio transmitters obsolete. In 1922, he sold a "super" version of his circuit to RCA for $200,000 and sixty thousand shares of RCA stock, which made him a millionaire as well as RCA's largest private stockholder.

Armstrong also worked on the major problem of radio reception—electrical interference. Between 1930 and 1933, the inventor filed five patents on **FM**, or frequency modulation. Offering static-free radio reception, FM supplied greater fidelity and clarity than AM, making FM ideal for music. **AM**, or amplitude modulation (*modulation* refers to the variation in waveforms), stressed the volume, or height, of radio waves; FM accentuated the pitch, or distance, between radio waves (see Figure 5.2).

Although David Sarnoff, RCA's president, thought that television would replace radio, he helped Armstrong set up the first experimental FM station atop the Empire State Building in New York City. Eventually, though, Sarnoff thwarted FM's development (which he was able to do because RCA had an option on Armstrong's new patents). Instead, in 1935 Sarnoff threw RCA's considerable weight behind the development of television. With the FCC allocating and

reassigning scarce frequency spaces, RCA wanted to ensure that channels went to television before they went to FM. But most of all, Sarnoff wanted to protect RCA's existing AM empire. Given the high costs of converting to FM and the revenue needed for TV experiments, Sarnoff decided to close down Armstrong's station.

Armstrong forged ahead without RCA. He founded a new FM station and advised other engineers, who started more than twenty experimental stations between 1935 and the early 1940s. In 1941, the FCC approved limited space allocations for commercial FM licenses. During the next few years, FM grew in fits and starts. Between 1946 and early 1949, the number of commercial FM stations expanded from 48 to 700. But then the FCC moved FM's frequency space to a new band on the electromagnetic spectrum, rendering some 400,000 prewar FM receiver sets useless. FM's future became uncertain, and by 1954, the number of FM stations had fallen to 560.

On January 31, 1954, Edwin Armstrong—weary from years of legal skirmishes over patents with RCA, Lee De Forest, and others—wrote a note apologizing to his wife, removed the air conditioner from his thirteenth-story New York apartment window, and jumped to his death. A month later, David Sarnoff announced record profits of $850 million for RCA, with TV sales accounting for 54 percent of the company's earnings. In the early 1960s, the FCC opened up more spectrum space for the superior sound of FM, infusing new life into radio.

Although AM stations had greater reach, they could not match the crisp fidelity of FM, which made FM preferable for music. In the early 1970s, about 70 percent of listeners tuned almost exclusively to AM radio. By the 1980s, however, FM had surpassed AM in profitability. By the 2010s, more than 75 percent of all listeners preferred FM, and about 6,660 commercial and about 4,000 educational FM stations were in operation. The expansion of FM represented one of the chief ways radio survived television and Sarnoff's gloomy predictions.

The Rise of Format and Top 40 Radio

Live and recorded music had long been radio's single biggest staple, accounting for 48 percent of all programming in 1938. Although live music on radio was generally considered superior to recorded music, early disc jockeys made a significant contribution to the latter, demonstrating that music alone could drive radio. In fact, when television snatched radio's program ideas and national sponsors, radio's dependence on recorded music became a necessity and helped the medium survive the 1950s.

As early as 1949, station owner Todd Storz in Omaha, Nebraska, experimented with formula-driven radio, or **format radio**. Under this system, management rather than deejays controlled programming each hour. When Storz and his program manager noticed that bar patrons and waitresses repeatedly played certain favorite songs from the records available in a jukebox, they began researching record sales to identify the most popular tunes. From observing jukebox culture, Storz hit on the idea of **rotation**: playing the top songs many times during the day. By the mid-1950s,

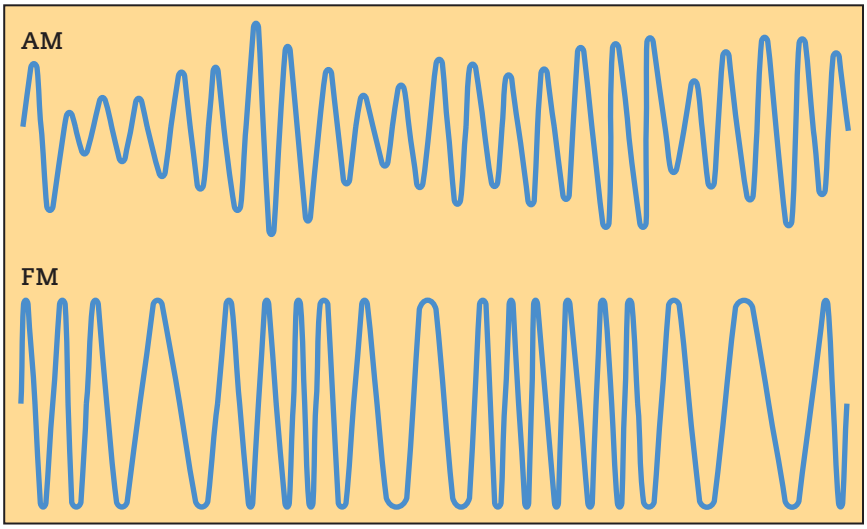


FIGURE 5.2
AM AND FM WAVES
Data from: Adapted from David Cheshire, The Video Manual, *1982.*

the management-control idea combined with the rock-and-roll explosion, and the **Top 40 format** was born. The term *Top 40* came to refer to the forty most popular hits in a given week as measured by record sales.

As format radio grew, program directors combined rapid deejay chatter with the best-selling songs of the day and occasional oldies—popular songs from a few months earlier. By the early 1960s, to avoid "dead air," managers asked deejays to talk over the beginning and the end of a song so that listeners would feel less compelled to switch stations. Ads, news, weather forecasts, and station identifications were all designed to fit a consistent station environment. Listeners, tuning in at any moment, would recognize the station by its distinctive sound.

In format radio, management carefully coordinates, or programs, each hour, dictating what the deejay will do at various intervals throughout each hour of the day (see Figure 5.3). Management creates a program log—once called a *hot clock* in radio jargon—that deejays must follow. By the mid-1960s, one study had determined that in a typical hour on Top 40 radio, listeners could expect to hear about twenty ads; numerous weather, time, and contest announcements; multiple recitations of the station's call letters; about three minutes of news; and approximately twelve songs.

Radio managers further sectioned off programming into *day parts*, which typically consisted of time blocks covering 6 to 10 A.M., 10 A.M. to 3 P.M., 3 to 7 P.M., and 7 P.M. to midnight. Each day part, or block, was programmed through ratings research according to who was listening. For instance, a Top 40 station would feature its top deejays in the morning and afternoon periods when audiences, many riding in cars, were largest. From 10 A.M. to 3 P.M., research determined that women at home and secretaries at work usually controlled the dial, so program managers, capitalizing on the gender stereotypes of the day, played more romantic ballads and less hard rock. Teenagers tended to be heavy evening listeners, so program managers often discarded news breaks at this time, since research showed that teens turned the dial when news came on.

Critics of format radio argued that only the top songs received play and that lesser-known songs deserving airtime received meager attention. Although a few popular star deejays continued to play a role in programming, many others quit when managers introduced formats. Program directors approached programming as a science, but deejays considered it an art form. Program directors argued that deejays had different tastes from those of the average listener and therefore could not be fully trusted to know popular audience tastes. The program directors' position, which generated more revenue, triumphed.

FIGURE 5.3

RADIO PROGRAM LOG FOR AN ADULT CONTEMPORARY (AC) STATION

Data from: KCVM, Cedar Falls, IA, 2014.

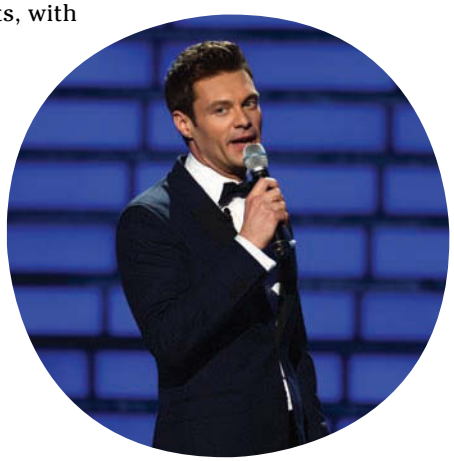
Time	Title	Artist	Length
9:00:00 AM	**===== New Hour =====**		
9:02:00 AM	Pompeii	Bastille	3:31
9:03:00 AM	Shotgun	Sweeper	00:10
9:04:00 AM	Rumor Has It (12)	Adele	0:03:39
9:05:00 AM	80s Liner	Sweeper	
9:06:00 AM	Lover Girl	Teena Marie	0:05:36
9:07:00 AM	Shotgun	Sweeper	00:10
9:08:00 AM	Maps	Maroon 5	3:08
9:08:00 AM	**===== :15 Spot Break =====**		
9:20:00 AM	Jingle	Sweeper	00:10
9:21:00 AM	Me and My Broken Heart	Rixton	3:10
9:22:00 AM	Sweeper B	Sweeper	00:10
9:23:00 AM	Found Out About You (92)	Gin Blossoms	0:03:45
9:24:00 AM	Shotgun	Sweeper	00:10
9:25:00 AM	Somebody That I Used To Know	Gotye	0:04:02

Resisting the Top 40

The expansion of FM in the mid-1960s created room for experimenting, particularly with classical music, jazz, blues, and non–Top 40 rock songs. **Progressive rock** emerged as an alternative to conventional formats. Many noncommercial stations broadcast from college campuses, where student deejays and managers rejected the commercialism associated with Top 40 tunes and began playing lesser-known alternative music and longer album cuts (such as Bob Dylan's "Desolation Row" and the Doors' "The End"). Until that

time, most rock on radio had been consigned almost exclusively to Top 40 formats, with song length averaging about three minutes.

Experimental FM stations, both commercial and noncommercial, offered a cultural space for hard-edged political folk music and for rock music that commented on the Civil Rights movement and protested America's involvement in the Vietnam War. By the 1970s, however, progressive rock had been copied, tamed, and absorbed by mainstream radio under the format labeled **album-oriented rock (AOR)**. By 1972, AOR-driven album sales accounted for more than 85 percent of the retail record business. By the 1980s, as first-generation rock and rollers aged and became more affluent, AOR stations became less political and played mostly white, post-Beatles music, featuring such groups as Pink Floyd, Genesis, AC/DC, and Queen. Today, AOR has been subsumed under the more general classic rock format.



RYAN SEACREST may be best known for his job hosting TV's *American Idol*, but he began his career in radio when he hosted a local radio show while attending the University of Georgia. In the style of his own idols—Dick Clark and Casey Kasem—Seacrest now hosts two nationally syndicated radio shows, *On Air with Ryan Seacrest* and *American Top 40*, in addition to his television projects.
Mark Davis/Getty Images

The Sounds of Commercial Radio

Contemporary radio sounds very different from its predecessor. In contrast to the few stations per market in the 1930s, most large markets today include more than forty stations that vie for listener loyalty. With the exception of national network–sponsored news segments and nationally syndicated programs, most programming is locally produced and heavily dependent on the music industry for content. Although a few radio personalities—such as Glenn Beck, Ryan Seacrest, Rush Limbaugh, Tom Joyner, Tavis Smiley, and Jim Rome—are nationally prominent, local deejays and their music are the stars at most radio stations.

However, listeners today are unlike radio's first audiences in several ways. First, listeners in the 1930s tuned in to their favorite shows at set times. Listeners today do not say, "Gee, my favorite song is coming on at 8 P.M., so I'd better be home to listen." Instead, radio has become a secondary, or background, medium that follows the rhythms of daily life. Radio programmers today worry about channel cruising—listeners' tendency to search the dial until they find a song they like.

Second, in the 1930s, peak listening time occurred during the evening hours—dubbed *prime time* in the TV era—when people were home from work and school. Now, the heaviest radio listening occurs during **drive time**, between 6 and 9 A.M. and between 4 and 7 P.M., when people are commuting to and from work or school.

Third, stations today are more specialized. Listeners are loyal to favorite stations, music formats, and even radio personalities, rather than to specific shows. People generally listen to only four or five stations that target them. More than fifteen thousand radio stations now operate in the United States, customizing their sounds to reach niche audiences through format specialization and alternative programming.

Format Specialization

Stations today use a variety of formats based on managed program logs and day parts. All told, more than forty different radio formats, plus variations, serve diverse groups of listeners

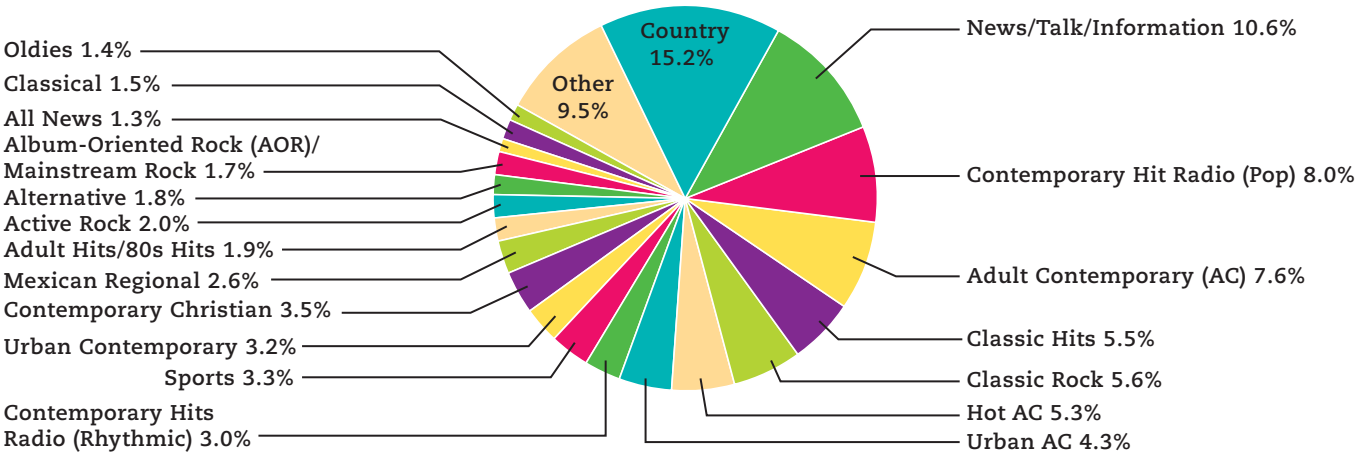


FIGURE 5.4

THE MOST POPULAR RADIO FORMATS IN THE UNITED STATES AMONG PERSONS AGE TWELVE AND OLDER

Data from: Nielsen report: "State of the Media: Audio Today 2015, How America Listens," March 5, 2015, www.nielsen.com/us/en/reports/2015/state-of-the-media-audio-today-2015.html.

Note: Based on listener shares for primary AM and FM stations, plus HD stations and Internet streams of radio stations.

(see Figure 5.4). To please advertisers, who want to know exactly who is listening, formats usually target audiences according to their age, income, gender, or race/ethnicity. Radio's specialization enables advertisers to reach smaller target audiences at costs that are much lower than those for television.

Targeting listeners has become extremely competitive, however, because forty or fifty stations may be available in a large radio market. About 10 percent of all stations across the country switch formats each year in an effort to find a formula that generates more advertising money. Some stations, particularly those in large cities, even rent blocks of time to various local ethnic or civic groups; this enables the groups to dictate their own formats and sell ads.

News, Talk, and Information Radio

The nation's fastest-growing format throughout much of the 1990s was the **news/talk/information** format (see "Case Study: Host: The Origins of Talk Radio" on page 171). In 1987, only 170 radio stations operated formats dominated by either news programs or talk shows, which tend to appeal to adults over age thirty-five (except for sports talk programs, which draw mostly male sports fans of all ages). By 2014, more than 2,183 stations carried the format—more stations than any other format. It is the most dominant format on AM radio and the second most popular format (by number of listeners) in the nation (see Figure 5.4 and Table 5.2). A news/talk/information format, though more expensive to produce than a music format, appeals to advertisers looking to target working- and middle-class adult consumers. Nevertheless, most radio stations continue to be driven by a variety of less expensive music formats.

TABLE 5.2

TALK RADIO WEEKLY AUDIENCE (IN MILLIONS)

Data from: Talkers *magazine, "The Top Talk Radio Audiences," October 2015.*

Note: * = Information unavailable; N/A = Talk host not nationally broadcast.

Talk Show Host	2003	2008	2015
Rush Limbaugh (Conservative)	14.5	14.25	13.25
Sean Hannity (Conservative)	11.75	13.25	12.50
Dave Ramsey (Financial Advice)	*	4.5	8.25
Glenn Beck (Conservative)	*	6.75	7
Mark Levin (Conservative)	N/A	5.5	7
Michael Savage (Conservative)	7	8.25	5.25
Jim Bohannon (Moderate)	4	3.5	2.75

CASE STUDY

Host: The Origins of Talk Radio

by David Foster Wallace

The origins of contemporary political talk radio can be traced to three phenomena of the 1980s. The first of these involved AM music stations getting absolutely murdered by FM, which could broadcast music in stereo and allowed for much better fidelity on high and low notes. The human voice, on the other hand, is midrange and doesn't require high fidelity. The eighties' proliferation of talk formats on the AM band also provided new careers for some music deejays—e.g., Don Imus, Morton Downey Jr.—whose chatty personas didn't fit well with FM's all-about-the-music ethos.

The second big factor was the repeal, late in Ronald Reagan's second term, of what was known as the Fairness Doctrine. This was a 1949 FCC rule designed to minimize any possible restrictions on free speech caused by limited access to broadcasting outlets. The idea was that, as one of the conditions for receiving an FCC broadcast license, a station had to "devote reasonable attention to the coverage of controversial issues of public importance," and consequently had to provide "reasonable, although not necessarily equal," opportunities for opposing sides to express their views. Because of the Fairness Doctrine, talk stations had to hire and program symmetrically: If you had a three-hour program whose host's politics were on one side of the ideological spectrum, you had to have another long-form program whose host more or less spoke for the other side. Weirdly enough, up through the mid-eighties it was usually the U.S. right that benefited most from the Doctrine. Pioneer talk syndicator Ed McLaughlin, who managed San Francisco's KGO in the 1960s, recalls that "I had more liberals on the air than I had conservatives or even moderates for that matter, and I had a hell of a time finding the other voice."

The Fairness Doctrine's repeal was part of the sweeping deregulations of the Reagan era, which aimed to liberate all sorts of industries from government interference and allow them to compete freely in the marketplace. The old, Rooseveltian logic of the Doctrine had been that since the airwaves belonged to everyone, a license to profit from those airwaves conferred on the broadcast industry some special obligation to serve the public interest. Commercial radio broadcasting was not, in other words, originally conceived as just another for-profit industry; it was supposed to meet a higher standard of social responsibility. After 1987, though, just another industry is pretty much what radio became, and its only real responsibility now is to attract and retain listeners in order to generate revenue. In other words, the sort of distinction explicitly drawn by FCC Chairman Newton Minow in the 1960s—namely, that between "the public interest" and "merely what interests the public"—no longer exists.

More or less on the heels of the Fairness Doctrine's repeal came the West Coast and then national syndication of *The Rush Limbaugh Show* through Mr. McLaughlin's EFM Media. Limbaugh is the third great progenitor of today's political talk radio partly because he's a host of extraordinary, once-in-a-generation talent and charisma—bright, loquacious, witty, complexly authoritative—whose show's blend of news, entertainment, and partisan analysis became the model for legions of imitators. But he was also the first great promulgator of the Mainstream Media's Liberal Bias (MMLB) idea. This turned out to be a brilliantly effective rhetorical move, since the MMLB concept functioned simultaneously as a standard around which Rush's audience could rally, as an articulation of the need for right-wing (i.e., unbiased) media, and as a mechanism by which any criticism or refutation of conservative ideas could be dismissed (either as biased or as the product of indoctrination by biased media). Boiled way down, the MMLB thesis is able both to exploit and to perpetuate many conservatives' dissatisfaction with extant media sources—and it's this dissatisfaction that cements political talk radio's large and loyal audience.

Source: Excerpted from David Foster Wallace, "Host: The Origins of Talk Radio," Atlantic, *April 2005, pp. 66–68.*

GLENN BECK is the conservative host of *The Glenn Beck Program*, a nationally syndicated talk-radio show that also promulgates the MMLB idea.

WireImage/Getty Images

AP Photo/Julie Jacobson

WENDY WILLIAMS refers to herself as the "Queen of All Media," but before her daytime TV talk show, she got her start with a nearly two-decade career in radio. She began as a substitute deejay on an urban contemporary station in New York before gaining notoriety with her celebrity interviews and gossip.

Music Formats

The **adult contemporary (AC)** format, also known as middle-of-the-road, or MOR, is among radio's oldest and most popular formats, reaching about 7.3 percent of all listeners, most of them over age forty, with an eclectic mix of news, talk, oldies, and soft rock music—what *Broadcasting* magazine describes as "not too soft, not too loud, not too fast, not too slow, not too hard, not too lush, not too old, not too new." Variations on the AC format include urban AC, hot AC, rhythmic AC, modern AC, and smooth AC. Now encompassing everything from rap to pop punk songs, Top 40 radio—also called **contemporary hit radio (CHR)**—still appeals to many teens and young adults. A renewed focus on producing pop singles in the sound recording industry has recently boosted listenership of this format.

Country is the most popular format in the nation (except during morning drive time, when news/talk/information is number one). Many stations are in tiny markets where country is traditionally the default format for communities with only one radio station. Country music has old roots in radio, starting in 1925 with the influential *Grand Ole Opry* program on WSM in Nashville. Although Top 40 drove country music out of many radio markets in the 1950s, the growth of FM in the 1960s brought it back, as station managers looked for market niches not served by rock music.

Many formats appeal to particular ethnic or racial groups. In 1947, WDIA in Memphis was the first station to program exclusively for black listeners. Now called **urban contemporary**, this format targets a wide variety of African American listeners, primarily in large cities. Urban contemporary, which typically plays popular dance, rap, R&B, and hip-hop music (featuring performers like Wiz Khalifa and Tyler the Creator), also subdivides by age, featuring an urban AC category with performers like Maxwell, Alicia Keys, and Robin Thicke.

Spanish-language radio, one of radio's fastest-growing formats, is concentrated mostly in large Hispanic markets, such as Miami, New York, Chicago, Las Vegas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas (where KCOR, the first all-Spanish-language station, originated in San Antonio in 1947). Besides talk shows and news segments in Spanish, this format features a variety of Spanish, Caribbean, and Latin American musical styles, including calypso, flamenco, mariachi, merengue, reggae, samba, salsa, and Tejano.

EL ZOL 106.7 is a top Spanish-language radio station in the Miami market, visited here by Puerto Rican–American singer Ivy Queen. El Zol is home to Betzy "La Gatita" Vázquez, named the "Best Spanish-Language Radio Personality" by *Miami New Times*.

John Parra/Getty Images

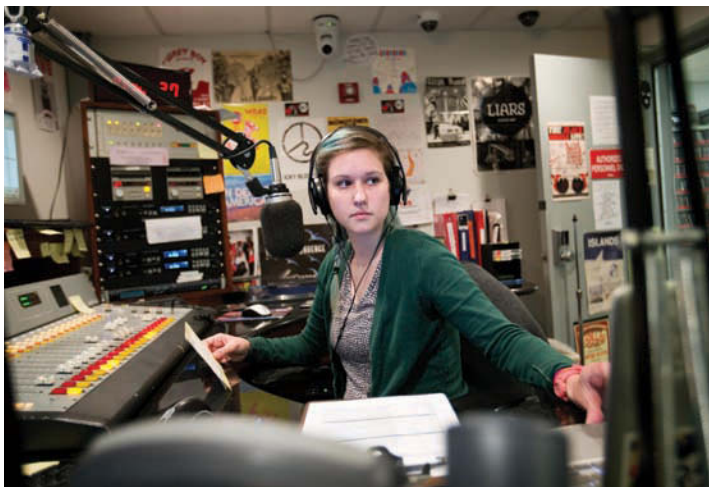
In addition, today there are other formats that are spin-offs from album-oriented rock. Classic rock serves up rock favorites from the mid-1960s through the 1980s to the baby-boom generation and other listeners who have outgrown Top 40. The oldies format originally served adults who grew up on 1950s and early-1960s rock and roll. As that audience has aged, oldies formats now target younger audiences with the classic-hits format, featuring songs from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The alternative format recaptures some of the experimental approach of the FM stations of the 1960s, although with much more controlled playlists, and has helped introduce artists such as the Dead Weather and Cage the Elephant.

Research indicates that most people identify closely with the music they listened to as adolescents

and young adults. This tendency partially explains why classic hits and classic rock stations combined have surpassed CHR stations today. It also helps explain the recent nostalgia for music from the 1980s and 1990s.

Nonprofit Radio and NPR

Although commercial radio (particularly those stations owned by huge radio conglomerates) dominates the radio spectrum, nonprofit radio maintains a voice. But the road to viability for nonprofit radio in the United States has not been easy. In the 1930s, the Wagner-Hatfield Amendment to the 1934 Communications Act intended to set aside 25 percent of radio for a wide variety of nonprofit stations. When the amendment was defeated in 1935, the future of educational and noncommercial radio looked bleak. Many nonprofits had sold out to for-profit owners during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The stations that remained were often banished from the air during the evening hours or assigned weak signals by federal regulators who favored commercial owners and their lobbying agents. Still, nonprofit public radio survived. Today, more than three thousand nonprofit stations operate, most of them on the FM band.



AP Photo/David Goldman

PUBLIC RADIO STATIONS in rural areas, like WMMT—which services eastern Kentucky, southwestern Virginia, and southern West Virginia—connect people in far-flung and remote areas by broadcasting local programming that speaks to their listeners' needs and tastes. Rural stations like this one rely heavily on federal funding and are thus more likely to go under if budgets are cut.

The Early Years of Nonprofit Radio

Two government rulings, both in 1948, aided nonprofit radio. First, the government began authorizing noncommercial licenses to stations not affiliated with labor, religious, education, or civic groups. The first license went to Lewis Kimball Hill, a radio reporter and pacifist during World War II who started the **Pacifica Foundation** to run experimental public stations. Pacifica stations, like Hill, have often challenged the status quo in radio as well as in government. Most notably, in the 1950s they aired the poetry, prose, and music of performers considered radical, left-wing, or communist who were blacklisted by television and seldom acknowledged by AM stations. Over the years, Pacifica has been fined and reprimanded by the FCC and Congress for airing programs that critics considered inappropriate for public airwaves. Today, Pacifica has more than one hundred affiliate stations.

Second, the FCC approved 10-watt FM stations. Prior to this time, radio stations had to have at least 250 watts to get licensed. A 10-watt station with a broadcast range of only about seven miles took very little capital to operate, allowing more people to participate, and such stations became training sites for students interested in broadcasting. Although the FCC stopped licensing new 10-watt stations in 1978, about one hundred longtime 10-watters are still in operation.

Creation of the First Noncommercial Networks

During the 1960s, nonprofit broadcasting found a Congress sympathetic to an old idea: using radio and television as educational tools. As a result, **National Public Radio (NPR)** and the **Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)** were created as the first noncommercial networks. Under the provisions of the **Public Broadcasting Act of 1967** and the **Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB)**, NPR and PBS were mandated to provide alternatives to commercial broadcasting. Now, NPR's popular news and interview programs, such as *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*, are thriving, and they contribute to the network's audience of thirty-two million listeners per week.

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Listen to a typical morning or late-afternoon hour of a popular local commercial talk-news radio station and a typical hour of your local NPR station from the same time period over a two- to three-day period. Keep a log of what topics are covered and what news stories are reported. For the commercial station, log what commercials are carried and how much time in an hour is devoted to ads. For the noncommercial station, note how much time is devoted to recognizing the station's sources of funding support and who the supporters are.

2 ANALYSIS. Look for patterns. What kinds of stories are covered? What kinds of topics are discussed? Create a chart to categorize the stories. To cover events and issues, do the stations use actual reporters at the scene? How much time is given to reporting compared to time devoted to opinion? How many sources are cited in each story? What kinds of interview sources are used? Are they expert sources or regular person-on-the-street interviews? How many sources are men, and how many are women?

Comparing Commercial and Noncommercial Radio

After the arrival and growth of commercial TV, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) was created in 1967 as the funding agent for public broadcasting—an alternative to commercial TV and radio featuring educational and cultural programming that could not be easily sustained by commercial broadcasters in search of large general audiences. As a result, National Public Radio (NPR) developed to provide national programming to public stations to supplement local programming efforts. Today, NPR affiliates get just 2 percent of their funding from the federal government. Most money for public radio comes instead from corporate sponsorships, individual grants, and private donations.

3 INTERPRETATION. What do these patterns mean? Is there a balance between reporting and opinion? Do you detect any bias, and if so, how did you determine this? Are the stations serving as watchdogs to ensure that democracy's best interests are being served? What effect, if any, do you think the advertisers/supporters have on the programming? What arguments might you make about commercial and noncommercial radio based on your findings?

4 EVALUATION. Which station seems to be doing a better job serving its local audience? Why? Do you buy the 1930s argument that noncommercial stations serve narrow, special interests while commercial stations serve capitalism and the public interest? Why or why not? From which station did you learn the most, and which station did you find most entertaining? Explain. What did you like and dislike about each station?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Join your college radio station. Talk to the station manager about the goals for a typical hour of programming and what audience the station is trying to reach. Finally, pitch program or topic ideas that would improve your college station's programming.

Over the years, however, public radio has faced waning government support and the threat of losing its federal funding. In 1994, a conservative majority in Congress cut financial support and threatened to scrap the CPB, the funding authority for public broadcasting. In 2011, the House voted to end financing for the CPB, but the Senate voted against the measure. Consequently, stations have become more reliant on private donations and corporate sponsorship, which could cause some public broadcasters to steer clear of controversial subjects, especially those that critically examine corporations (see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Comparing Commercial and Noncommercial Radio" above).

Like commercial stations, nonprofit radio has adopted the format style. However, the dominant style in public radio is a loose variety format whereby a station may actually switch from jazz, classical music, and alternative rock to news and talk during different parts of the day. Noncommercial radio remains the place for both tradition and experimentation, as well as for programs that do not draw enough listeners for commercial success.

New Radio Technologies Offer More Stations

Over the past decade or so, two alternative radio technologies have helped expand radio beyond its traditional AM and FM bands and bring more diverse sounds to listeners: satellite and HD (digital) radio.

Satellite Radio

A series of satellites launched to cover the continental United States created a subscription-based national **satellite radio** service. Two companies, XM and Sirius, completed their national introduction by 2002 and merged into a single provider in 2008. The merger was precipitated by their struggles to make a profit after building competing satellite systems and battling for listeners. SiriusXM offers about 175 digital music, news, and talk channels to the continental United States, with monthly prices starting at $14.99 and satellite radio receivers costing from $50 to $200. SiriusXM access is also available to mobile devices via an app.

Programming includes a range of music channels, from rock and reggae to Spanish Top 40 and opera, as well as channels dedicated to NASCAR, NPR, cooking, and comedy. Another feature of satellite radio's programming is popular personalities who host their own shows or have their own channels, including Howard Stern, Martha Stewart, Oprah Winfrey, and Bruce Springsteen. U.S. automakers (investors in the satellite radio companies) now equip most new cars with a satellite band, in addition to AM and FM, in order to promote further adoption of satellite radio. SiriusXM had more than twenty-eight million subscribers by 2015.

HD Radio

Available to the public since 2004, **HD radio** is a digital technology that enables AM and FM radio broadcasters to multicast up to three additional compressed digital signals within their traditional analog frequency. For example, KNOW, a public radio station at 91.1 FM in Minneapolis–St. Paul, runs its National Public Radio news/talk/information format on 91.1 HD1, runs Radio Heartland (acoustic and Americana music) on 91.1 HD2, and runs the BBC News service on 91.1 HD3. About 2,200 radio stations now broadcast in HD. To tune in, listeners need a radio with the HD band, which brings in CD-quality digital signals. Digital HD radio also provides program data, such as artist name and song title, and enables listeners to tag songs for playlists that can later be downloaded to an iPod and purchased on iTunes. The rollout of HD has been slow, but by 2014, a new car was being sold with HD radio technology every 4.5 seconds.

Radio and Convergence

Like every other mass medium, radio is moving into the future by converging with the Internet. Interestingly, this convergence is taking radio back to its roots in some aspects. Internet radio allows for much more variety in radio, which is reminiscent of radio's earliest years, when nearly any individual or group with some technical skill could start a radio station. Moreover, *podcasts* bring back such content as storytelling, instructional programs, and local topics of interest, which have largely been missing in corporate radio. And portable listening devices like the iPod and radio apps for the iPad and smartphones hark back to the compact portability that first came with the popularization of transistor radios in the 1950s.

Internet Radio

Internet radio emerged in the 1990s with the popularity of the Web. Internet radio stations come in two types. The first involves an existing AM, FM, satellite, or HD station "streaming" a simulcast version of its on-air signal over the Web. More than 10,500 radio stations

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Going Visual: Video, Radio, and the Web
This video looks at how radio stations adapted to the Internet by providing multimedia on their Web sites to attract online listeners.
Discussion: If video is now important to radio, what might that mean for journalism and broadcasting students who are considering a job in radio?

GLOBAL VILLAGE

Radio Goes Local, Global, and Local Again

Since the 1950s, radio has focused on music content and its local connection to its audience. Local deejays personally connected with their listeners, introduced them to new music, and encouraged them to call in with song requests. Local stations also took their shows into the community, with live broadcasts from local festivals and events or from an advertiser (such as a local car dealership) that wanted its weekend sale to sound like an event.

Two things in the 1990s changed all of that. First, federal deregulation enabled small chains of stations to grow into enormous cross-country corporations, with hundreds of stations following the same few nationally prescribed formats. With the increasing corporatization, stations often lost their local flavor. Second, the invention of the Web enabled the development of Internet radio.

Small stations started streaming their live broadcasts, and as computer connections got faster, more and more listeners from around the world logged in. Local went global; even the tiniest stations could have international listeners, who might also financially support the local station. For example, KQNY 91.9 FM—Plumas Community Radio in Quincy, California (population 1,728), high in the Sierra Nevada—has listeners from Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Mexico, who enjoy hearing the eclectic mix of programming from its mostly volunteer staff.[1]

At the same time, Internet-only start-ups bypassed terrestrial broadcasting (which requires expensive transmitters and towers) and directly streamed their signals globally on the Internet. Pandora, established in 2000, is now the largest of those services. Not to be outdone, the largest terrestrial radio corporation in the country, Clear Channel, changed its name to iHeartMedia in 2014, signaling its focus on its iHeartRadio streaming service as the future of radio.

All of this has made for a rich global radio listening environment. The London-based newspaper the *Telegraph* maintains a list of the world's best Internet radio stations, "guaranteed to introduce you to something fresh, whatever your tastes." A sampling of the list includes FIP Radio 105.1 FM in Paris; Radio Reverb 97.2 FM in Brighton, England; P2 in Sweden; Venice Classic Radio in Italy; Ralph Radio in Russia; RTVE.es in Spain; MyOpusRadio in Bangalore, India; Radio Zero 97.7 FM in Santiago, Chile; WFMU 91.1 FM in Jersey City, New Jersey; KCOU 88.1 FM in Columbia, Missouri; and KEXP 90.3 FM in Seattle.[2]

The biggest recent entry to the global radio business is Apple. As the company's iTunes music download business has been declining, it has pinned its hopes for the future on Apple Music, a subscription-based streaming service introduced in 2015. Apple Music carries a number of streams, but the main feature is the 24/7 live Beats 1 station, led by renowned British deejay Zane Lowe and with studios based in Los Angeles, New York, and London. "We're looking for the most exciting music and people that love it, in all corners of the globe," Lowe says. "Broadcasting to 100 countries, that shared experience just got so much bigger."[3]

The newspaper the *Australian* forecasts the possible end of local radio with Apple's "global radio station." "If you don't like the offerings of terrestrial broadcasters, or the satellite-delivered formats, Apple Music will let you do it yourself. If enough of us take this option it will mean the end of the radio industry as we know it."[4]

But executives of old-fashioned local terrestrial radio stations appear confident of its survival. "We should be bullish about radio's future," says National Association of Broadcasters president Gordon Smith. "Why? Because no other medium has what broadcasting has—its connection to local communities."[5]

Jehad Nga/The New York Times/Redux

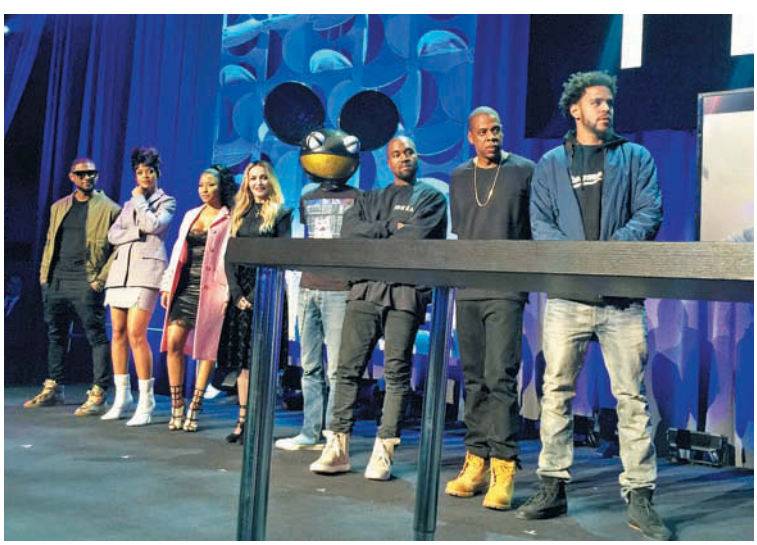
stream their programming over the Web today.[15] IHeartRadio is one of the major streaming sites for broadcast and custom digital stations. The second kind of online radio station is one that has been created exclusively for the Internet. Pandora, 8tracks, Slacker, and Last.fm are some of the leading Internet radio services. In fact, services like Pandora allow users to have more control over their listening experience and the selections that are played. Listeners can create individualized stations based on a specific artist or song that they request. Pandora also enables users to share their musical choices on Facebook. AM/FM radio is used by nearly eight out of ten people who like to learn about new music, but YouTube, Facebook, Pandora, iTunes, iHeartRadio, Spotify, and blogs are among the competing sources for new music fans.[16]

Beginning in 2002, a Copyright Royalty Board established by the Library of Congress began to assess royalty fees for streaming copyrighted songs over the Internet based on a percentage of each station's revenue. Webcasters complained that royalty rates set by the board were too high and threatened their financial viability, particularly compared to satellite radio, which pays a lower royalty rate, and broadcasters, who pay no royalty rates at all. For decades, radio broadcasters have paid mechanical royalties to songwriters and music publishers but no royalties to the performing artists or record companies. Broadcasters have argued that the promotional value of getting songs played is sufficient compensation.

In 2009, Congress passed the Webcaster Settlement Act, which was considered a lifeline for Internet radio. The act enabled Internet stations to negotiate royalty fees directly with the music industry, at rates presumably more reasonable than what the Copyright Royalty Board had proposed. In 2012, Clear Channel became the first company to strike a deal directly with the recording industry. Clear Channel (now iHeartMedia) pledged to pay royalties to Big Machine Label Group—one of the country's largest independent labels—for broadcasting the songs of Taylor Swift and its other artists in exchange for a limit on royalties it must pay for streaming those artists' music on its iHeartRadio.com site.

Clear Channel's deal with the music industry opened up new dialogue about equalizing the royalty rates paid by broadcast radio, satellite radio, and Internet radio. Tim Westergren, founder of Pandora, argued before Congress in 2012 that the rates were most unfair to companies like his. In the previous year, Westergren said, Pandora paid 50 percent of its revenue for performance royalties, whereas satellite radio service SiriusXM paid 7.5 percent of its revenue for performance royalties, and broadcast radio paid nothing. He noted that a car equipped with an AM/FM radio, satellite radio, and streaming Internet radio could deliver the same song to a listener through all three technologies, but the various radio services would pay markedly different levels of performance royalties to the artist and record company.[17]

TIDAL, a high-fidelity streaming service, was relaunched in 2015 under ownership of Jay-Z and an all-star lineup of artist stakeholders and co-owners. The service aims to provide higher quality audio and better artist compensation, but has received mixed reactions so far.



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Podcasting and Portable Listening

Developed in 2004, **podcasting** (the term marries *iPod* and *broadcasting*) refers to the practice of making audio files available on the Internet so listeners can download them onto their computers and either transfer them to portable MP3 players or listen to the files on the computer. This distribution method quickly became mainstream, as mass media companies created commercial podcasts to promote and extend existing content, such as news and reality TV, while independent producers developed new programs, such as public radio's *Serial*, a popular weekly audio nonfiction narrative.

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Radio: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow
Scholars and radio producers explain how radio adapts to and influences other media.
Discussion: Do you expect that the Internet will be the end of radio, or will radio stations still be around decades from now?

Podcasts have led the way for people to listen to radio on mobile devices like smartphones. Satellite radio, Internet-only stations like Pandora and Slacker, sites that stream traditional broadcast radio like iHeartRadio, and public radio like NPR all offer apps for smartphones and touchscreen devices like the iPad, which has also led to a resurgence in portable listening. Traditional broadcast radio stations are becoming increasingly mindful that they need to reach younger listeners on the Internet, and that Internet radio is no longer tethered to a computer.

For the broadcast radio industry, portability used to mean listening on a transistor or car radio. But with the digital turn to iPods and mobile phones, broadcasters haven't been as easily available on today's primary portable audio devices. Hoping to change that, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) has been lobbying the FCC and the mobile phone industry to include FM radio capability in all mobile phones. New mobile phones in the United States now have FM radio chips, but Sprint is the only major cell phone company to enable the chips with the NextRadio app.[18] Although the NAB argues that the enabled radio chip would be most important for enabling listeners to access local broadcast radio in times of emergencies and disasters, the chip would also be commercially beneficial for radio broadcasters, putting them on the same digital devices as their nonbroadcast radio competitors, like Pandora.

The Economics of Broadcast Radio

Radio continues to be one of the most used mass media, reaching about 92 percent of American teenagers and adults every week.[19] Because of radio's broad reach, the airwaves are very desirable real estate for advertisers, who want to reach people in and out of their homes; for record labels, who want their songs played; and for radio station owners, who want to create large radio groups to dominate multiple markets.

Local and National Advertising

About 10 percent of all U.S. spending on media advertising goes to radio stations. Like newspapers, radio generates its largest profits by selling local and regional ads. Thirty-second radio spot ads range from $1,500 in large markets to just a few dollars in the smallest markets. Today, gross advertising receipts for radio are more than $17.6 billion (about 80 percent of the revenues from local ad sales, with the remainder in national spot, network, and digital radio sales), up from about $16 billion in 2009.[20] Although industry revenue has dropped from a peak of $21.7 billion in 2006, the number of stations keeps growing, now totaling 15,406 stations (4,725 AM stations, 6,624 FM commercial stations, and 4,057 FM educational stations).[21] Unlike television, in which nearly 40 percent of a station's expenses goes toward buying syndicated programs, local radio stations get much of their content free from the recording industry. Therefore, only about 20 percent of a typical radio station's budget goes toward covering programming costs. But, as noted earlier, that free music content is in doubt as the music industry—which already charges performance royalties for Internet radio stations—moves toward charging radio broadcasters performance royalties for playing music on the air.

When radio stations want to purchase programming, they often turn to national network radio, which generates more than $1 billion in ad sales annually by offering dozens of

specialized services. For example, Westwood One, the nation's largest radio network service, managed by Cumulus Media, reaches more than 225 million consumers a week with a range of programming, including regular network radio news (e.g., ABC, CBS, and NBC), entertainment programs (e.g., *The Bob & Tom Show*), talk shows (e.g., *The Mark Levin Show*), and complete twenty-four-hour formats (e.g., *Hot Country*, *Hits Now!*, and *Jack FM*). Dozens of companies offer national program and format services, typically providing local stations with programming in exchange for time slots for national ads. The most successful radio network programs are the shows broadcast by affiliates in the Top 20 markets, which offer advertisers half of the country's radio audience.

Manipulating Playlists with Payola

Radio's impact on music industry profits—radio airplay serves to popularize recordings—has required ongoing government oversight to expose illegal playlist manipulation. **Payola**, the practice by which record promoters pay deejays to play particular records, was rampant during the 1950s as record companies sought to guarantee record sales (see Chapter 4). In response, management took control of programming, arguing that if individual deejays had less impact on which records would be played, the deejays would be less susceptible to bribery.

Despite congressional hearings and new regulations, payola persisted. Record promoters showered their favors on a few influential, high-profile deejays, whose backing could make or break a record nationally, or on key program managers in charge of Top 40 formats in large urban markets. Although a 1984 congressional hearing determined that there was "no credible evidence" of payola, NBC News broke a story in 1986 about independent promoters who had alleged ties to organized crime. A subsequent investigation led major recording companies to break most of their ties with independent promoters. Prominent record labels had been paying such promoters up to $80 million per year to help records become hits.

In 2007, four of the largest broadcasting companies—CBS Radio, Clear Channel, Citadel, and Entercom—agreed to pay $12.5 million to settle an FCC payola investigation. The companies also agreed to an unprecedented "independent music content commitment," which required them to provide 8,400 half-hour blocks of airtime to play music from independent record labels over three years. In 2010, Univision Radio paid $1 million to settle allegations of payola and end an FCC investigation.

Radio Ownership: From Diversity to Consolidation

The **Telecommunications Act of 1996** substantially changed the rules concerning ownership of the public airwaves because the FCC eliminated most ownership restrictions on radio. As a result, 2,100 stations and $15 billion changed hands that year alone. From 1995 to 2005, the number of radio station owners declined by one-third, from 6,600 to about 4,400.[22]

Once upon a time, the FCC tried to encourage diversity in broadcast ownership. From the 1950s through the 1980s, a media company could not own more than seven AM, seven FM, and seven TV stations nationally, and could own only one radio station per

Richard B. Levine/Newscom

CLEAR CHANNEL COMMUNICATIONS has been a target for protesters who object to the company's media dominance, allowed by FCC deregulation. Clear Channel has shed some stations in recent years, but as a result of an economic downturn rather than increased regulation. The company changed its name to iHeartMedia in 2014 to reflect its future in streaming digital radio.

market. Just prior to the 1996 act, the ownership rules were relaxed to allow any single person or company to own up to twenty AM, twenty FM, and twelve TV stations nationwide, but only two in the same market.

The 1996 act allows individuals and companies to acquire as many radio stations as they want, with relaxed restrictions on the number of stations a single broadcaster may own in the same city: The larger the market or area, the more stations a company may own within that market. For example, in areas where forty-five or more stations are available to listeners, a broadcaster may own up to eight stations, but not more than five of one type (AM or FM). In areas with fourteen or fewer stations, a broadcaster may own up to five stations (three of any one type). In very small markets with a handful of stations, a broadcast company may not own more than half the stations.

With few exceptions, for the past two decades the FCC has embraced the consolidation schemes pushed by the powerful NAB lobbyists in Washington, D.C., under which fewer and fewer owners control more and more of the airwaves.

The consequences of the 1996 Telecommunications Act and other deregulation have been significant. Consider the cases of Clear Channel Communications (now iHeartMedia) and Cumulus, the two largest radio chain owners in terms of number of stations owned (see Table 5.3). Clear Channel Communications was formed in 1972 with one San Antonio station. In 1998, it swallowed up Jacor Communications, the fifth-largest radio chain, and became the nation's second-largest group, with 454 stations in 101 cities. In 1999, Clear Channel gobbled up another growing conglomerate, AMFM (formerly Chancellor Media Corporation). Due to the recession of 2007–2009, Clear Channel shed some of the 1,205 stations it owned at its peak in 2005. Today, as iHeartMedia, it owns 858 radio stations and about 600,000 billboard and outdoor displays in over thirty countries across five continents, including 914 digital displays across thirty-seven U.S. markets. IHeartMedia also distributes many of the leading syndicated programs, including *The Rush Limbaugh Show*, *The Glenn Beck Program*, *On Air with Ryan Seacrest*, and *Delilah*. IHeartMedia is also an Internet radio source, with iHeart-Radio, which has more than 30 million registered users. Cumulus became the second-largest radio conglomerate when it merged with Citadel in 2011 in a $2.5 billion deal and bought radio network service Dial Global (now Westwood One) in 2013. Cumulus also owns a stake in Rdio, a subscription music streaming service.

TABLE 5.3

TOP TWELVE RADIO COMPANIES (BY NUMBER OF STATIONS), 2014

Data from: The 10-K annual reports and business profiles for each radio company.

Rank	Company	Number of Stations
1	iHeartMedia (Top property: WLTW-FM, New York)	858
2	Cumulus (KNBR-AM, San Francisco)	460
3	Educational Media Foundation (KLVB, Citrus Heights, Calif.)	393
4	Townsquare Media (KSAS-FM, Boise)	310
5	Alpha Media (KINK-FM, Portland, Ore.)	252
6	American Family Association (WAFR, Tupelo, Miss.)	163
7	Entercom (WEEI-AM, Boston)	125
8	CBS Radio (KROQ-FM, Los Angeles)	117
9	Salem Communications (KLTY, Dallas–Ft. Worth)	112
10	Saga Communications (WSNY, Columbus, Ohio)	98
11	Midwest Communications (WTAQ-FM, Green Bay)	72
12	Univision (KLVE-FM, Los Angeles)	67

Townsquare Media, launched in 2010 with the buyout of a 62-station group, grew to 312 stations by 2014 by focusing on acquiring stations in midsize markets. Two other major radio groups, the Educational Media Foundation and the American Family Association, are nonprofit religious broadcasters. The Educational Media Foundation also syndicates the K-Love and Air1 contemporary Christian music formats to hundreds of stations. The American Family Association is a conservative Christian activist organization that was originally established by Rev. Donald Wildmon in 1977 as the National Federation for Decency.

Combined, the top three commercial groups—iHeartMedia, Cumulus, and Townsquare Media—own over 1,600 radio stations (about 10 percent of all U.S. stations), dominate the fifty largest markets in the United States, and control at least one-third of the entire radio industry's $17.6 billion revenue. As a result of the consolidations permitted by deregulation, in most American cities just a few corporations dominate the radio market.

A smaller radio conglomerate, but one that is perhaps the most dominant in a single format area, is Univision. With a $3 billion takeover of Hispanic Broadcasting in 2003, Univision is the top Spanish-language radio broadcaster in the United States. The company is also the largest Spanish-language television broadcaster in the United States (see Chapter 6), as well as the owner of the top two Spanish-language cable networks (Galavisión and UniMás) and Univision Online, the most popular Spanish-language Web site in the United States.

Alternative Voices

As large corporations gained control of America's radio airwaves, activists in hundreds of communities across the United States protested in the 1990s by starting up their own noncommercial "pirate" radio stations, capable of broadcasting over a few miles with low-power FM signals of 1 to 10 watts. The NAB and other industry groups pressed to have the pirate broadcasters closed down, citing their illegality and their potential to create interference with existing stations. Between 1995 and 2000, more than five hundred illegal micropower radio stations were shut down. Still, an estimated one hundred to one thousand pirate stations are in operation in the United States, in both large urban areas and small rural towns.

The major complaint of pirate radio station operators was that the FCC had long ago ceased licensing low-power community radio stations. In 2000, the FCC, responding to tens of thousands of inquiries about the development of a new local radio broadcasting service, approved a new noncommercial **low-power FM (LPFM)** class of 100-watt stations (with a broadcast coverage reach of about five miles) in order to give voice to local groups lacking access to the public airwaves. LPFM station licensees included mostly religious groups but also high schools, colleges and universities, Native American tribes, labor groups, and museums.

LPFM stations are located in unused frequencies on the FM dial. Still, the NAB and National Public Radio fought to delay and limit the number of LPFM stations, arguing that such stations would cause interference with existing full-power FM stations. Then FCC chairman William E. Kennard, who fostered the LPFM initiative, responded: "This is about the haves—the broadcast industry—trying to prevent many have-nots—small community and educational organizations—from having just a little piece of the pie. Just a little piece of the airwaves which belong to all of the people."[23] The passage of the Local Community Radio

ALTERNATIVE RADIO VOICES can also be found on college stations, typically started by students and community members. There are around 520 such stations currently active in the United States, broadcasting in an eclectic variety of formats. As rock radio influence has declined, college radio has become a major outlet for new indie bands.

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LOW-POWER FM RADIO
To help communities or organizations set up LPFM stations, nonprofit groups like the Prometheus Radio Project provide support in obtaining government licenses and also actually construct the stations. For construction endeavors known as "barn raisings," Prometheus will send volunteers "to raise the antenna mast, build the studio, and flip on the station switch." Shown here is the barn raising for station WRFU 104.5 FM in Urbana, Illinois.

JJ Tiziou Photography

Act in 2011 created opportunities for more LPFM station applications in 2013. By 2015, about 1,400 LPFM stations were broadcasting. A major advocate of LPFM stations is the Prometheus Radio Project, a nonprofit formed by radio activists in 1998. Prometheus has helped educate community organizations about low-power radio and has sponsored at least a dozen "barn raisings" to build community stations in places like Hudson, New York; Opelousas, Louisiana; and Woodburn, Oregon.

Radio and the Democracy of the Airwaves

As radio was the first national electronic mass medium, its influence in the formation of American culture cannot be overestimated. Radio has given us soap operas, situation comedies, and broadcast news; it helped popularize rock and roll, car culture, and the politics of talk radio. Yet for all its national influence, broadcast radio is still a supremely local medium. For decades, listeners have tuned in to hear the familiar voices of their community's deejays and talk-show hosts and hear the regional flavor of popular music over airwaves that the public owns.

The early debates over radio gave us one of the most important and enduring ideas in communication policy: a requirement to operate in the "public interest, convenience, or necessity." But the broadcasting industry has long been at odds with this policy, arguing that radio corporations invest heavily in technology and should be able to have more control over the radio frequencies on which they operate and, moreover, own as many stations as they want. Deregulation in the past few decades has moved closer to that corporate vision, as nearly every radio market in the nation is dominated by a few owners, and those owners are required to renew their broadcasting licenses only every eight years.

This trend in ownership has moved radio away from its localism, as radio groups often manage hundreds of stations from afar. Given broadcasters' reluctance to publicly raise

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Radio Industry

Corey Deitz, Radio Personality, KDJE-FM, Little Rock, Arkansas

If you want to be in radio so you can play your favorite music because you're absolutely positive you can put together a great show, leave now. Few stations are going to let you pick the music you play, except maybe a college station or a tiny local station in the middle of Nowhere, Oklahoma.

Melissa Chase, Morning Show Host and Program Director, WURV-FM, Richmond, Virginia

If you want to become a "Radio Personality" versus just being a liner-reading deejay, you have to be an interesting person and have cool things to talk about. So in college, I did wild stuff like taking time to build houses in Miami with Habitat for Humanity, signed [myself] up for the school Broomball Team, took a *Harry Potter* class for my English requirement, interned at MTV, volunteered at our local PBS station. . . . I just tried to go out and meet crazy people and have a good story to tell. I would also say don't get too focused on the job you want, which sounds crazy. But the people who get so eagle-eye focused on "*this* is where I want to work and have *this* job title and *this* salary" . . . they close themselves off to so much!

Erica Farber, President and CEO, Radio Advertising Bureau

We need to be certain that our sellers have the tools to be competitive in today's marketplace. Sellers today must be well versed in the nuances of being a marketing partner—understanding the challenges and business needs of their clients. And as technology changes, education and training in how to understand, use, and market radio with these changes will be essential.

Tim Westergren, Founder and CEO, Pandora

My advice to undergraduates is "learn to pitch," which is a euphemism for public speaking. And if I could go back and do college again, . . . one thing that I would make as a mandatory course for all students all four years would be a public speaking course. Because there is just no substitute for learning how to communicate, and it applies to everything you do for the rest of your life.

questions about their own economic arrangements, public debate regarding radio as a natural resource has remained minuscule. As citizens look to the future, a big question remains to be answered: With a few large broadcast companies now permitted to dominate radio ownership nationwide, how much is consolidation of power restricting the number and kinds of voices permitted to speak over public airwaves? To ensure that mass media industries continue to serve democracy and local communities, the public needs to play a role in developing the answer to this question.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the developmental stages of mass media. Like other mass media, radio evolved in three stages, but it also influenced an important dichotomy in mass media technology: wired versus wireless.

In radio's novelty stage, several inventors transcended the wires of the telegraph and telephone to solve the problem of wireless communication. In the entrepreneurial stage, inventors tested ship-to-shore radio, while others developed person-to-person toll radio transmissions and other schemes to make money from wireless communication. Finally, when radio stations began broadcasting to the general public (who bought radio receivers for their homes), radio became a mass medium.

As the first electronic mass medium, radio set the pattern for an ongoing battle between wired and wireless technologies. For example, television brought images to wireless broadcasting. Then, cable television's wires brought television signals to places where receiving antennas didn't work. Satellite television (wireless from outer space) followed as an innovation to bring TV where cable didn't exist. Now, broadcast, cable, and satellite all compete against one another.

Similarly, think of how cell phones have eliminated millions of traditional phone, or land, lines. The Internet, like the telephone, also began with wires, but Wi-Fi and home wireless systems are eliminating those wires, too. And radio? Most listeners get traditional local (wireless) radio broadcast signals, but now listeners may use a wired Internet connection to stream Internet radio or download Webcasts and podcasts. The radio industry's push for the future is to ensure that all mobile phones have enabled FM radio chips so that local radio listening through the Internet can be (again) wireless.

Both wired and wireless technologies have advantages and disadvantages. Do we want the stability and the tethers of a wired connection? Or do we want the freedom and occasional instability ("Can you hear me now?") of wireless media? Can radio's development help us understand wired-versus-wireless battles in other media?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

telegraph, 151
Morse code, 151
electromagnetic waves, 152
radio waves, 152
wireless telegraphy, 153
wireless telephony, 154
broadcasting, 155
narrowcasting, 155
Radio Act of 1912, 156
Radio Corporation of America (RCA), 157
network, 158
option time, 161
Radio Act of 1927, 162
Federal Radio Commission (FRC), 162
Communications Act of 1934, 162
Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 162
transistors, 166
FM, 166
AM, 166
format radio, 167
rotation, 167
Top 40 format, 168
progressive rock, 168
album-oriented rock (AOR), 169
drive time, 169
news/talk/information, 170
adult contemporary (AC), 172
contemporary hit radio (CHR), 172
country, 172
urban contemporary, 172
Pacifica Foundation, 173
National Public Radio (NPR), 173
Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), 173
Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, 173
Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), 173
satellite radio, 175
HD radio, 175
Internet radio, 175
podcasting, 177
payola, 179
Telecommunications Act of 1996, 179
low-power FM (LPFM), 181

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Early Technology and the Development of Radio

1. Why was the development of the telegraph important in media history? What were some of the disadvantages of telegraph technology?
2. How is the concept of wireless different from that of radio?
3. What was Guglielmo Marconi's role in the development of wireless telegraphy?
4. What were Lee De Forest's contributions to radio?
5. Why were there so many patent disputes in the development of radio?
6. Why was the RCA monopoly formed?
7. How did broadcasting, unlike print media, come to be federally regulated?

The Evolution of Radio

8. What was AT&T's role in the early days of radio?
9. How did the radio networks develop? What were the contributions of David Sarnoff and William Paley to network radio?
10. Why did the government-sanctioned RCA monopoly end?
11. What is the significance of the Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934?

Radio Reinvents Itself

12. How did radio adapt to the arrival of television?
13. What was Edwin Armstrong's role in the advancement of radio technology? Why did RCA hamper Armstrong's work?
14. How did music on radio change in the 1950s?
15. What is format radio, and why was it important to the survival of radio?

The Sounds of Commercial Radio

16. Why are there so many radio formats today?
17. Why did Top 40 radio diminish as a format in the 1980s and 1990s?
18. What is the state of nonprofit radio today?
19. Why are performance royalties a topic of debate between broadcast radio, satellite radio, Internet radio, and the recording industry?
20. Why do radio broadcasters want FM radio chips enabled for use in mobile phones?

The Economics of Broadcast Radio

21. What are the current ownership rules governing American radio?
22. What has been the main effect of the Telecommunications Act of 1996 on radio station ownership?
23. Why did the FCC create a new class of low-power FM stations?

Radio and the Democracy of the Airwaves

24. Throughout the history of radio, why did the government encourage monopoly or oligopoly ownership of radio broadcasting?
25. What is the relevance of localism to debates about ownership in radio?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. Count the number and types of radio stations in your area today. What formats do they use? Do a little research, and find out who owns the stations in your market. How much diversity is there among the highest-rated stations?
2. If you could own and manage a commercial radio station, what format would you choose, and why?
3. If you ran a noncommercial radio station in your area, what services would you provide to address needs that are not being met by commercial format radio?
4. How might radio be used to improve social and political discussions in the United States?
5. If you were a broadcast radio executive, what arguments would you make in favor of broadcast radio over Internet radio?

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6

Television and Cable

The Power of Visual Culture

189
The Origins and Development of Television

195
The Development of Cable

199
Technology and Convergence Change Viewing Habits

203
Major Programming Trends

211
Regulatory Challenges to Television and Cable

216
The Economics and Ownership of Television and Cable

225
Television, Cable, and Democracy

Television may be our final link to true "mass" communication—a medium that in the 1960s through the 1980s attracted forty million viewers to a single episode of a popular prime-time drama like *Bonanza* (1959–1973) or a "must-see" comedy like *Seinfeld* (1989–1998). Today, the only program that attracts that kind of audience happens once a year—the Super Bowl, which drew 114 million viewers in 2015. Back in its full-blown mass media stage, television was available only on traditional TV sets, and people mostly watched only the original broadcast networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC.

Things are different today, as television has entered the fourth stage in the life cycle of a mass medium—convergence. Today, audiences watch TV on everything from big flat-screen digital sets to tiny smartphones and tablet screens. Back in the day, the networks either made or bought almost all TV shows, usually bankrolled by Hollywood film studios. These days, everyone from broadcast networks to cable channels to Internet services like Netflix and Amazon is producing original shows. Audiences today also watch the same show in multiple ways. For example, in 2015, for the first

seven episodes of the Comedy Central show *Inside Amy Schumer*, 27 million people viewed the program on YouTube streams, 4.5 million watched on Facebook, 1.2 million viewed on Hulu, and 4.2 million watched on Snapchat. Only 1.4 million on an average evening watched the show on cable's Comedy Central.[1]

The first major crack in the networks' mass audience dominance came when cable TV developed in the 1970s. At first, cable channels like HBO and TNT survived by redistributing old movies and network TV programs. But when HBO began producing popular award-winning original series like *The Sopranos*, the networks' hold on viewers started to erode. Premium cable services like HBO (*True Detective*) and Showtime (*Homeland*) led the way, but now basic cable channels like AMC (*The Walking Dead*) and FX (*Fargo*) are producing popular original programming.

What cable really did was introduce a better business model—earning money from monthly subscription fees *and* advertising. The old network model relied solely on advertising revenue. The networks, worried about the loss both of viewers and of ad dollars to its upstart competitor, decided they wanted a piece of that action. Some networks started buying cable channels (NBC, for example, has purchased stakes in Bravo, E!, Syfy, USA Network, and the Weather Channel). The networks and local TV stations also championed *retransmission consent*—fees that cable providers like Comcast pay to local TV stations and the major networks each month for the right to carry their channels. Typically, cable companies in large-market cities pay their local broadcasters and the national networks about fifty to seventy-five cents per month for each cable subscriber. Those fees are then passed along to subscribers.

In recent years, retransmission fees have caused some friction between broadcasters and cable companies. For example, in 2013, when fee negotiations between CBS and Time Warner broke down, the station was dropped from Time Warner's lineup in some markets for almost a month. In the same year, the evolving relationship between broadcasters and cable TV took a dramatic turn when General Electric, which started and owned NBC (and Universal Studios), sold majority control of its flagship network (and the film company) to Comcast, the nation's largest cable provider. Comcast now produces or owns a significant amount of programming for use on its broadcast and cable channels, and exercises control over retransmission fees.

While the major tensions between cable and broadcasters appear to have quieted down, a new battle is brewing as the Internet and smaller screens are quickly becoming the future of television. On the surface, a mutually beneficial relationship has developed among streaming online services and broadcasters and cable providers—Hulu, after all, is jointly owned by Disney (ABC), 21st Century Fox (Fox), and Comcast (NBC). Internet streaming services help cable and broadcast networks increase their audiences through time shifting, as viewers watch favorite TV shows days, even weeks, after they originally aired. But these services are no longer satisfied to distribute network reruns and old cable shows—Netflix (*Orange Is the New Black*; *Daredevil*), and Amazon (*Transparent*) now develop original programming.

As the newest battle shakes up the TV landscape, one thing remains unchanged: high-quality stories that resonate with viewers. In the fragmented marketplace, in which the "mass" audience has shrunk, there may be plenty of room for small, quirky shows that attract younger fans who grew up on the Internet.

BROADCAST NETWORKS TODAY may resent cable networks developing original programming, but in the beginning, network television actually stole most of its programming and business ideas from radio. Old radio scripts began reappearing in TV form, snatching radio's sponsors, its program ideas, and even its prime-time evening audience. In 1949, for instance, *The Lone Ranger* rode over to television from radio, where the program had originated in 1933. *Amos 'n' Andy*, a fixture on network radio since 1928, became the first TV series to have an entirely black cast in 1951. Since replacing radio in the 1950s as our most popular mass medium, television has sparked repeated arguments about its social and cultural impact. Television has been accused of having a negative impact on children and young people and has also faced criticism for enabling and sustaining a sharply partisan political system. But there are other sides to this story. In times of crisis, our fragmented and pluralistic society has embraced television as common ground. It was TV that exposed many to Civil Rights violations in the South and to the shared loss after the Kennedy and King assassinations in the 1960s. On September 11, 2001—in shock and horror—we turned on television sets to learn that nearly three thousand people had been killed in that day's terrorist attacks. And in 2013, we viewed the Boston Marathon bombing attacks on our TVs and online. For better or worse, television remains a central touchstone in our daily lives.

In this chapter, we examine television and cable's cultural, social, and economic impact. We will:

- Review television's early technological development
- Discuss TV's boom in the 1950s and the impact of the quiz-show scandals
- Examine cable's technological development and basic services
- Explore new viewing technologies, such as computers, smartphones, and tablets
- Learn about major programming genres: comedy, drama, news, and reality TV
- Trace the key rules and regulations of television and cable
- Inspect the costs related to the production, distribution, and syndication of programs
- Investigate the impact of television and cable on democracy and culture

As you read through this chapter, think about your own experiences with television programs and the impact they have on you. What was your favorite show as a child? Were there shows you weren't allowed to watch when you were young? If so, why? What attracts you to your favorite programs now? For more questions to help you think through the role of television and cable in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

The Origins and Development of Television

In 1948, only 1 percent of America's households had a TV set; by 1953, more than 50 percent had one; and since the early 1960s, more than 90 percent of all homes have at least one. Television's rise throughout the 1950s created fears that radio—as well as books, magazines, and movies—would become irrelevant and unnecessary, but both radio and print media adapted. In fact, today more radio stations are operating and more books and magazines are being published than ever before; only ticket sales for movies have declined slightly since the 1960s.

Three major historical developments in television's early years helped shape it: (1) technological innovations and patent wars, (2) the wresting of content control from advertisers, and (3) the sociocultural impact of the infamous quiz-show scandals.

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CIVIL RIGHTS
In the 1950s and 1960s, television images of Civil Rights struggles visually documented the inequalities faced by black citizens. Seeing these images made the events and struggles more "real" to a nation of viewers and helped garner support for the movement.

Early Innovations in TV Technology

In its novelty stage, television's earliest pioneers were trying to isolate TV waves from the electromagnetic spectrum (as radio's pioneers had done with radio waves). The big question was, If a person could transmit audio signals from one place to another, why not visual images as well? Inventors from a number of nations toyed with the idea of sending "tele-visual" images for nearly a hundred years before what we know as TV developed.

From roughly 1897 to 1907, the development by several inventors of the *cathode ray tube*, the forerunner of the TV picture tube, combined principles of the camera and electricity. Because television images could not physically float through the air, technicians and inventors developed a method of encoding them at a transmission point (TV station) and decoding them at a reception point (TV set). In the 1880s, German inventor Paul Nipkow developed the *scanning disk*, a large flat metal disk with a series of small perforations organized in a spiral pattern. As the disk rotated, it separated pictures into pinpoints of light that could be transmitted as a series of electronic lines. As the disk spun, each small hole scanned one line of a scene to be televised. For years, Nipkow's mechanical disk served as the foundation for experiments on the transmission of visual images.

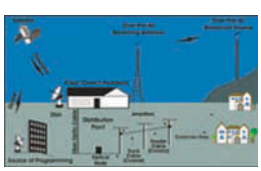
Electronic Technology: Zworykin and Farnsworth

The story of television's invention included a complex patents battle between two independent inventors: Vladimir Zworykin and Philo Farnsworth. It began in Russia in 1907, when physicist

Television and Cable: The Power of Visual Culture

Cathode Ray Tube
In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the *cathode ray tube*—forerunner of the TV picture tube—is invented and developed (p. 190).

First TV Transmission
In 1927, twenty-one-year-old Philo Farnsworth transmits the first TV picture electronically (p. 191).



CATV
Community antenna television systems originate in the late 1940s in Oregon, Pennsylvania, New York City, and elsewhere to bring in TV signals blocked by mountains and tall buildings (p. 195).

Color TV Standard
In 1954, after a long battle with CBS, RCA's color system is approved by the FCC as the industry standard (pp. 192–193).

1880 • 1920 • 1930 • 1940 • 1950 • 1960

First Public TV Demo
In Philadelphia in 1934, Farnsworth conducts the first public demonstration of television (p. 191).

Quiz-Show Scandal
In 1958–59, investigations into rigged quiz shows force networks to cancel twenty programs. During the 1955–56 TV season, the *$64,000 Question* had been rated the nation's No. 1 show (p. 194).

Telstar
The first communication satellite relays telephone and television signals in 1960 (p. 196).

© Bettmann/Corbis (bottom)

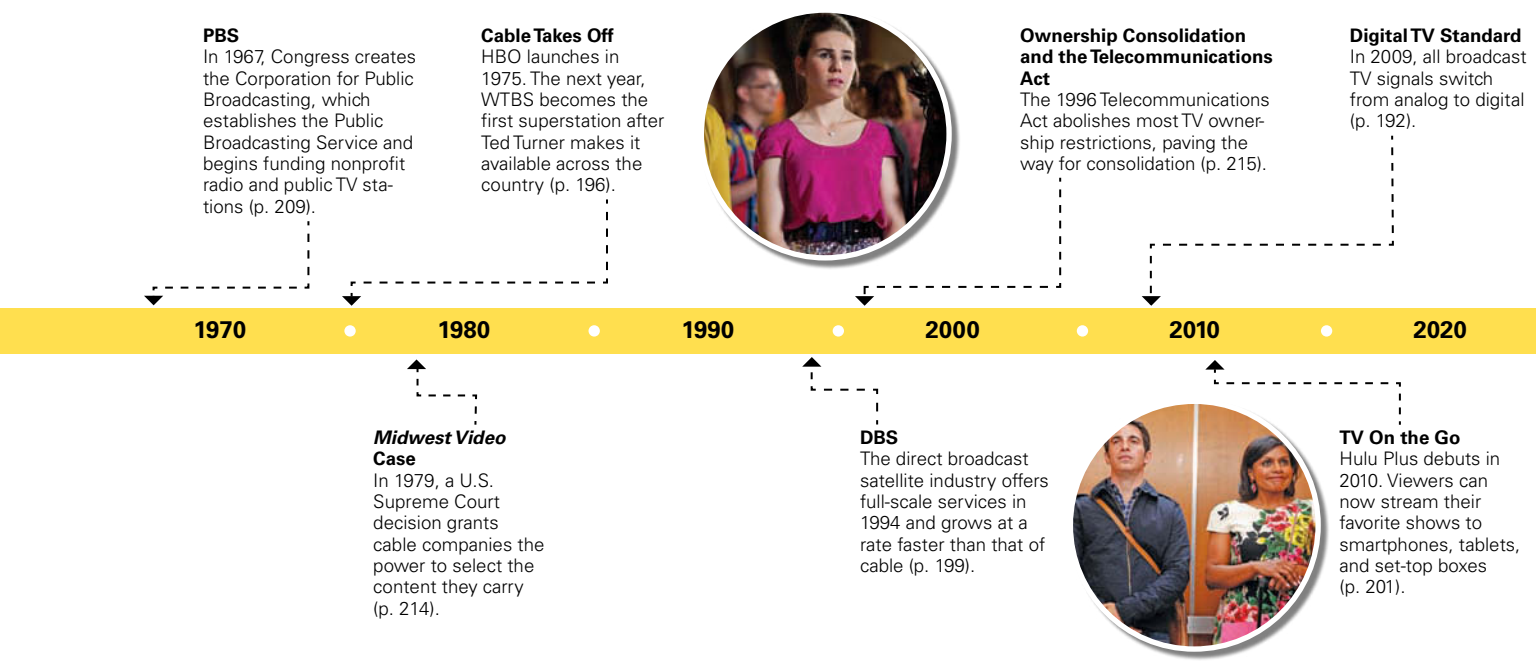
Boris Rosing improved Nipkow's mechanical scanning device. Rosing's lab assistant, Vladimir Zworykin, left Russia for America in 1919 and went to work for Westinghouse and then RCA. In 1923, Zworykin invented the *iconoscope*, the first TV camera tube to convert light rays into electrical signals, and he received a patent for it in 1928.

Around the same time, Idaho teenager Philo Farnsworth also figured out that a mechanical scanning system would not send pictures through the air over long distances. On September 7, 1927, the twenty-one-year-old Farnsworth transmitted the first electronic TV picture: He rotated a straight line scratched on a square of painted glass by 90 degrees. RCA, then the world leader in broadcasting technology, challenged Farnsworth in a major patents battle, in part over Zworykin's innovations for Westinghouse and RCA. Farnsworth had to rely on his high school science teacher to retrieve his original drawings from 1922. Finally, in 1930, Farnsworth received a patent for the first electronic television.

After the company's court defeat, RCA's president, David Sarnoff, had to negotiate to use Farnsworth's patents. Farnsworth later licensed these patents to RCA and AT&T for use in the commercial development of television. At the end of television's development stage, Farnsworth conducted the first public demonstration of television at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia in 1934—five years *before* RCA's famous public demonstration at the 1939 World's Fair.

Setting Technical Standards

Figuring out how to push TV as a business and elevate it to a mass medium meant creating a coherent set of technical standards for product manufacturers. In the late 1930s, the National Television Systems Committee (NTSC), a group representing major electronics firms, began outlining industry-wide manufacturing practices and compromising on technical standards. As a result, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) adopted an **analog** standard (based on radio waves) for all U.S. TV sets in 1941. About thirty countries, including Japan, Canada, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, and most Latin American nations, also adopted this system. (Most of Europe and Asia, however, adopted a slightly superior technical system shortly thereafter.)



Jojo Whilden/© HBO/Everett Collection (top);
© 20thCentFox/Everett Collection (bottom)

© Bettmann/Corbis

PHILO FARNSWORTH, one of the inventors of television, experiments with an early version of an electronic TV set.

The United States continued to use analog signals until 2009, when they were replaced by **digital** signals. These signals translate TV images and sounds into binary codes (ones and zeros like computers use) and allow for increased channel capacity and improved image quality and sound. HDTV, or *high-definition television*, digital signals offer the highest resolution and sharpest image. Receiving a "hi-def" picture depends on two factors: The programmer must use a high-definition signal, and consumers must have HDTV equipment to receive and view it. The switch to digital signals has also opened up new avenues for receiving and viewing television on laptops, smartphones, and tablets.

Assigning Frequencies and Freezing TV Licenses

In the early days of television, the number of TV stations a city or market could support was limited because airwave spectrum frequencies interfered with one another. Thus a market could have a channel 2 and a channel 4 but not a channel 3. Cable systems "fixed" this problem by sending channels through cable wires that don't interfere with one another. Today, a frequency that once carried one analog TV signal can carry eight or nine compressed digital channels.

In the 1940s, the FCC began assigning channels in specific geographic areas to make sure there was no interference. As a result, for years New Jersey had no TV stations because those signals would have interfered with the New York stations. But by 1948 the FCC had issued nearly one hundred TV licenses, and there was growing concern about the finite number of channels and the frequency-interference problems. The FCC declared a freeze on new licenses from 1948 to 1952.

During this time, cities such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles had several TV stations, while other areas—including Little Rock, Arkansas, and Portland, Oregon—had none. In non-TV cities, movie audiences increased. Cities with TV stations, however, saw a 20 to 40 percent drop in movie attendance during this period; more than sixty movie theaters closed in the Chicago area alone. Taxi receipts and nightclub attendance also fell in TV cities, as did library book circulation. Radio listening also declined; for example, Bob Hope's network radio show lost half its national audience between 1949 and 1951. By 1951, the sales of television sets had surpassed the sales of radio receivers.

After a second NTSC conference in 1952 sorted out the technical problems, the FCC ended the licensing freeze, and almost thirteen hundred communities received TV channel allocations. By the mid-1950s, there were more than four hundred television stations in operation—a 400 percent surge since the prefreeze era—and television became a mass medium. Today, about seventeen hundred TV stations are in operation.

The Introduction of Color Television

In 1952, the FCC tentatively approved an experimental CBS color system. However, because black-and-white TV sets could not receive its signal, the system was incompatible with the sets most Americans owned. In 1954, RCA's color system, which sent TV images in color but allowed older sets to receive the color images as black-and-white, usurped CBS's system to

become the color standard. Although NBC began broadcasting a few shows in color in the mid-1950s, it wasn't until 1966, when the consumer market for color sets had taken off, that the Big Three networks (CBS, NBC, and ABC) broadcast their entire evening lineups in color.

Controlling Content—TV Grows Up

By the early 1960s, television had become a dominant mass medium and cultural force, with more than 90 percent of U.S. households owning at least one set. Television's new standing came as its programs moved away from the influence of radio and established a separate identity. Two important contributors to this identity were a major change in the sponsorship structure of television programming and, more significant, a major scandal.

Program Format Changes Inhibit Sponsorship

Like radio in the 1930s and 1940s, early TV programs were often developed, produced, and supported by a single sponsor. Many of the top-rated programs in the 1950s even included the sponsor's name in the title: *Buick Circus Hour*, *Camel News Caravan*, and *Colgate Comedy Hour*. Having a single sponsor for a show meant that the advertiser could easily influence the program's content. In the early 1950s, the broadcast networks became increasingly unhappy with the lack of creative control in this arrangement. Luckily, the growing popularity, and growing cost, of television offered opportunities to alter this financial setup. In 1952, for example, a single one-hour TV show cost a sponsor about $35,000, a figure that rose to $90,000 by the end of the decade.

David Sarnoff, then head of RCA-NBC, and William Paley, head of CBS, saw an opportunity to diminish the sponsors' role. In 1953, Sarnoff appointed Sylvester "Pat" Weaver (father of actress Sigourney Weaver) as the president of NBC. Previously an advertising executive, Weaver undermined his former profession by increasing program length from fifteen minutes (then the standard for radio programs) to thirty minutes or longer, substantially raising program costs for advertisers and discouraging some from sponsoring programs.

In addition, the introduction of two new types of programs—the magazine format and the TV spectacular—greatly helped the networks gain control over content. The *magazine program* featured multiple segments—news, talk, comedy, and music—similar to the varied content found in a general-interest publication or newsmagazine of the day, such as *Life* or *Time*. In January 1952, NBC introduced the *Today* show as a three-hour morning talk-news program. Then, in September 1954, NBC premiered the ninety-minute *Tonight Show*. Because both shows ran daily rather than weekly, studio production costs were prohibitive for a single sponsor. Consequently, NBC offered spot ads within the shows: Advertisers paid the network for thirty- or sixty-second time slots. The network, not the sponsor, now produced and owned the programs or bought them from independent producers.

The television spectacular is today recognized by a more modest term, the *television special*. At NBC, Weaver bought the rights to special programs, like the Broadway production of *Peter Pan*, and sold spot ads to multiple sponsors. The 1955 TV version of *Peter Pan* was a particular success, with sixty-five million viewers. More typical specials featured music-variety shows hosted by famous singers, such as Judy Garland, Frank Sinatra, and Nat King Cole.

NETWORK TALK SHOWS were established in part by the format of NBC's *Tonight Show*, which debuted in 1954. *The Tonight Show* continues to air on NBC with host Jimmy Fallon, but it faces more competition than it did in its earlier incarnations; in addition to the CBS *Late Show* (now featuring Stephen Colbert) and ABC's *Jimmy Kimmel Live!* (pictured below), there are a variety of cable talk and fake news shows, like the TBS talk show *Conan*, featuring former *Tonight Show* host Conan O'Brien, and Comedy Central's long-running *Daily Show*.

© ABC/Photofest

The Rise and Fall of Quiz Shows

In 1955, CBS aired the *$64,000 Question*, reviving radio's quiz-show genre (radio's version was the more modest *$64 Question*). Sponsored by Revlon, the program ran in **prime time** (the hours between 8 and 11 P.M., when networks traditionally draw their largest audiences and charge their highest advertising rates) and became the most popular TV show in America during its first year. Revlon followed the show's success with the *$64,000 Challenge* in 1956; by the end of 1958, twenty-two quiz shows aired on network television. Revlon's cosmetic sales skyrocketed from $1.2 million before its sponsorship of the quiz shows to nearly $10 million by 1959.

Compared with dramas and sitcoms, quiz shows were (and are) cheap to produce, with inexpensive sets and mostly nonactors as guests. The problem was that most of these shows were rigged. To heighten the drama, key contestants were rehearsed and given the answers.

The most notorious rigging occurred on *Twenty-One*, a quiz show owned by Geritol (whose profits climbed by $4 million one year after it began to sponsor the program in 1956). A young Columbia University English professor from a famous literary family, Charles Van Doren, won $129,000 in 1957 during his fifteen-week run on the program; his fame even landed him a job on NBC's *Today* show. But in 1958, after a series of contestants accused the quiz show *Dotto* of being fixed, the networks quickly dropped twenty quiz shows. Following further rumors, a *TV Guide* story, a New York grand jury probe, and a 1959 congressional investigation during which Van Doren admitted to cheating, big-money prime-time quiz shows ended.

Quiz-Show Scandal Hurts the Promise of TV

The impact of the quiz-show scandal was enormous. First, the sponsors' pressure on TV executives to rig the programs and the subsequent fraud put an end to any role that major sponsors had in creating TV content. Second, and more important, the fraud undermined Americans' expectation of the democratic promise of television—to bring inexpensive information and entertainment into every household. Many people had trusted their own eyes—what they saw on TV—more than the *words* they heard on radio or read in print.

TWENTY-ONE
In 1957, the most popular contestant on the quiz show *Twenty-One* was college professor Charles Van Doren (*left*). Congressional hearings on rigged quiz shows revealed that Van Doren had been given some answers. Host Jack Barry, pictured here above the sponsor's logo, nearly had his career ruined, but made a comeback in the late 1960s with the syndicated game show *The Joker's Wild*.

Everett Collection

But the scandal provided the first dramatic indication that TV images could be manipulated. In fact, our contemporary love-hate relationship with electronic culture and new gadgets began during this time.

The third, and most important, impact of the quiz-show scandal was that it magnified the division between "high" and "low" culture attitudes toward television. The fact that Charles Van Doren had come from a family of Ivy League intellectuals and cheated for fame and money drove a wedge between intellectuals—who were already skeptical of television—and the popular new medium. This was best expressed in 1961 by FCC commissioner Newton Minow, who labeled game shows, westerns, cartoons, and other popular genres as part of television's "vast wasteland." Critics have used the "wasteland" metaphor ever since to admonish the TV industry for failing to live up to its potential.

After the scandal, quiz shows were kept out of network prime time for forty years. Finally, in 1999, ABC gambled that the nation was ready once again for a quiz show in prime time. The network had great, if brief, success with *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*, which hit No. 1 that year.

The Development of Cable

Most historians mark the period from the late 1950s, when the networks gained control over TV's content, to the end of the 1970s as the **network era**. Except for British and American anthology dramas on PBS, this was a time when the Big Three broadcast networks—CBS, NBC, and ABC—dictated virtually every trend in programming and collectively accounted for more than 95 percent of all prime-time TV viewing. In 2012, however, this figure was less than 40 percent. Why the drastic drop? Because cable television systems—along with VCRs and DVD players—had cut into the broadcast networks' audience.

CATV—Community Antenna Television

The first small cable systems—called **CATV**, or community antenna television—originated in the late 1940s in Oregon, Pennsylvania, and New York City, where mountains or tall buildings blocked TV signals. These systems served roughly 10 percent of the country and, because of early technical and regulatory limits, contained only twelve channels. Even at this early stage, though, TV sales personnel, broadcasters, and electronics firms recognized two big advantages of cable. First, by routing and reamplifying each channel in a separate wire, cable eliminated over-the-air interference. Second, running signals through coaxial cable increased channel capacity.

In the beginning, small communities with CATV often received twice as many channels as were available over the air in much larger cities. That technological advantage, combined with cable's ability to deliver clear reception, would soon propel the new cable industry into competition with conventional broadcast television. But unlike radio, which freed mass communication from unwieldy wires, early cable technology relied on wires.

The Wires and Satellites behind Cable Television

The idea of using space satellites to receive and transmit communication signals is right out of science fiction: In 1945, Arthur C. Clarke (who studied physics and mathematics and would later write dozens of sci-fi books, including *2001: A Space Odyssey*) published the original

theories for a global communications system based on three satellites equally spaced from one another, rotating with the earth's orbit. In the mid-1950s, these theories became reality, as the Soviet Union and then the United States successfully sent satellites into orbit around the earth.

In 1960, AT&T launched Telstar, the first communication satellite capable of receiving, amplifying, and returning signals. Telstar was able to process and relay telephone and occasional television signals between the United States and Europe. By the mid-1960s, scientists had figured out how to lock communication satellites into *geosynchronous orbit*. Hovering 22,300 miles above the earth, satellites travel at nearly 7,000 mph and circle the earth at the same speed at which the earth revolves on its axis. For cable television, the breakthrough was the launch of domestic communication satellites: Canada's *Anik* in 1972 and the United States' *Westar* in 1974.

Cable TV signals are processed at a computerized nerve center, or *headend*, which operates various large satellite dishes that receive and distribute long-distance signals from, say, CNN in Atlanta or ESPN in Connecticut. In addition, the headend's receiving equipment can pick up an area's local signals or a nearby city's PBS station. The headend relays each channel, local network affiliate, or public TV signal along its own separate line. Headend computers relay the channels in the same way that telephone calls and electric power reach individual households: through *trunk* and *feeder cables* attached to existing utility poles. Cable companies rent space on these poles from phone and electric companies. Signals are then transmitted to *drop* or *tap lines* that run from the utility poles into subscribers' homes (see Figure 6.1).

Advances in satellite technology in the 1970s dramatically changed the fortunes of cable by creating a reliable system for the distribution of programming to cable companies across the nation. The first cable network to use satellites for regular transmission of TV programming was Home Box Office (HBO), which began delivering programming such as uncut, commercial-free movies and exclusive live coverage of major boxing matches for a monthly fee in 1975. The second cable network began in 1976, when media owner Ted Turner distributed his small Atlanta broadcast TV station, WTBS, to cable systems across the country.

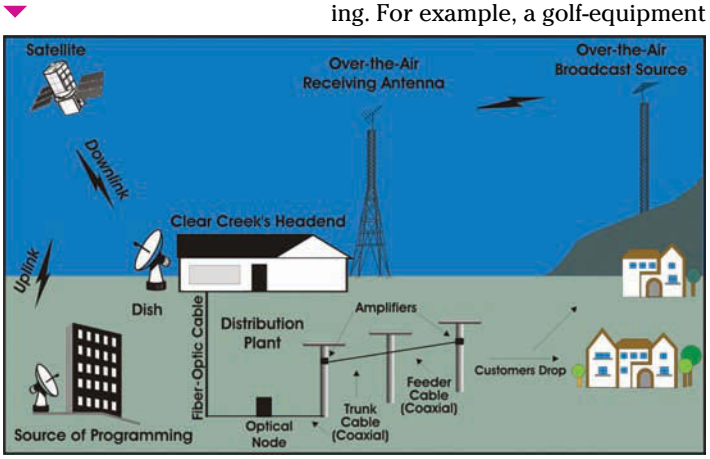
Cable Threatens Broadcasting

While only 14 percent of all U.S. homes received cable in 1977, by 1985 that percentage had climbed to 46. By the summer of 1997, basic cable channels had captured a larger prime-time audience than the broadcast networks had. The cable industry's rapid rise to prominence was partly due to the shortcomings of broadcast television. Beyond improving signal reception in most communities, the cable era introduced **narrowcasting**—the providing of specialized programming for diverse and fragmented groups. Attracting both advertisers and audiences, cable programs provide access to certain target audiences that cannot be guaranteed in broadcasting. For example, a golf-equipment manufacturer can buy ads on the Golf Channel and reach only golf enthusiasts. (See "Case Study: ESPN: Sports and Stories" on page 198 for more on narrowcasting.)

FIGURE 6.1

A BASIC CABLE TELEVISION SYSTEM

Data from: Clear Creek Telephone & Television, www.ccmtc.com.



As cable channels have become more and more like specialized magazines or radio formats, they have siphoned off network viewers, and the networks' role as the chief programmer of our shared culture has eroded. For example, back in 1980, the Big Three evening news programs had a combined audience of more than fifty million on a typical weekday evening. By 2012 and 2013, though, that audience had shrunk to twenty million.[2] In addition, through its greater channel capacity, cable has provided more access. In many communities, various public, government, and educational channels have

made it possible for anyone to air a point of view or produce a TV program. When it has lived up to its potential, cable has offered the public opportunities to participate more fully in the democratic promise of television.

Cable Services

Cable consumers usually choose programming from a two-tiered structure: basic cable services like CNN and premium cable services like HBO. These services are the production arm of the cable industry, supplying programming to the nation's six-thousand-plus cable operations, which function as program distributors to cable households.

Basic Cable Services

A typical **basic cable** system today includes a hundred-plus channel lineup composed of local broadcast signals; access channels (for local government, education, and general public use); regional PBS stations; and a variety of cable channels, such as ESPN, CNN, MTV, USA, Bravo, Nickelodeon, Disney, Comedy Central, BET, Telemundo, the Weather Channel, **superstations** (independent TV stations uplinked to a satellite, such as WGN in Chicago), and others, depending on the cable system's capacity and regional interests. Typically, local cable companies pay each of these satellite-delivered services between a few cents per month per subscriber ($.06 per month per subscriber for low-cost, low-demand channels like C-SPAN) and over $4 per month per subscriber (for high-cost, high-demand channels like ESPN). That fee is passed along to consumers as part of their basic monthly cable rate, which averaged—depending on the study and the location—between $70 and $90 per month by 2014. In addition, cable system capacities continue to increase as a result of high-bandwidth fiber-optic cable and *digital cable*, allowing for expanded offerings such as premium channels, pay-per-view programs, and video-on-demand.

"FAKE NEWS" SHOWS like *The Nightly Show* and *Last Week Tonight* are available on the basic cable channel Comedy Central and the premium channel HBO, respectively. While their audiences are not as large as those of other basic cable news shows like *The O'Reilly Factor*, critics argue that the satiric shows have become a major source of news for the eighteen- to thirty-four-year-old age group because of their satire and sharp-witted lampoon of politics and the news media.

Premium Cable Services

Besides basic programming, cable offers a wide range of special channels, known as **premium channels**, which lure customers with the promise of no advertising; recent and classic Hollywood movies; and original movies or series, like HBO's *Game of Thrones, True Detective,* or *Girls,* and Showtime's *Homeland, Masters of Sex*, or *Penny Dreadful*. These channels are a major source of revenue for cable companies: The cost to them is $4 to $6 per month per subscriber to carry a premium channel, but the cable company can charge customers $10 or more per month and reap a nice profit. Premium services also include pay-per-view (PPV) programs; video-on-demand (VOD); and interactive services that enable consumers to use their televisions to bank, shop, play games, and access the Internet.

Stephen Lovekin/Getty Images for Comedy Central

Beginning in 1985, cable companies began introducing new viewing options for their customers. **Pay-per-view (PPV)** channels came first, offering recently released movies or special one-time sporting events to subscribers who paid a designated charge to their cable company, allowing them to view the program. In the early 2000s, cable companies

CASE STUDY

ESPN: Sports and Stories

A common way many of us satisfy our cultural and personal need for storytelling is through sports: We form loyalties to local and national teams. We follow the exploits of favorite players. We boo our team's rivals. We suffer with our team when the players have a bad game or an awful season. We celebrate the victories.

The appeal of sports is similar to the appeal of our favorite books, TV shows, and movies—we are interested in characters, in plot development, in conflict and drama. Sporting events have all of this. The NBA finals in 2015 drew the largest audiences in years—mostly because of an intriguing story line. The Golden State Warriors (who did win) had not reached the finals in forty years and had the league's MVP in Stephan Curry—arguably the best shooter in the history of the NBA. The Cleveland Cavaliers, on the other hand, reached the finals on the back of star player LeBron James, who had left the Miami Heat (where he won two championships) to try to bring victory to his hometown Cavs—who have never won a championship.

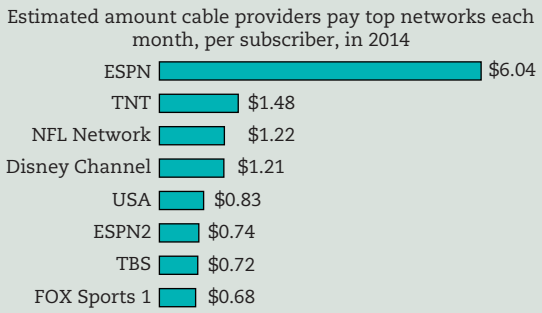
One of the best sports stories on television over the past thirty years, though, may be not a single sporting event but the tale of an upstart cable network based in Bristol, Connecticut. ESPN (Entertainment Sports Programming Network) began in 1979 and has now surpassed all the major broadcast networks as the "brand" that frames and presents sports on TV. In fact, cable operators around the country regard ESPN as the top service when it comes to helping them "gain and retain customers."[1] One of ESPN's main attractions is its "live" aspect and its ability to draw large TV and cable audiences—many of them young men—to events in real time. In a third-screen world full of mobile devices, this is a big plus for ESPN and something that advertisers especially like.

Today, the ESPN flagship channel reaches more than 100 million U.S. homes. And ESPN, Inc., now provides a sports smorgasbord—a menu of media offerings that includes ESPN2 (sporting events, news, and original programs), ESPN Classic (historic sporting events), ESPN Deportes (Spanish-language sports network), ESPN HD (high-definition channel), ESPNEWS (twenty-four-hour sports news channel), ESPNU (college games), ESPN Radio, and ESPN Outdoors. ESPN also creates original programming for TV and radio and operates ESPN.com, which is among the most popular sites on the Internet. ESPN makes its various channels available in more than two hundred countries.

Each year, ESPN's channels air more than five thousand live and original hours of sports programming, covering more than sixty-five different sports. In 2002, ESPN even outbid NBC for six years of NBA games—offering $2.4 billion, which at the time was just over a year's worth of ESPN revenues. ESPN's major triumph was probably wrestling the *Monday Night Football* contract away from its sports partner, ABC (both ESPN and ABC are owned by Disney). For eight years, starting in 2006, ESPN agreed to pay the NFL $1.1 billion a year for the broadcasting rights to *MNF*, the most highly rated sports series in prime-time TV history. In 2006, ABC turned over control of its sports programming division, ABC Sports, to ESPN, which now carries games on ABC under the ESPN logo.

The story of ESPN's birth also has its share of drama. The creator of ESPN was Bill Rasmussen, an out-of-work sports announcer who had been fired in 1978 by the New England Whalers (now the Carolina Hurricanes), a professional hockey team. Rasmussen wanted to bring sports programs to cable TV, which was just emerging from the shadow of broadcast television. But few backers thought this would be a good idea. Eventually, Rasmussen managed to land a contract with the NCAA to cover college games. He also lured Anheuser-Busch to become cable's first million-dollar advertiser. Getty Oil then agreed to put up $10 million to finance this sports adventure, and ESPN took off.

Today, ESPN is 80 percent owned by the Disney Company, while the Hearst Corporation holds the other 20 percent interest. The sports giant earned over $14 billion in worldwide revenue in 2013, and ESPN's cable ad sales and higher subscription fees continue to pad Disney's revenues.



Data from: Rani Molla, "How Much Cable Subscribers Pay Per Channel," The Numbers (Wall Street Journal Blog), *August 5, 2014, http://blogs.wsj.com/numbers/how-much-cable-subscribers-pay-per-channel-1626/*

introduced **video-on-demand (VOD)**. This service enables customers to choose among hundreds of titles and watch their selection whenever they want in the same way as a video, pausing and fast-forwarding when desired. Along with online downloading and streaming services and digital video recorders (DVRs), VOD services today are ending the era of the local video store.

Gene Page/© AMC/Everett Collection

THE WALKING DEAD, AMC's hit drama about a zombie apocalypse, has consistently set records for highest Nielsen ratings of a cable series. It also attracts positive buzz and pay-channel subscribers.

DBS: Cable without Wires

By 1999, cable penetration had hit 70 percent. But **direct broadcast satellite (DBS)** services presented a big challenge to cable—especially in regions with rugged terrain and isolated homes, where the installation of cable wiring hasn't always been possible or profitable. Instead of using wires, DBS transmits its signal directly to small satellite dishes near or on customers' homes. As a result, cable penetration dropped to 44 percent by 2012. In addition, new over-the-air digital signals and better online options meant that many customers began moving away from either cable or DBS subscriptions.

Satellite service began in the mid-1970s, when satellite dishes were set up to receive cable programming. Small-town and rural residents bypassed FCC restrictions by buying receiving dishes and downlinking, for free, the same channels that cable companies were supplying to wired communities. Not surprisingly, satellite programmers filed a flurry of legal challenges against those who were receiving their signals for free. Rural communities countered that they had the rights to the airspace above their own property; the satellite firms contended that their signals were being stolen. Because the law was unclear, a number of cable channels began scrambling their signals, and most satellite users had to buy or rent descramblers and subscribe to services, just as cable customers did.

Signal scrambling spawned companies that provided both receiving dishes and satellite program services for a monthly fee. In 1978, Japanese companies, which had been experimenting with "wireless cable" alternatives for years, started the first DBS system in Florida. By 1994, full-scale DBS service was available. Today, DBS companies like DirecTV and Dish (formerly the Dish Network) offer consumers most of the channels and tiers of service that cable companies carry (including Internet, television, and phone services) at a comparable and often cheaper monthly cost.

Technology and Convergence Change Viewing Habits

Among the biggest technical innovations in TV viewing are nontelevision delivery systems. We can skip a network broadcast and still watch our favorite shows on DVRs, laptops, or mobile devices for free or for a nominal cost. Not only is TV being reinvented, but its audiences—although fragmented—are also growing. A few years ago, televisions glimmered in the average U.S. household just over seven hours a day; but by 2014, when you add in downloading, streaming, DVR playback, and smartphone/tablet viewing, that figure has expanded to

LaunchPad

macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

Television Networks Evolve
Insiders discuss how cable and satellite have changed the television market.
Discussion: How might definitions of a TV network change in the realm of new digital media?

more than eight hours a day. All these options mean that we are still watching television but at different times, in different places, and on different kinds of screens.

Home Video

In 1975–76, the consumer introduction of videocassettes and *videocassette recorders (VCRs)* enabled viewers to tape-record TV programs and play them back later. Sony introduced the Betamax ("Beta") in 1975; in 1976, JVC in Japan introduced a slightly larger format—VHS (Video Home System)—which was incompatible with Beta. This triggered a marketing war, which helped drive costs down and put VCRs in more homes. Beta ultimately lost the consumer marketplace battle to VHS, whose larger tapes held more programming space.

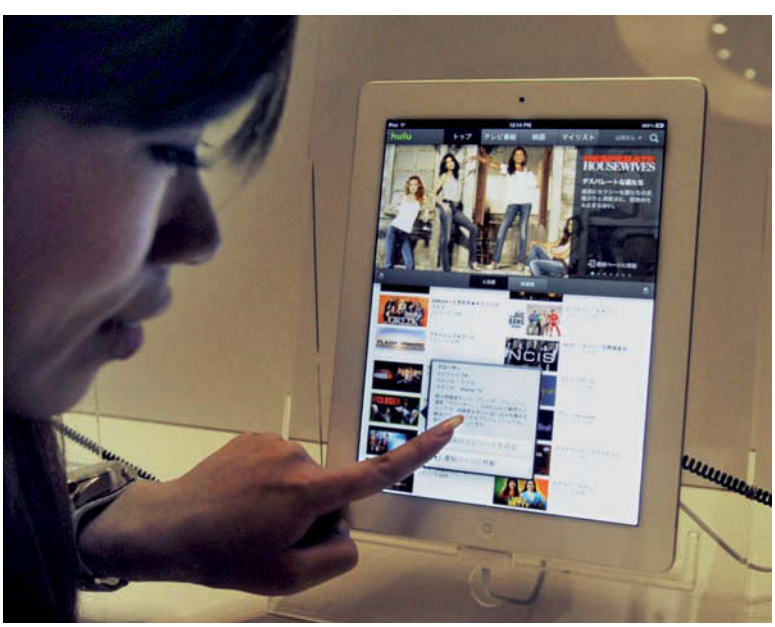
VCRs also got a boost from a failed suit brought against Sony by Disney and MCA (now NBC Universal) in 1976: The two film studios alleged that home taping violated their movie copyrights. In 1979, a federal court ruled in favor of Sony and permitted home taping for personal use. In response, the movie studios quickly set up videotaping facilities so that they could rent and sell movies in video stores, which became popular in the early 1980s.

Over time, the VHS format gave way to DVDs. But today the standard DVD is threatened by both the Internet and a consumer market move toward *high-definition* DVDs. In fact, in 2007, another format war pitted high-definition Blu-ray DVDs (developed by Sony and used in the PlayStation 3) against the HD DVD format (developed by Toshiba and backed by Microsoft). Blu-ray was declared the victor when, in February 2008, Best Buy and Walmart—the nation's leading sellers of DVDs—decided to stop carrying HD DVD players and discs.

By 2012, more than 50 percent of U.S. homes had *DVRs (digital video recorders)*, which enable users to download specific programs onto the DVR's computer memory and watch at a later time. While offering greater flexibility for viewers, DVRs also provide a means to "watch" the watchers. DVRs give advertisers information about what each household views, allowing them to target viewers with specific ads when they play back their programs. This kind of technology has raised concerns among some lawmakers and consumer groups over the tracking of personal viewing and buying habits by marketers.

The impact of home video has been enormous. More than 95 percent of American homes today are equipped with either DVD or DVR players, resulting in two major developments: video rentals and time shifting. Video rentals, formerly the province of walk-in video stores like Blockbuster, have given way to mail services like Netflix or online services like iTunes. **Time shifting**, which began during the VCR era, occurs when viewers record shows and watch them at a later, more convenient time. Time shifting and video rentals, however, have threatened the TV industry's advertising-driven business model; when viewers watch programs on DVDs and DVRs, they often aren't watching the ads that normally accompany network or cable shows.

WATCHING TV ONLINE
Hulu is the second most popular site for watching videos online—after Google's YouTube. Launched in 2008, the site offers content from NBC, ABC/Disney, Fox, PBS, Bravo, FX, USA, E!, movie studios, and others. Many viewers use Hulu for catch-up viewing or watching episodes of current shows after they first air.



Kyodo/Newscom

The Third Screen: TV Converges with the Internet

The Internet has transformed the way many of us, especially younger generations, watch movies, TV, and cable programming. These new online viewing experiences are often labeled **third screens**,

usually meaning that computer screens are the third major way we view content (movie screens and traditional TV sets are the first and second screens, respectively). By far the most popular site for viewing video online is YouTube. Containing some original shows, classic TV episodes, full-length films, and of course the homemade user-uploaded clips that first made the site famous, YouTube remains at the center of video consumption online. Owned by Google, YouTube by 2014 was drawing more than one billion unique visitors per month and reporting these statistics on its Web site: "Over 6 billion hours of video are watched each month on YouTube . . . [and] 100 hours of video are uploaded [to the site] every minute."[3]

But YouTube has competition from sites that offer full-length episodes of current and recent programming. While viewers might be able to watch snippets of a show on YouTube, it's rare that they will find a full episode of popular, professionally produced TV shows like *Mad Men*, *New Girl*, and *Homeland*. Services like iTunes or Amazon Instant Video offer the ability to download full seasons of these shows, charging just $0.99 to $2.99 per episode. And streaming site Hulu (a partnership among NBC, Fox, and Disney) allows viewers to watch a certain number of episodes of a show for free—but with ads.

In late 2010, Hulu started Hulu Plus, a paid subscription service. For about $8 a month, viewers can stream full seasons of current and older programs and some movies and documentaries on their computer, TV, or mobile device. Hulu Plus had more than 6 million subscribers by 2014, up from 2 million in early 2012. HBO Now, a stand-alone version of HBO, launched in 2015, allowing viewers to watch cable-free content on Apple devices. Netflix, which started streaming videos back in 2008, has moved further away from a DVD-through-mail model and has become more focused on a less expensive (no postal costs) online streaming model. According to Nielsen's 2014 "Digital Consumer" report, "38 percent of U.S. consumers say they subscribe to or use Netflix to stream video."[4] With over 41.4 million U.S. subscribers by 2015, Netflix has become much bigger than Comcast, the largest cable company, with its 22 million U.S. subscribers.[5] Netflix has also been negotiating with major film and TV studios for the rights to stream current episodes of prime-time television shows—and seemed willing to pay between $70,000 and $100,000 per episode.[6]

In addition, cable TV giants like Comcast and Time Warner are making programs available to download or stream through sites like Xfinity TV and TV Everywhere. These programs are open only to subscribers, who can download cable TV shows using a password and username. In 2012, Netflix, looking to increase its subscriber base, started talks with some of the largest U.S. cable operators about adding Netflix as part of their cable packages. However, cable and DBS companies are thus far resisting Netflix's proposition and rolling out their own video-streaming services instead. Comcast introduced Xfinity Streampix in February 2012, expanding the Xfinity offerings to include even more movies from top Hollywood studios and past seasons of TV shows. The goal, according to Comcast executive Marcien Jenckes, is "to be the single stop for video needs for consumers."[7] Other companies have attempted to create streaming services of their own, though some, like Redbox, have failed to catch on.

In most cases, these third-screen sites operate as *catch-up services* rather than as replacements for broadcast or cable TV, allowing viewers and fans to "catch up" on movies and programs that played earlier in theaters

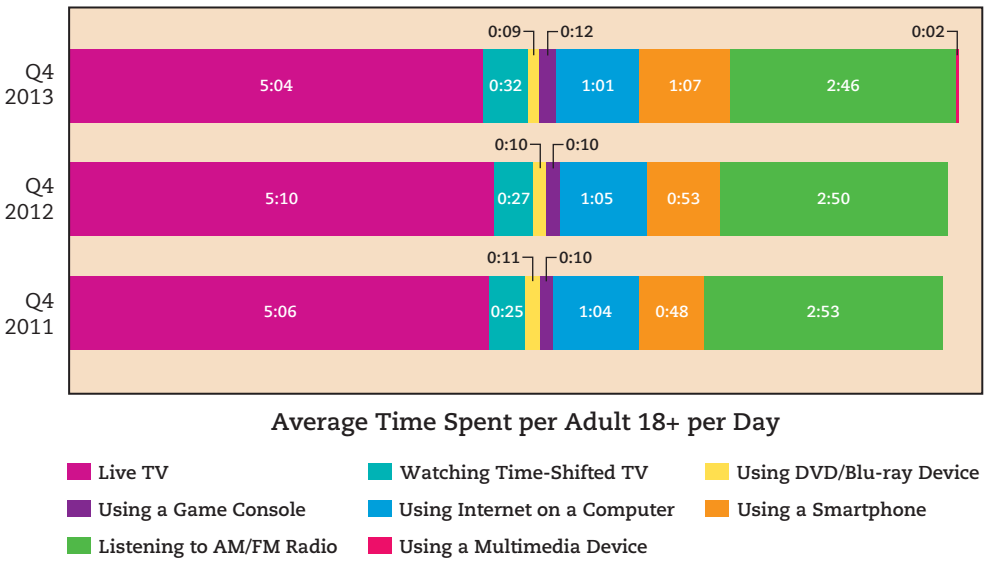
THE MINDY PROJECT aired on Fox for three seasons; the network canceled the low-rated cult favorite in 2015. However, Hulu, seeking to expand its original programming lineup, commissioned two new seasons of thirteen episodes each—a continuation that would have been unthinkable just a few years earlier.

© 20thCentFox/Everett Collection

FIGURE 6.2

CROSS-PLATFORM VIEWING IN HOURS AND MINUTES

Data from: Nielsen, An Era of Growth: The Cross-Platform Report, *March 2014, http://penngood.com /wp-content/uploads/2014/03 /nielsen-cross-platform-report -march-2014.pdf*



or on television (see Figure 6.2). Now, with devices like the Roku box and gaming consoles that can stream programming directly to our television sets, and newer television sets that are Internet ready, the TV itself has become one of the latest converged devices.

MEDIA ON THE GO

Downloading or streaming TV episodes to smartphones and other mobile devices lets us take our favorite shows with us wherever we go. By expanding where and when we consume such programming, these devices encourage the development of new ways to view and engage with the media. How have your own viewing habits changed over the last few years?

Fourth Screens: Smartphones and Mobile Video

According to Nielsen's 2014 "Digital Consumer" report, 84 percent of smartphone and tablet owners said they used those devices as an additional screen while watching television "at the same time."[8] Such multitasking has further accelerated with new **fourth-screen** technologies like smartphones, iPods, iPads, and mobile TV devices. For the past few years, these devices have forced major changes in consumer viewing habits and media content creation. Thus cable and DBS operators have begun to capitalize on this trend: Cablevision, Time Warner, and the Dish Network released iPad apps in 2011, allowing their subscribers to watch live TV on their iPads at no additional charge in the hopes of deterring their customers from cutting their subscriptions. However, some cable programmers—like Discovery and Viacom—are pushing back, arguing that their existing contracts with cable and DBS operators don't cover third or fourth screens.

J. Emilio Flores/The New York Times/Redux Pictures

The multifunctionality and portability of third- and fourth-screen devices mean that consumers may no longer need television sets—just as landline telephones have fallen out of favor as more people rely solely on their mobile phones. If *where* we watch TV programming changes, does TV programming also need to change to keep up? Reality shows like *The Voice* and dramas like *Game of Thrones*—with many contestants or characters and multiple plotlines—are considered best suited for the digital age, enabling viewers to talk to one another on various social networks about favorite singers, characters, and plot twists at the same time as they watch these programs on traditional—or nontraditional—TV.

Major Programming Trends

Television programming began by borrowing genres from radio, such as variety shows, sitcoms, soap operas, and newscasts. Starting in 1955, the Big Three networks gradually moved their entertainment divisions to Los Angeles because of its proximity to Hollywood production studios. Network news operations, however, remained in New York. Ever since, Los Angeles and New York came to represent the two major branches of TV programming: *entertainment* and *information*. Although there is considerable blurring between these categories today, the two were once more distinct. In the sections that follow, we focus on these long-standing program developments and explore newer trends (see Figure 6.3).

TV Entertainment: Our Comic Culture

The networks began to move their entertainment divisions to Los Angeles partly because of the success of the pioneering comedy series *I Love Lucy* (1951–1957). *Lucy*'s owners and costars, Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, began filming the top-rated sitcom in California near their home. In 1951, *Lucy* became the first TV program to be filmed before a live Hollywood audience. Prior to the days of videotape (invented in 1956), the only way to preserve a live broadcast, other than filming it like a movie, was through a technique called **kinescope**. In this process, a film camera recorded a live TV show off a studio monitor. The quality of the kinescope was poor, and most series that were saved in this way have not survived. *I Love Lucy*, *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, and *Dragnet* are among a handful of series from the 1950s that have endured

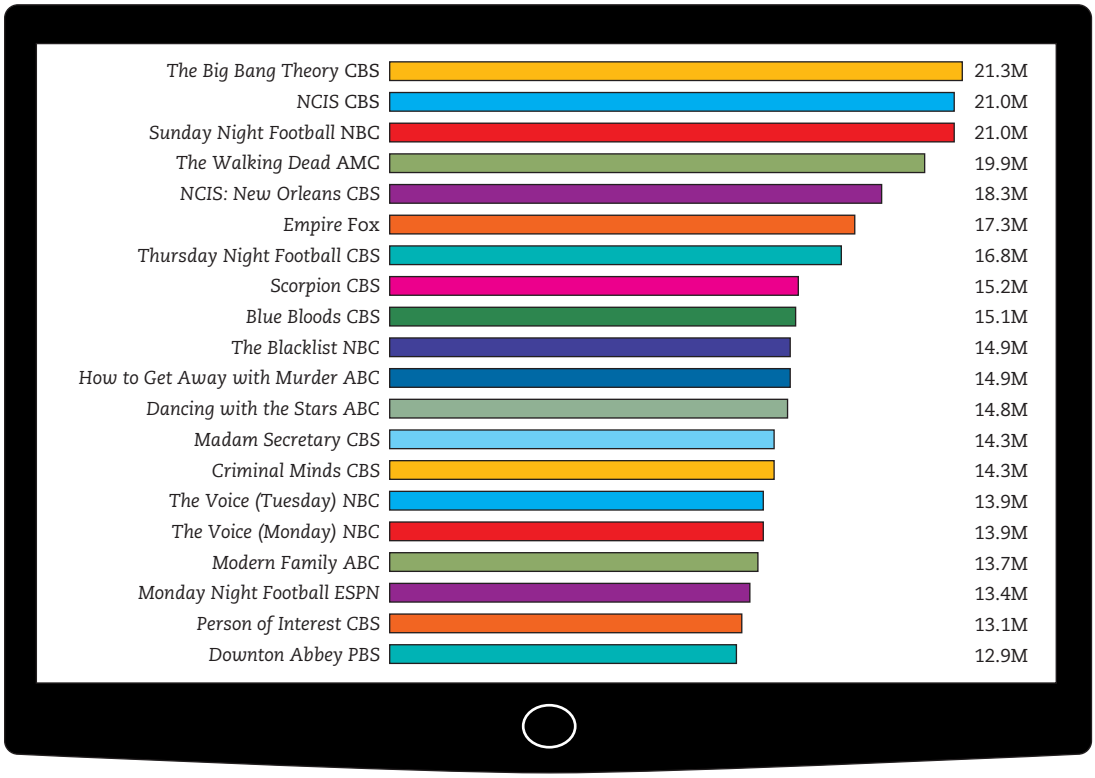


FIGURE 6.3

THE TOP 20 SHOWS OF THE 2014–15 SEASON*

*In millions of viewers, including first seven days of DVR data.

Data from: TV Insider, *"These Are the Most-Watched TV Shows of the 2014-2015 Season," June 3, 2015, www.tvinsider.com/article/1989/top-50-tv-shows-2014-2015-highest-rated-winners-and-losers.*

CBS Photo Archive/Getty Images

COMEDIES are often among the most popular shows on television. *I Love Lucy* was the top-ranked show from 1952 to 1955 and was a model for other shows, such as *Dick Van Dyke, Laverne & Shirley, Roseanne,* and *Will & Grace*.

because they were originally shot and preserved on film, like movies. In capturing *I Love Lucy* on film for future generations, the program's producers understood the enduring appeal of comedy, which is a central programming strategy both for broadcast networks and cable. TV comedy is usually delivered in two formats: sketch comedy and situation comedy (usually referred to as sitcoms).

Sketch comedy, or short comedy skits, was a key element in early TV variety shows, which also included singers, dancers, acrobats, animal acts, stand-up comics, and ventriloquists. According to one TV historian, variety shows "resurrected the essentials of stage variety entertainment" and played to noisy studio audiences.[9] Vaudeville and stage performers were TV's first stars of sketch comedy. They included Milton Berle, TV's first major celebrity, in *Texaco Star Theater* (1948–1967), and Sid Caesar, Imogene Coca, and Carl Reiner in *Your Show of Shows* (1950–1954), for which playwright Neil Simon, filmmakers Mel Brooks and Woody Allen, and writer Larry Gelbart (*M*A*S*H*) all served for a time as writers. Today, NBC's *Saturday Night Live* (1975–) carries on the sketch comedy tradition. Sketches on *SNL* have inspired several feature-length movies over the years, including *The Blues Brothers* (1980), *Wayne's World* (1992), *Stuart Saves His Family* (1995, starring former *SNL* writer and current U.S. senator Al Franken), and *MacGruber* (2010).

However, the hour-long variety series in which these skits appeared were more expensive to produce than half-hour sitcoms. Also, these skits on the weekly variety shows used up new routines very quickly. The ventriloquist Edgar Bergen (father of actress Candice Bergen) once commented that "no comedian should be on TV once a week; he shouldn't be on more than once a month."[10] With original skits and new sets being required each week, production costs mounted, and the vaudeville-influenced variety series faded. Since the early 1980s, network variety shows have appeared only as yearly specials.

The **situation comedy**, or *sitcom*, features a recurring cast; each episode establishes a narrative situation, complicates it, develops increasing confusion among its characters, and then usually resolves the complications.[11] *I Love Lucy*, *Seinfeld, New Girl*, *The Big Bang Theory*, and *It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia* are all examples of this genre.

In most sitcoms, character development is downplayed in favor of zany plots. Characters are usually static and predictable, and they generally do not develop much during the course of a series. Such characters "are never troubled in profound ways." Stress, more often the result of external confusion rather than emotional anxiety, "is always funny."[12] Much like viewers of soap operas, sitcom fans feel just a little bit smarter than the characters, whose lives seem wacky and out of control. In some sitcoms (once referred to as "domestic comedies"), characters and settings are typically more important than complicated predicaments. Although an episode might offer a goofy situation as a subplot, the main narrative usually features a personal problem or family crisis that characters have to resolve. Greater emphasis is placed on character development than on reestablishing the order that has been disrupted by confusion. Such comedies take place primarily at home (*Modern Family*), at the workplace (*Parks and Recreation*), or at both (*Curb Your Enthusiasm*).

In TV history, some sitcoms of the domestic variety have mixed dramatic and comedic elements. This blurring of serious and comic themes marks a contemporary hybrid, sometimes labeled *dramedy*, which has included such series as *The Wonder Years* (1988–1993), *Ally McBeal* (1997–2002), HBO's *Sex and the City* (1999–2004), Showtime's *The Big C* (2010–2013), and Fox's musical-dramedy *Glee* (2009–2015).

© ABC/Photofest

SOME SITCOMS focus on character relationships rather than screwball plots, and they often also reflect social and cultural issues of the time in which the show is set. For example, ABC's *Fresh Off the Boat* features an Asian American family adjusting to life in Florida in the late 1990s.

TV Entertainment: Our Dramatic Culture

Because the production of TV entertainment was centered in New York City in its early days, many of its ideas, sets, technicians, actors, and directors came from New York theater. Young stage actors—including Anne Bancroft, Ossie Davis, James Dean, Grace Kelly, Paul Newman, Sidney Poitier, Robert Redford, and Joanne Woodward—often worked in television if they could not find stage work. The TV dramas that grew from these early influences fit roughly into two categories: the anthology drama and the episodic series.

Anthology Drama and the Miniseries

In the early 1950s, television—like cable in the early 1980s—served a more elite and wealthier audience. **Anthology dramas** brought live dramatic theater to that audience. Influenced by stage plays, anthologies offered new, artistically significant *teleplays* (scripts written for television), casts, directors, writers, and sets from one week to the next. In the 1952–53 season alone, there were eighteen anthology dramas, including *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (1955–1965), the *Twilight Zone* (1959–1964), and *Kraft Television Theater* (1947–1958), which was created to introduce Kraft's Cheez Whiz.

The anthology's brief run as a dramatic staple on television ended for both economic and political reasons. First, advertisers disliked anthologies because they often presented stories containing complex human problems that were not easily resolved. The commercials that interrupted the drama, however, told upbeat stories in which problems were easily solved by purchasing a product; by contrast, anthologies made the simplicity of the commercial pitch ring false. A second reason for the demise of anthology dramas was a change in audience. The people who could afford TV sets in the early 1950s could also afford tickets to a play. For these viewers, the anthology drama was a welcome addition given their cultural tastes. By 1956, however, working- and middle-class families were increasingly able to afford television, and the prices of sets dropped. Anthology dramas were not as popular in this newly expanded market. Third, anthology dramas were expensive to produce—double the cost of most other TV genres in the 1950s—because each week meant a new story line, along with new writers, casts, and sets. Sponsors and networks came to realize that it would be easier and less expensive to build audience allegiance with an ongoing program featuring the same cast and set.

Finally, anthologies that dealt seriously with the changing social landscape were sometimes labeled "politically controversial." This was especially true during the attempts by Senator Joseph McCarthy and his followers to rid media industries and government agencies of left-leaning political influences. (See Chapter 16 for more on blacklisting.) By the early 1960s, this dramatic form had virtually disappeared from network television, although its legacy continues

on public television with the imported British program *Masterpiece Theatre* (1971–)—now known as either *Masterpiece Classic* or *Masterpiece Mystery!*—the longest-running prime-time drama series on U.S. television.

In fact, these British shows resemble U.S. TV *miniseries*—serialized TV shows that run over a two-day to two-week period, usually on consecutive evenings. A cross between an extended anthology drama and a network serial, the most famous U.S. miniseries was probably *Roots* (1977), based on Alex Haley's novelized version of his family's slave history. The final episode of *Roots,* which ran on eight consecutive nights, drew an audience of more than 100 million viewers. Contemporary British series like *Doc Martin* (2005–), *Downton Abbey* (2010–2016), and *Sherlock* (2011–) last three to eight episodes over a few weeks, making them more like miniseries than traditional network dramas, even though they have multiple seasons. The miniseries has also experienced a recent resurgence in the United States, with high-quality and popular miniseries on cable like *True Detective* (HBO), *American Horror Story* (FX), and *Hatfields and McCoys* (History Channel).

Episodic Series

Abandoning anthologies, producers and writers increasingly developed **episodic series**, first used on radio in 1929. In this format, main characters continue from week to week, sets and locales remain the same, and technical crews stay with the program. The episodic series comes in two general types: chapter shows and serial programs.

Chapter shows are self-contained stories with a recurring set of main characters who confront a problem, face a series of conflicts, and find a resolution. This structure can be used in a wide range of sitcoms—like *The Big Bang Theory* (2007–)—and dramatic genres, including adult westerns like *Gunsmoke* (1955–1975); police/detective shows like *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (2000–2015); and science fiction like *Star Trek* (1966–1969). Culturally, television dramas often function as a window into the hopes and fears of the American psyche. For example, in the 1970s, police/detective dramas became a staple, mirroring anxieties about the urban unrest of the time, precipitated by the decline of manufacturing and the loss of factory jobs. Americans' popular entertainment reflected the idea of heroic police and tenacious detectives protecting a nation from menacing forces that were undermining the economy and the cities. Such shows as *Hawaii Five-O* (1968–1980), *The Mod Squad* (1968–1973), and *The Rockford Files* (1974–1980) all ranked among the nation's top-rated programs during that time.

In contrast to chapter shows, **serial programs** are open-ended episodic shows; that is, most story lines continue from episode to episode. Cheaper to produce than chapter shows, employing just a few indoor sets, and running five days a week, daytime *soap operas* are among the longest-running serial programs in the history of television. Acquiring their name from soap product ads that sponsored these programs in the days of fifteen-minute radio dramas, soaps feature cliff-hanging story lines and intimate close-up shots that tend to create strong audience allegiance. Soaps also probably do the best job of any genre at imitating the actual open-ended rhythms of daily life. However, popular daytime network soaps have mostly disappeared in the digital age, with so many choices and small screens drawing away viewers, especially younger ones. But *General Hospital* (1963–), *The Young and the Restless* (1973–), and two other serials were still kicking in the 2014–2015 TV season. Just ten years earlier, though, ten daytime soaps ran on the networks' daytime schedules.

Another type of drama is the *hybrid,* which developed in the early 1980s with the appearance of *Hill Street Blues* (1981–1987). Often mixing comic situations and grim plots, this multiple-cast show looked like an open-ended soap opera. On occasion, as in real life, crimes were not solved and recurring characters died. As a hybrid form, *Hill Street Blues* combined elements of both chapter and serial television by featuring some self-contained plots that were resolved in a single episode as well as other plotlines that continued from week to week. This blend has been used by many successful dramatic hybrids, including *The X-Files* (1993–2002),

LaunchPad
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Television Drama: Then and Now
Head to LaunchPad to watch clips from two different drama series: one several decades old, and one recent.
Discussion: What evidence of storytelling changes can you see by comparing and contrasting the two clips?

Buffy the Vampire Slayer (1997–2003), *Lost* (2004–2010), TNT's *The Closer* (2005–2012), and AMC's *Breaking Bad* (2008–2013) and *The Walking Dead* (2010–).

TV Information: Our Daily News Culture

Chuck Hodes/© Fox/Everett Collection

EMPIRE, a soapy Fox drama series about the music industry featuring several big-name actors including Terrence Howard and Taraji P. Henson, quickly became one of TV's biggest hits in 2015, during a time when many doubted the ability of network programming to attract large audiences. The show, which only produced twelve episodes for its first season, also spawned a hit soundtrack album.

For about forty years (from the 1960s to the 2000s), broadcast news, especially on local TV stations, consistently topped print journalism in national research polls that asked which news medium was most trustworthy. Most studies at the time suggested that this had to do with TV's intimacy as a medium—its ability to create loyalty with viewers who connect personally with the news anchors we "invite" into our living rooms each evening. Print reporters and editors, by comparison, seemed anonymous and detached. But this distinction began breaking down as print reporters started discussing their work on cable TV news programs and became more accessible to their readers through e-mail, blogs, and newspaper Web sites. In this section, we focus on the traditional network evening news, its history, and the changes in TV news ushered in by twenty-four-hour cable news channels.

Network News

Originally featuring a panel of reporters interrogating political figures, NBC's weekly *Meet the Press* (1947–) is the oldest show on television. Daily evening newscasts, though, began on NBC in February 1948 with the *Camel Newsreel Theater*, sponsored by the cigarette company. Originally a ten-minute Fox Movietone newsreel that was also shown in theaters, it became a live, fifteen-minute broadcast in 1949. In 1956, the *Huntley Brinkley Report* debuted with Chet Huntley in New York and David Brinkley in Washington, D.C. This coanchored NBC program became the most popular TV evening news show at the time and served as the dual-anchor model for hundreds of local news broadcasts. After Huntley retired in 1970, the program was renamed *NBC Nightly News*. Tom Brokaw eventually settled in as sole anchor in September 1983 and passed the chair to Brian Williams in 2004. In 2015, amid a scandal over inaccurate statements, Williams was replaced by Lester Holt, the first black solo anchor on network news.

Over at CBS, the network's flagship evening news program, *The CBS-TV News* with Douglas Edwards, premiered in May 1948. In 1956, the program became the first news show to be videotaped for rebroadcast on **affiliate stations** (stations that contract with a network to carry its programs) in Central and Western time zones. Walter Cronkite succeeded Edwards in 1962, starting a nineteen-year run as the influential anchor of the renamed *CBS Evening News*. Some critics believe Cronkite's eventual on-air opposition to the Vietnam War helped convince mainstream Americans to oppose it. Cronkite retired and gave way to Dan Rather in 1981. In 2006, CBS hired Katie Couric to serve as the first woman solo anchor on a network evening news program. But with stagnant ratings, she was replaced in 2011 by Scott Pelley.

After premiering an unsuccessful daily program in 1948, ABC launched a daily news show in 1953, anchored by John Daly—the head of ABC News and the host of CBS's evening game show *What's My Line?* After Daly left in 1960, John Cameron Swayze, Peter Jennings, Harry Reasoner, and Howard K. Smith all took a turn in the anchor's chair. In 1978, *ABC World News Tonight* premiered, featuring four anchors: Frank Reynolds in Washington, D.C.; Jennings in London; Barbara Walters

CBS Photo Archive/Getty Images

WALTER CRONKITE
In 1968, after popular CBS news anchor Walter Cronkite visited Vietnam, CBS produced the documentary *Report from Vietnam by Walter Cronkite*. At the end of the program, Cronkite offered this terse observation: "It is increasingly clear to this reporter that the only rational way out then will be to negotiate, not as victors but as an honorable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy, and did the best they could." Most political observers said that Cronkite's opposition to the war influenced President Johnson's decision not to seek reelection.

in New York; and Max Robinson in Chicago. Robinson was the first black reporter to coanchor a network news program, while Walters was the first woman. In 1983, Jennings became the sole anchor of the broadcast. After Jennings's death in 2005, his spot was shared by coanchors Elizabeth Vargas and Bob Woodruff (who was severely injured covering the Iraq War in 2006) until Charles Gibson—from ABC's *Good Morning America*—took over in 2006. Gibson retired in 2009 and was replaced by Diane Sawyer, formerly of CBS's *60 Minutes* and ABC's *Good Morning America.* David Muir took over in 2014.

Cable News Changes the Game

The first 24/7 cable TV news channel, Cable News Network (CNN), premiered in 1980 and was the brainchild of Ted Turner, who had already revolutionized cable with his Atlanta-based superstation WTBS (Turner Broadcast Service). When Turner turned a profit with CNN in 1985 (along with its sister Headline News channel), the traditional networks began to take notice of cable news. The success of CNN revealed a need and a lucrative market for twenty-four-hour news. Spawning a host of competitors in the United States and worldwide, CNN now battles for viewers with other twenty-four-hour news providers, including the Fox News Channel; MSNBC; CNBC; Euronews; British Sky Broadcasting; and thousands of Web and blog sites, like *Politico*, the *Huffington Post*, the *Drudge Report*, and *Salon*.

Cable news has significantly changed the TV news game by offering viewers information and stories in a 24/7 loop. Rather than waiting until 5:30 or 6:30 P.M. to watch the national network news, viewers can access news updates and breaking stories at any time. Cable news also challenges the network program formulas. Daily opinion programs, such as MSNBC's *Rachel Maddow Show* and Fox News' *Sean Hannity Show*, often celebrate argument, opinion, and speculation over traditional reporting based on verified facts. These programs emerged primarily because of their low cost compared with that of traditional network news. At the same time, satirical "fake news" programs like *The Daily Show* have challenged traditional news outlets by discussing the news in larger contexts, something the conventional thirty-minute daily broadcasts rarely do. (See Chapter 14 for more on fake news programs.)

Reality TV and Other Enduring Genres

Up to this point, we have focused on long-standing TV program trends, but many other genres have played major roles in TV's history, both inside and outside prime time. Talk shows like the *Tonight Show* (1954–) have fed our curiosity about celebrities and politicians and have offered satire on politics and business. Game shows like *Jeopardy!* (which has been around in some version since 1964) have provided families with easy-to-digest current events and historical trivia. Variety programs like the *Ed Sullivan Show* (1948–1971) took center stage in Americans' cultural lives by introducing new comics, opera divas, and popular musical phenomena like Elvis Presley and the Beatles. Newsmagazines like *60 Minutes* (1968–) shed light on major events, from the Watergate scandal in the 1970s to the reelection of President Obama in 2012. And all kinds of sporting events—from boxing and wrestling to the Olympics and the Super Bowl—have allowed us to follow our favorite teams and athletes.

Reality-based programs are the newest significant trend; they include everything from *The Voice* and *Deadliest Catch* to *Top Chef* and *Teen Mom*. One reason for their popularity is that these shows introduce us to characters and people who seem more "like us" and less like celebrities. Additionally, these programs have helped the networks and cable providers deal with the high cost of programming. Featuring nonactors, cheap sets, and no extensive scripts, reality shows are much less expensive to produce than sitcoms and dramas. While reality-based programs have played a major role in network prime time since the late 1990s, the genre was actually inspired by cable's *The Real World* (1992–), the longest-running program on MTV. Changing locations and casts from season to season, *The Real World* follows a group of strangers who live and work together for a few months and records their interpersonal entanglements and up-and-down relationships. *The Real World* has significantly influenced the structure of today's reality TV programs, including *Survivor*, *Project Runway*, *Teen Mom,* and *Dancing with the Stars*. (See "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: TV and the State of Storytelling" on page 210.)

© Discovery Channel/Photofest

DISCOVERY CHANNEL launched in 1985 and is one of the most widely distributed cable networks today. Its dedication to top-quality nonfictional and reality programming—typically on themes of popular science, nature, history, and geography—has won the channel several Emmy nominations and awards. One of its most popular programs, *Deadliest Catch* (2005–), focuses on several crab fishing crews. The drama comes from the nail-biting action on the fishing vessels, but the interpersonal relationships—and rivalries—among cast members provide juicy story lines.

Another growing trend is Spanish-language television, like Univision and Telemundo. For the 2013–14 TV season, the popular network Univision reached about 3 million viewers in prime time each day (compared with 1.9 million for the CW or 10.6 million for CBS, the top-rated network). That was down from 3.7 million in 2012–13. But in June 2014, Univision's ratings soared during soccer's World Cup. Sometimes beating ESPN throughout the World Cup, Univision had nearly 7 million viewers for the Brazil–Mexico match. The first foreign-language U.S. network began in 1961, when the owners of the nation's first Spanish-language TV station in San Antonio acquired a TV station in Los Angeles, setting up what was then called the Spanish International Network. It officially became Univision in 1986 and has built audiences in major urban areas with large Hispanic populations through its popular talk-variety programs and *telenovelas* (Spanish-language soap operas, mostly produced in Mexico), which air each weekday evening. Today, Univision Communications owns and operates more than sixty TV stations in the United States. Its Univision Network, carried by seventeen hundred cable affiliates, reaches almost all U.S. Hispanic households.

Public Television Struggles to Find Its Place

Another key programmer in TV history has been public television. Under President Lyndon Johnson, and in response to a report from the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, Congress passed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, establishing the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and later, in 1969, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). In part, Congress intended public television to target viewers who were "less attractive" to commercial networks and advertisers. Besides providing programs for viewers over age fifty, public television has figured prominently in programming for audiences under age twelve, with children's series like *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* (1968–2001), *Sesame Street* (1969–), and *Barney & Friends* (1991–). The major networks have largely abdicated the responsibility of developing educational series aimed at children under age twelve. When Congress passed a law in 1996 ordering the networks to offer three hours of children's educational programming per week, the networks sidestepped the mandate by taking advantage of the law's vagueness on what constituted

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Pick a current reality program and a current sitcom or drama. Choose programs that either started in the last year or two or have been on television for roughly the same period of time. Now develop a "viewing sheet" that allows you to take notes as you watch the two programs over a three- to four-week period. Keep track of main characters, plotlines, settings, conflicts, and resolutions. Also track the main problems that are posed in the programs and how they are portrayed or worked out in each episode. Find out and compare the basic production costs of each program.

2 ANALYSIS. Look for patterns and differences in the ways stories are told in the two programs. At a general level, what are the conflicts about? (For example, are they about men versus women, managers versus employees, tradition versus change, individuals versus institutions, honesty versus dishonesty, authenticity versus artificiality?) How complicated or simple are the tensions in the two programs, and how are problems resolved? Are there some conflicts that you feel should not be permitted—like pitting older contestants against younger or white against black? Are there noticeable differences between "the look" of each program?

3 INTERPRETATION. What do some of the patterns mean? What seems to be the point of each program? What do the programs say about relationships, values, masculinity or femininity, power, social class, and so on?

4 EVALUATION. What are the strengths and weaknesses of each program? Which program would you judge as better at telling a compelling story that you want to watch each week? How could each program improve its storytelling?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Either through online forums or via personal contacts, find other viewers of these programs. Ask them follow-up questions about what they like or don't like about such shows, what they might change, and what the programs' creators might do differently. Then report your findings to the programs' producers through a letter, a phone call, or an e-mail. Try to elicit responses from the producers about the status of their programs. How did they respond to your findings?

TV and the State of Storytelling

The rise of the reality program over the past decade has more to do with the cheaper cost of this genre than with the wild popularity of these programs. In fact, in the history of television and viewer numbers, traditional sitcoms and dramas—and even prime-time news programs like *60 Minutes* and *20/20*—have been far more popular than successful reality programs like *American Idol*. But when national broadcast TV executives cut costs by reducing writing and production staffs and hiring "regular people" instead of trained actors, does the craft of storytelling suffer at the expense of commercial savings? Can good stories be told in a reality program? In this exercise, let's compare the storytelling competence of a reality program with that of a more traditional comedy sitcom or drama.

"educational" to claim that many of their routine sitcoms, cartoons, and dramatic shows satisfied the legislation's requirements.

The original Carnegie Commission report also recommended that Congress create a financial plan to provide long-term support for public television, in part to protect it from political interference. However, Congress did not do this, nor did it require wealthy commercial broadcasters to subsidize public television (as many other countries do). As federal funding levels dropped in the 1980s, PBS depended more and more on corporate underwriting. By the early 2000s, corporate sponsors funded more than 25 percent of all public television, although corporate sponsorship declined in 2009 as the economy suffered. In 2010, Congress gave an extra $25 million to PBS to help sustain it during the economic downturn.[13] However, only about 15 percent of funding for public broadcasting (which includes both television and radio) has come from the federal government, with the bulk of support being provided by viewers, listeners, and corporations.

Despite support from the Obama administration, in 2011 the Republican-controlled House voted to ax all funding of the CPB in 2013. The Senate killed this effort, and the CPB did receive $430 million in federal funding for 2012. Anticipating decreased government support, public broadcasting began inserting promotional messages from sponsors every fifteen minutes in some programs beginning in fall 2011.[14] Some critics and public TV executives worried that such corporate messages would offend loyal viewers accustomed to uninterrupted programming and would compromise public television's mission to air programs that might be considered controversial or commercially less viable.

Also troubling to public television (in contrast to public radio, which increased its audience from two million listeners per week in 1980 to more than thirty million per week in 2010) is that the audience for PBS has declined. PBS content chief John Boland attributed the loss to the same market fragmentation and third-screen technology that has plagued the broadcast networks: "We are spread thin in trying to maintain our TV service and meet the needs of consumers on other platforms."[15] One viewer segment that PBS is watching closely is the children's audience—which declined 22 percent between 2010 and 2014. Initially PBS's toughest competitors were cable services like Nickelodeon, Nick Jr., Disney, Disney Junior, Sprout, and the Cartoon Network. But those channels saw similar ratings declines in that same time period. One report suggests that more and more parents are using on-demand services like Netflix to control what their children watch, while other reports indicate that educational video games and tablets are commanding more attention from younger viewers.[16]

Photofest

PUBLIC TELEVISION
The most influential children's show in TV history, *Sesame Street* (1969–) has been teaching children their letters and numbers for more than forty-five years. The program has also helped break down ethnic, racial, and class barriers by introducing TV audiences to a rich and diverse cast of puppets and people.

Regulatory Challenges to Television and Cable

Though cable cut into broadcast TV's viewership, both types of programming came under scrutiny from the U.S. government. Initially, thanks to extensive lobbying efforts, cable's growth was suppressed to ensure that no harm came to local broadcasters and traditional TV networks' ad revenue streams. Later, as cable developed, FCC officials worried that power and profits were growing increasingly concentrated in fewer and fewer industry players' hands. Thus the FCC set out to mitigate the situation through a variety of rules and regulations.

Government Regulations Temporarily Restrict Network Control

By the late 1960s, a progressive and active FCC, increasingly concerned about the monopoly-like impact of the Big Three networks, passed a series of regulations that began undercutting their power. The first, the **Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR)**, introduced in April 1970, reduced the networks' control of prime-time programming from four to three hours. This move was an effort to encourage more local news and public affairs programs, usually slated for the 6–7 P.M. time block. However, most stations simply ran thirty minutes of local news at 6 P.M. and then acquired syndicated quiz shows (*Wheel of Fortune*) or *infotainment* programs (*Entertainment Tonight*) to fill up the remaining half hour, during which they could sell lucrative regional ads.

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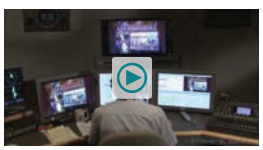

What Makes Public Television Public?
TV executives and critics explain how public television is different from broadcast and cable networks.
Discussion: In a commercial media system that includes hundreds of commercial channels, what do you see as the role of public systems like PBS and NPR?

In a second move, in 1970 the FCC created the Financial Interest and Syndication Rules—called **fin-syn**—which "constituted the most damaging attack against the network TV monopoly in FCC history," according to one historian.[17] Throughout the 1960s, the networks had run their own syndication companies. The networks sometimes demanded as much as 50 percent of the profits that TV producers earned from airing older shows as reruns in local TV markets. This was the case even though those shows were no longer on the networks and most of them had been developed not by the networks but by independent companies. The networks claimed that since popular TV series had gained a national audience because of the networks' reach, production companies owed them compensation even after shows completed their prime-time runs. The FCC banned the networks from reaping such profits from program syndication.

The Department of Justice instituted a third policy action in 1975. Reacting to a number of legal claims against monopolistic practices, the Justice Department limited the networks' production of non-news shows, requiring them to seek most of their programming from independent production companies and film studios. Initially, the limit was three hours of network-created prime-time entertainment programs per week, but this was raised to five hours by the late 1980s. In addition, the networks were limited to producing eight hours per week of in-house entertainment or non-news programs outside prime time, most of which were devoted to soap operas (which were inexpensive to produce and popular with advertisers). However, given that the networks could produce their own TV newsmagazines and select which programs to license, they retained a great deal of power over the content of prime-time television.

With the growth of cable and home video in the 1990s, the FCC gradually phased out the ban limiting network production because the TV market grew more competitive. Beginning in 1995, the networks were again allowed to syndicate and profit from rerun programs, but only from those they produced. The elimination of fin-syn and other rules opened the door for megadeals (such as Disney's acquisition of ABC in 1995) that have constrained independent producers from creating new shows and competing in prime time. Many independent companies and TV critics have complained that the corporations that now own the networks—Disney, CBS, 21st Century Fox, and Comcast—have exerted too much power and control over broadcast television content.

Balancing Cable's Growth against Broadcasters' Interests

By the early 1970s, cable's rapid growth, capacity for more channels, and better reception led the FCC to seriously examine industry issues. In 1972, the commission updated or enacted two regulations with long-term effects on cable's expansion: must-carry rules and access-channel mandates.

Must-Carry Rules

First established by the FCC in 1965 and reaffirmed in 1972, the **must-carry rules** required all cable operators to assign channels to and carry all local TV broadcasts on their systems. This rule ensured that local network affiliates, independent stations (those not carrying network programs), and public television channels would benefit from cable's clearer reception. However, to protect regional TV stations and their local advertising, the guidelines limited the number of distant commercial TV signals that a cable system could import to two or three independent stations per market. The guidelines also prohibited cable companies from bringing in network-affiliated stations from another city when a local station already carried that network's programming.

Access-Channel Mandates

In 1972, the FCC also mandated **access channels** in the nation's top one hundred TV markets, requiring cable systems to provide and fund a tier of nonbroadcast channels dedicated to local education, government, and the public. The FCC required large-market cable operators to

ELSEWHERE IN MEDIA & CULTURE

IS THE ERA OF A MASS AUDIENCE OVER?

p. 187

12M

the record-breaking first print run of the last *Harry Potter* book

p. 349

$36.4B

total global movie box-office revenue in 2014

p. 255

CAN MOVIES CAUSE REAL-WORLD VIOLENCE?

p. 511

36%

THE AMOUNT OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH A NETFLIX SUBSCRIPTION IN 2015

p. 261

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SEINFELD (1989–1998) was not an immediate hit, but it was in the ratings top three for the final five of its nine seasons. Now, over twenty-five years after its first episode, the show can still be seen in heavy syndication on TV. Produced by Sony Pictures Television, *Seinfeld* is the type of successful show the fin-syn rules targeted to keep out of the networks' hands. The show also made news in 2015 when Hulu acquired exclusive streaming rights to all episodes.

assign separate channels for each access service, while cable operators in smaller markets (and with fewer channels) could require education, government, and the public to share one channel. In addition to free public-access channels, the FCC called for **leased channels**. Citizens could buy time on these channels and produce their own programs or present controversial views.

Cable's Role: Electronic Publisher or Common Carrier?

Because the Communications Act of 1934 had not anticipated cable, the industry's regulatory status was unclear at first. In the 1970s, cable operators argued that they should be considered **electronic publishers** and be able to choose which channels and content to carry. Cable companies wanted the same "publishing" freedoms and legal protections that broadcast and print media enjoyed in selecting content. Just as local broadcasters could choose to carry local news or *Jeopardy!* at 6 P.M., cable companies wanted to choose what channels to carry.

At the time, the FCC argued the opposite: Cable systems were **common carriers**, providing services that do not get involved in content. Like telephone operators, who do not question the topics of personal conversations ("Hi, I'm the phone company, and what are you going to be talking about today?"), cable companies, the FCC argued, should offer at least part of their services on a first-come, first-served basis to whoever could pay the rate.

In 1979, the debate over this issue ended in the landmark *Midwest Video* case, when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the rights of cable companies to determine channel content and defined the industry as a form of "electronic publishing."[18] Although the FCC could no longer mandate channels' content, the Court said that communities could "request" access channels as part of contract negotiations in the franchising process. Access channels are no longer a requirement, but most cable companies continue to offer them in some form to remain on good terms with their communities.

Intriguingly, must-carry rules seem to contradict the *Midwest Video* ruling, since they require cable operators to carry certain local content. But this is a quirky exception to the *Midwest Video* ruling—mostly due to politics and economics. Must-carry rules have endured because of the lobbying power of the National Association of Broadcasters and the major TV networks. Over the years, these groups have successfully argued that cable companies should carry most local over-the-air broadcast stations on their systems so that local broadcasters can stay financially viable as cable systems expand their menus of channels and services.

Franchising Frenzy

After the *Midwest Video* decision, the future of cable programming was secure, and competition to obtain franchises to supply local cable service became intense. Essentially, a cable franchise is a mini-monopoly awarded by a local community to the most attractive bidder, usually for a fifteen-year period. Although a few large cities permitted two companies to build different parts of their cable systems, most communities granted franchises to only one company so that there wouldn't be more than one operator trampling over private property to string wire

from utility poles or to bury cables underground. Most of the nation's cable systems were built between the late 1970s and the early 1990s.

During the franchising process, a city (or state) would outline its cable system needs and request bids from various cable companies. (Potential cable companies were prohibited from also owning broadcast stations or newspapers in the community.) In its bid, a company would make a list of promises to the city about construction schedules, system design, subscription rates, channel capacity, types of programming, financial backing, deadlines, and a *franchise fee*: the money the cable company would pay the city annually for the right to operate the local cable system. Lots of wheeling and dealing transpired in these negotiations, along with occasional corruption (e.g., paying off local city officials who voted on which company got the franchise), as few laws existed to regulate franchise negotiations. Often, battles over broken promises, unreasonable contracts, or escalating rates ended up in court.

Today, a federal cable policy act from 1984 dictates the franchise fees for most U.S. municipalities. This act helps cities and municipalities use such fees to establish and fund access channels for local government, educational, and community programming as part of their license agreement. For example, Groton, Massachusetts (population around ten thousand), has a cable contract with Charter Communications. According to the terms of the contract with Groton, Charter returns 4.25 percent of its revenue to the town (5 percent is the maximum a city can charge a cable operator). This money, which has amounted to about $100,000 a year, helps underwrite the city's cable-access programs and other community services.

The Telecommunications Act of 1996

Between 1984 and 1996, lawmakers went back and forth on cable rates and rules, creating a number of cable acts. One Congress would try to end must-carry rules or abandon rate regulation, and then a later one would restore the rules. Congress finally rewrote the nation's communications laws in the **Telecommunications Act of 1996**, bringing cable fully under the federal rules that had long governed the telephone, radio, and TV industries. In its most significant move, Congress used the Telecommunications Act to knock down regulatory barriers, allowing regional phone companies, long-distance carriers, and cable companies to enter one another's markets. The act allows cable companies to offer telephone services, and it permits phone companies to offer Internet services and buy or construct cable systems in communities with fewer than fifty thousand residents. For the first time, owners could operate TV or radio stations in the same market where they owned a cable system. Congress hoped that the new rules would spur competition and lower both phone and cable rates, but this has not typically happened. Instead, cable and phone companies have merged operations in many markets, keeping prices at a premium and competition to a minimum.

The 1996 act has had a mixed impact on cable customers. Cable companies argued that it would lead to more competition and innovations in programming, services, and technology. But in fact there is not extensive competition in cable. About 90 percent of communities in the United States still have only one local cable company. In these areas, cable rates have risen faster; and in communities with multiple cable providers, the competition makes a difference—monthly rates are an average of 10 percent lower, according to one FCC study.[19] The rise of DBS companies like Dish in the last few years has also made cable prices more competitive.

Still, the cable industry has delivered on some of its technology promises, investing nearly $150 billion in technological infrastructure between 1996 and 2009, with most of the funds used for installing high-speed fiber-optic wires to carry TV and phone services. This has enabled cable companies to offer what they call the "triple play"—or the *bundling* of digital cable television, broadband Internet, and telephone service. By 2013, U.S. cable companies had signed more than forty-six million households to digital programming packages, while almost fifty million households had high-speed cable Internet service and twenty-six million households received their telephone service from cable companies.[20]

The Economics and Ownership of Television and Cable

It is not much of a stretch to define TV programming as a system that mostly delivers viewers to merchandise displayed in blocks of ads. And with more than $60 billion at stake in advertising revenues each year, networks and cable services work hard to attract the audiences and subscribers that bring in the advertising dollars. But although broadcast and cable advertising have declined in prominence, one recent study reported that more than 80 percent of consumers say that TV advertising—of all ad formats—has the most impact or influence on their buying decisions. A distant second, third, and fourth in the study were magazines (50 percent), online (47 percent), and newspapers (44 percent).[21] (See Figure 6.4 for costs for a thirty-second commercial during prime-time programs.) To understand the TV economy today, we need to examine the production, distribution, and syndication of programming;

FIGURE 6.4

PRIME-TIME NETWORK TV PRICING, 2014

The average costs are shown for a thirty-second commercial during prime-time programs on Monday and Thursday nights in 2014.

Data from: Brian Steinberg, "TV Ad Prices," Variety, September 24, 2014, www.variety.com/2014/TV/news/TV-ad-prices-football-walking-dead-big-bang-theory-blacklist-top-the-list-1201314484

Note: * = Canceled shows

Monday

	8:00pm	8:30pm	9:00pm	9:30pm	10:00pm
ABC	*Dancing with the Stars* ($127,617)				*Castle* ($148,012)
CBS	*The Big Bang Theory* ($327,885)		*2 Broke Girls* ($166,533)	*Mom* ($148,935)	*Scorpion* ($146,272)
NBC	*The Voice* ($262,041)				*The Blacklist* ($294,586)
FOX	*Gotham* ($192,111)		*Sleepy Hollow* ($188,232)		no network programming

Thursday

	8:00pm	8:30pm	9:00pm	9:30pm	10:00pm
ABC	*Grey's Anatomy* ($159,411)		*Scandal* ($217,423)		*How to Get Away with Murder* ($164,938)
CBS	*NFL Thursday Night Football* ($492,500)				*Elementary* ($125,526)
NBC	*The Biggest Loser* ($88,837)		*Bad Judge** ($91,000)	*A to Z** ($91,580)	*Parenthood* ($96,066)
FOX	*Bones* ($124,093)		*Glee* ($125,075)		no network programming

the rating systems that set advertising rates; and the ownership structure that controls programming and delivers content to our homes.

Production

The key to the TV industry's success is offering programs that viewers will habitually watch each week—whether at scheduled times or via catch-up viewing. The networks, producers, and film studios spend fortunes creating programs that they hope will keep us coming back.

Production costs generally fall into two categories: below-the-line and above-the-line. *Below-the-line* costs, which account for roughly 40 percent of a new program's production budget, include the technical, or "hardware," side of production: equipment, special effects, cameras and crews, sets and designers, carpenters, electricians, art directors, wardrobe, lighting, and transportation. *Above-the-line*, or "software," costs include the creative talent: actors, writers, producers, editors, and directors. These costs account for about 60 percent of a program's budget, except in the case of successful long-running series (like *Friends* or *The Big Bang Theory*), in which salary demands by actors can drive up above-the-line costs to more than 90 percent.

Most prime-time programs today are developed by independent production companies that are owned or backed by a major film studio, such as Sony or Disney. In addition to providing and renting production facilities, these film studios serve as a bank, offering enough capital to carry producers through one or more seasons. In television, programs are funded through **deficit financing**. This means that the production company leases the show to a network or cable channel for a license fee that is actually lower than the cost of production. (The company hopes to recoup this loss later in lucrative rerun syndication.) Typically, a network leases an episode of a one-hour drama for about $1.5 million for two airings. Each episode, however, might cost the program's producers about $2.5 million to make, meaning they lose about $1 million per episode. After two years of production (usually forty-four to forty-six episodes), an average network show builds up a large deficit.

Because of smaller audiences and fewer episodes per season, costs for original programs on cable channels are lower than those for network broadcasts.[22] In 2012–13, cable channels paid an average of about $1 million per episode in licensing fees to production companies. Some cable shows, like AMC's *Breaking Bad*, cost about $3 million per episode, but since cable seasons are shorter (usually ten to thirteen episodes per season, compared to twenty-two to twenty-three for broadcast networks), cable channels build up smaller deficits. And unlike networks, cable channels have two revenue streams to pay for original programs—monthly subscription fees and advertising. (However, because network audiences are usually larger, ad revenue is higher for networks.) Cable channels also keep costs down by airing three to four new programs a year at most, compared to the ten to twenty that the broadcast networks air.

Still, both networks and cable channels build up deficits. This is where film studios like Disney, Sony, and Twentieth (now 21st) Century Fox have been playing a crucial role:

OFF-NETWORK SYNDICATION programs often include reruns of popular network sitcoms like *The Big Bang Theory*, which airs on local stations as well as cable channel TBS—where it sometimes beats network programming in the ratings.

© CBS/Photofest

They finance the deficit and hope to profit on lucrative deals when the show—such as *CSI*, *Friends*, *Bones*, or *The Office*—goes into domestic and international syndication.

To save money and control content, many networks and cable stations create programs that are less expensive than sitcoms and dramas. These include TV newsmagazines and reality programs. For example, NBC's *Dateline* requires only about half the outlay (between $700,000 and $900,000 per episode) demanded by a new hour-long drama. In addition, by producing projects in-house, networks and cable channels avoid paying license fees to independent producers and movie studio production companies.

Distribution

Programs are paid for in a variety of ways. Cable service providers (e.g., Time Warner Cable or Cablevision) rely mostly on customer subscriptions to pay for distributing their channels, but they also have to pay the broadcast networks **retransmission fees** to carry network channels and programming. While broadcast networks do earn carriage fees from cable and DBS providers, they pay *affiliate stations* license fees to carry their programs. In return, the networks sell the bulk of advertising time to recoup their fees and their investments in these programs. In this arrangement, local stations receive national programs that attract large local audiences and are allotted some local ad time to sell during the programs to generate their own revenue.

A common misconception is that TV networks own their affiliated stations. This is not usually true. Although traditional networks like NBC own stations in major markets like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, throughout most of the country networks sign short-term contracts to rent time on local stations. Years ago, the FCC placed restrictions on network-owned-and-operated stations (called **O & Os**). But the sweeping Telecommunications Act of 1996 abolished most ownership restrictions. Today, one owner is permitted to reach up to 39 percent of the nation's 120 million–plus TV households.

Although a local affiliate typically carries a network's entire lineup, a station may substitute a network's program. According to *clearance rules* established in the 1940s by the Justice Department and the FCC, all local affiliates are ultimately responsible for the content of their channels and must clear, or approve, all network programming. Over the years, some of the circumstances in which local affiliates have rejected a network's programming have been controversial. For example, in 1956 singer Nat King Cole was one of the first African American performers to host a network variety program. As a result of pressure applied by several white southern organizations, though, the program had trouble attracting a national sponsor. When some affiliates, both southern and northern, refused to carry the program, NBC canceled it in 1957. More recently, affiliates may occasionally substitute other programming for network programs they think may offend their local audiences, especially if the programs contain excessive violence or explicit sexual content.

Syndication Keeps Shows Going and Going . . .

Syndication—leasing TV stations or cable networks the exclusive right to air TV shows—is a critical component of the distribution process. Each year, executives from thousands of local TV stations and cable firms gather at the National Association of Television Program Executives (NATPE) convention to buy or barter for programs that are up for syndication. In so doing, they acquire the exclusive local market rights, usually for two- or three-year periods, to game shows, talk shows, and **evergreens**—popular old network reruns, such as *I Love Lucy*.

Syndication plays a large role in programming for both broadcast and cable networks. For local network-affiliated stations, syndicated programs are often used during **fringe time**—programming immediately before the evening's prime-time schedule (*early fringe*) and following the local evening news or a network late-night talk show (*late fringe*). Cable channels also

syndicate network shows but are more flexible with time slots; for example, TNT may run older network syndicated episodes of *Law & Order* or *Bones* during its prime-time schedule, along with original cable programs like *Rizzoli & Isles* or *Major Crimes*.

Types of Syndication

In **off-network syndication** (commonly called "reruns"), older programs that no longer run during network prime time are made available for reruns to local stations, cable operators, online services, and foreign markets. This type of syndication occurs when a program builds up a supply of episodes (usually four seasons' worth) that are then leased to hundreds of TV stations and cable or DBS providers in the United States and overseas. A show can be put into rerun syndication even if new episodes are airing on network television. Rerun, or off-network, syndication is the key to erasing the losses generated by deficit financing. With a successful program, the profits can be enormous. For instance, the early rerun cycle of *Friends* earned nearly $4 million an episode from syndication in 250-plus markets, plus cable, totaling over $1 billion. Because the show's success meant the original production costs were already covered, the syndication market became almost pure profit for the producers and their backers. This is why deficit financing endures: Although investors rarely hit the jackpot, when they do, the revenues more than cover a lot of losses and failed programs.

First-run syndication is any program specifically produced for sale into syndication markets. Quiz programs such as *Wheel of Fortune* and daytime talk or advice shows like *The Ellen DeGeneres Show* or *Dr. Phil* are made for first-run syndication. The producers of these programs usually sell them directly to local markets around the country and the world.

FIRST-RUN SYNDICATION programs often include talk shows like *The Ellen DeGeneres Show,* which debuted in 2003 and is now one of the highest-rated daytime series.

© Warner Bros. Television/Photofest

Barter versus Cash Deals

Most financing of television syndication is either a cash deal or a barter deal. In a *cash deal*, the distributor offers a series for syndication to the highest bidder. Because of exclusive contractual arrangements, programs air on only one broadcast outlet per city in a major TV market or, in the case of cable, on one cable channel's service across the country. Whoever bids the most gets to syndicate the program (which can range from a few thousand dollars for a week's worth of episodes in a small market to $250,000 a week in a large market). In a variation of a cash deal called *cash-plus*, distributors retain some time to sell national commercial spots in successful syndicated shows (when the show is distributed, it already contains the national ads). While this means the local station has less ad time to sell, it also usually pays less for the syndicated show.

Although syndicators prefer cash deals, *barter deals* are usually arranged for new, untested, or older but less popular programs. In a straight barter deal, no money changes hands. Instead, a syndicator offers a program to a local TV station in exchange for a split of the advertising revenue. For example, in a 7/5 barter deal, during each airing the show's producers and syndicator retain seven minutes of ad time for national spots and leave stations with five minutes of ad time for local spots. As programs become more profitable, syndicators repackage and lease the shows as cash-plus deals.

Measuring Television Viewing

Primarily, TV shows live or die based on how satisfied advertisers are with the quantity and quality of the viewing audience. Since 1950, the major organization that tracks and rates prime-time viewing has been the Nielsen Corporation, which estimates what viewers are watching in the nation's major markets. Ratings services like Nielsen provide advertisers, broadcast networks, local stations, and cable channels with considerable detail about viewers—from race and gender to age, occupation, and educational background.

The Impact of Ratings and Shares on Programming

In TV measurement, a **rating** is a statistical estimate expressed as the percentage of households that are tuned to a program in the market being sampled. Another audience measure is the **share**, a statistical estimate of the percentage of homes that are tuned to a specific program compared with those using their sets at the time of the sample. For instance, let's say on a typical night that 5,000 metered homes are sampled by Nielsen in 210 large U.S. cities, and 4,000 of those households have their TV sets turned on. Of those 4,000, about 1,000 are tuned to *The Voice* on NBC. The rating for that show is 20 percent—that is, 1,000 households watching *The Voice* out of 5,000 TV sets monitored. The share is 25 percent—1,000 homes watching *The Voice* out of a total of 4,000 sets turned on.

The importance of ratings and shares to the survival of TV programs cannot be overestimated. In practice, television is an industry in which networks, producers, and distributors target, guarantee, and "sell" viewers in blocks to advertisers. Audience measurement tells advertisers not only how many people are watching but, more important, what kinds of people are watching. Prime-time advertisers on the broadcast networks have mainly been interested in reaching relatively affluent eighteen- to forty-nine-year-old viewers, who account for most consumer spending. If a show is attracting those viewers, advertisers will compete to buy time during that program. Typically, as many as nine out of ten new shows introduced each fall on the networks either do not attain the required ratings or fail to reach the "right" viewers. The result is cancellation. Cable, in contrast, targets smaller audiences, so programs that do not attract a large audience might survive on cable because most of cable's revenues come from subscription fees rather than advertising. For example, on cable, AMC's award-winning *Breaking Bad* was considered successful. However, that show rarely attracted an audience of over 2 million in its first four seasons. But by the fifth and final season, its audience had grown to 6 million viewers, and the show's finale drew over 10 million viewers in 2013. (The show's creator, Vince Gilligan, has credited Netflix with *Breaking Bad*'s rating surge, because its streaming service allowed viewers to catch up with the series.) By comparison, CBS's *NCIS* drew an average audience of 22.4 million for each show in 2013–14.

NICHE MARKETS
As TV's audience gets fragmented among broadcast, cable, DVRs, and the Internet, some shows have focused on targeting smaller niche audiences instead of the broad public. IFC's *Portlandia*, for example, has a relatively small but devoted fan base that supports the show's culturally specific satire.

Scott Green/© IFC/Everett Collection

Assessing Today's Converged and Multiscreen Markets

During the height of the network era, a prime-time series with a rating of 17 or 18 and a share of between 28 and 30 was generally a success. By the late 2000s, though, with increasing competition from cable, DVDs, and the Internet, the threshold for success had dropped to a rating of 3 or 4 and a share of under 10. In fact, with all the screen options and targeted audiences, it is

	Program	Network	Date	Rating
1	*M*A*S*H* (final episode)	CBS	2/28/83	60.2
2	*Dallas* ("Who Shot J.R.?" episode)	CBS	11/21/80	53.3
3	*The Fugitive* (final episode)	ABC	8/29/67	45.9
4	*Cheers* (final episode)	NBC	5/20/93	45.5
5	*Ed Sullivan Show* (Beatles' first U.S. TV appearance)	CBS	2/9/64	45.3
6	*Beverly Hillbillies*	CBS	1/8/64	44.0
7	*Ed Sullivan Show* (Beatles' second U.S. TV appearance)	CBS	2/16/64	43.8
8	*Beverly Hillbillies*	CBS	1/15/64	42.8
9	*Beverly Hillbillies*	CBS	2/26/64	42.4
10	*Beverly Hillbillies*	CBS	3/25/64	42.2

TABLE 6.1

THE TOP 10 HIGHEST-RATED TV SERIES; INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS (SINCE 1960)

Note: The *Seinfeld* finale, which aired in May 1998, drew a rating of 41-plus and a total viewership of 76 million; in contrast, the final episode of *Friends* in May 2004 had a 25 rating and drew about 52 million viewers. (The *M*A*S*H* finale in 1983 had more than 100 million viewers.)

Data from: The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1997 *(Mahwah, N.J.: World Almanac Books, 1996), 296; Corbett Steinberg,* TV Facts *(New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985); A.C. Nielsen Media Research.*

almost impossible for a TV program today to crack the highest-rated series list (see Table 6.1). Unfortunately, many popular programs have been canceled over the years because advertisers considered their audiences too young, too old, or too poor. To account for the rise of DVRs, Nielsen now offers three versions of its ratings: live; live plus twenty-four hours, counting how many DVR users played shows within a day of recording; and live plus seven days, adding in how many viewers played the shows within a week. During the 2011–12 TV season, many shows starting drawing much larger audiences when they added DVR playbacks to their original first-time scheduled showing on the networks.[23] This trend has continued, and those series that benefit from large boosts in live plus seven numbers include huge hits like *The Big Bang Theory*, moderate performers like *Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D.*, and more niche-specific shows like *New Girl*.[24]

In its efforts to keep up with TV's move to smaller screens, Nielsen is also using special software to track TV viewing on computers and mobile devices. Today, with the fragmentation of media audiences, the increase in third- and fourth-screen technologies, and the decline in traditional TV set viewing, targeting smaller niche markets and consumers has become advertisers' main game.

The biggest revenue game changer in the small-screen world will probably be Google's YouTube, which in 2011 and 2012 entered into a joint venture with nearly a hundred content producers to create niche online channels. YouTube advances up to $5 million to each content producer, and it keeps the ad money it collects until the advance is paid off; revenue after that is split between YouTube and the content producer. Some familiar names have signed on, including Madonna, Shaquille O'Neal, and Amy Poehler. Among the popular channels already launched are the music video site, Noisey, which had twenty-seven million visits in its first two months, and Drive, a channel for auto fans, which had seven million views in its first four months.

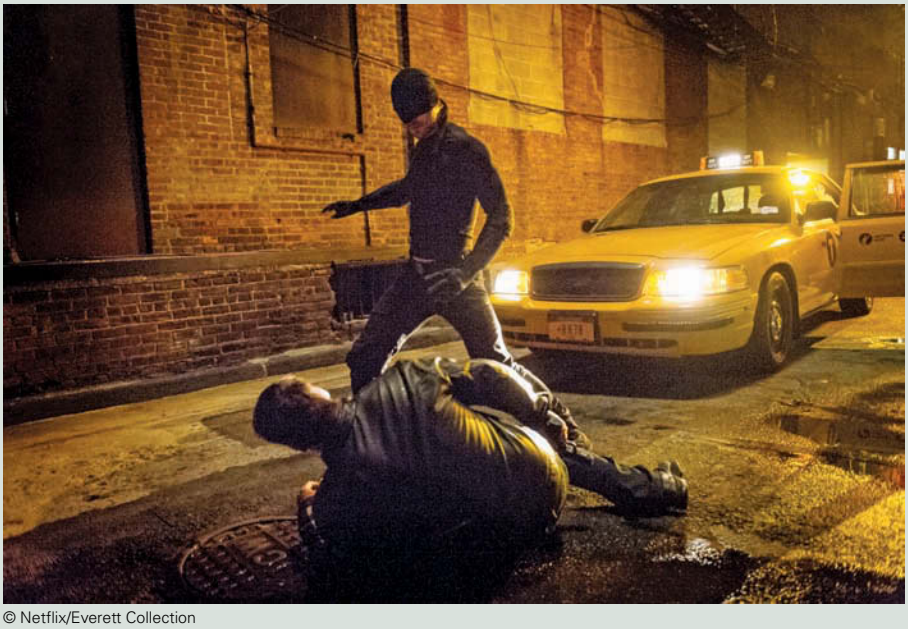
The way advertising works online differs substantially from the way it works on network TV, where advertisers pay as much as $400,000 to buy one thirty-second ad during NBC's *The Voice* or ABC's *Modern Family*. Online advertisers pay a rate called a CPM ("cost per mille"; *mille* is Latin for "one thousand"), meaning the rate per one thousand *impressions*—which is a single ad shown to a person visiting an online site. So if a product company or ad agency purchases one thousand online impressions at a $1 CPM rate, that means the company or agency would spend $10 to have its advertisement displayed ten thousand times. Popular online sites where advertisers are reaching targeted audiences could set a CPM rate between $10 and $100, while less popular sites might command only a $.10 to $.20 CPM rate from ad agencies and

TRACKING TECHNOLOGY

Binging Gives TV Shows a Second Chance—and Viewers a Second Home

Traditional broadcast networks like Fox and NBC have been slow to understand or adapt to how TV viewers today—old and young, friends and families—like to binge-watch, usually on multiple episodes without commercial interruption. The old structure of watching a new TV episode in the fall or catching the rerun over the summer is a discredited model in these digital days. Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon Prime, among other services, have transformed TV viewing—even extending the lives of shows that died after relatively few seasons on old-time network TV. Take *Arrested Development*, a critically beloved comedy that Fox killed in 2006. In 2013, Netflix resurrected the show and released all episodes of the new "season" at once, for fans' binging pleasure. Other marginally rated network shows have since made similar leaps: Hulu picked up *The Mindy Project*, which Fox canceled after three seasons, and *The Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt* was scheduled to air on NBC before the network got cold feet and sold the series to Netflix directly, where it became a streaming and binging hit.

In an article for *Wired* magazine, cultural anthropologist Grant McCracken tried to answer the "why we binge-watch" question. He first offered a common-sense response: "One way to answer this question is to say, well, we binge on TV for the same reason we binge on food. For a sense of security, creature comfort, to make the world go away."[1]



© Netflix/Everett Collection

But then, as cultural anthropologists do, he dug deeper: "So much of contemporary culture leaves the station without us; binging is a way to climb aboard . . . and get back in touch with culture outside the constraints of time. Binge-watching breaks the linearity of having to watch TV on someone else's terms."[2] In other words, the digital age, technologically sophisticated and rapidly evolving, overflows with information and stories. So binging allows us to catch up and not feel left out because we missed *The Walking Dead, Person of Interest*, or *Breaking Bad* when these series first came out. Netflix shows like *Daredevil* can be binged immediately or months after their initial release.

McCracken argues that TV binging is partly about making reality "go away" in order to build a refuge from everyday life. "The second screen," he says, "in some ways becomes our second home." Then by drawing our friends and family into a particular series and the binging ritual, "we can make that world—that show—a place of sudden commonality." McCracken says that when we binge-watch a program, "We don't just watch . . . we *occupy*. We inhabit it. Such relocation is powerful for creating meaning for the self and for the family, especially as TV has taken on a new role in our lives. It has become the structural equivalent of our place in the country, our second home."[3] Creators of cult TV shows, then, aren't the only ones who feel an increased sense of security in the new binge-friendly market.

product companies. For some of its new YouTube TV channels, analysts are predicting that Google might be able to charge as much as $20 CPM for a relatively popular site.

The Major Programming Corporations

After deregulation began in the 1980s, many players in TV and cable consolidated to broaden their offerings, expand their market share, and lower expenses. For example, Disney now owns both ABC and ESPN and can spread the costs of sports programming over its networks and its various ESPN cable channels. This business strategy has produced an *oligopoly* in which just a handful of media corporations now controls programming.

The Major Broadcast Networks

Despite their declining reach and the rise of cable, the traditional networks have remained attractive business investments. In 1985, General Electric, which once helped start RCA-NBC, bought back NBC. In 1995, Disney bought ABC for $19 billion; in 1999, Viacom acquired CBS for $37 billion (Viacom and CBS split in 2005, but Viacom's CEO, Sumner Redstone, has remained CBS's main stockholder and executive chairman; in 2014, his holdings in both CBS and Viacom totaled $6 billion). And in January 2011, the FCC and the Department of Justice approved Comcast's purchase of NBC Universal from GE—a deal valued at $30 billion.

To combat audience erosion in the 1990s, the major networks began acquiring or developing cable channels to recapture viewers. Thus what appears to be competition between TV and cable is sometimes an illusion. NBC, for example, operates MSNBC, CNBC, and Bravo. ABC owns ESPN along with portions of Lifetime, A&E, and History. However, the networks continue to attract larger audiences than their cable or online competitors. For the 2013–14 season, CBS led the broadcast networks in ratings, followed by NBC, ABC, Fox, Univision, and the CW. CBS averaged over 11 million viewers per evening (while the CW drew about 1.5 million viewers each evening), although NBC reached more of the viewers most cherished by advertisers—eighteen- to forty-nine-year-olds.

Major Cable and DBS Companies

In the late 1990s, cable became a coveted investment, not so much for its ability to carry television programming as for its access to households connected with high-bandwidth wires. Today, there are about 5,200 U.S. cable systems, down from 11,200 in 1994. Since the 1990s, thousands of cable systems have been bought by large **multiple-system operators (MSOs)**, corporations like Comcast and Time Warner Cable (TWC) that own many cable systems. For years the industry called its major players **multichannel video programming distributors (MVPDs)**, a term that included DBS providers like DirecTV and Dish. By 2014, cable's main trade organization, the National Cable & Telecommunications Association (NCTA), had moved away from the MVPD classification and started using the term **video subscription services**, which now also includes Netflix and Hulu Plus (see Table 6.2 on page 224). Some critics suspect that the new classification term provided legal cover for the 2014 failed merger between Comcast and TWC—for years the dominant two U.S. cable companies with by far the most cable subscribers. Cable attorneys might have argued that the on-demand service Netflix dwarfed Comcast and TWC—41.1 million subscribers compared to 22.4 and 11.0 respectively in 2015.

In cable, the industry behemoth today is Comcast, especially after its takeover of NBC and move into network broadcasting. Back in 2001, AT&T had merged its cable and broadband industry in a $72 billion deal with Comcast, then the third-largest MSO. The new Comcast instantly became the cable industry leader. In 2015, Comcast also owned E!, NBCSN, the Golf

TABLE 6.2

TOP 10 VIDEO SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES IN 2015

Data from: National Cable & Telecommunications Association, "Industry Data," www.ncta.com/industry-data.

Rank	Video Subscription Service	Subscribers
1	Netflix	41.4 million
2	Comcast	22.4 million
3	DirecTV	20.4 million
4	Dish	14.0 million
5	Time Warner Cable	11.0 million
6	Hulu Plus	9.0 million
7	AT&T	5.9 million
8	Verizon FiOS	5.6 million
9	Charter Communications	4.3 million
10	Cox Communications	4.1 million

Channel, Universal Studios, Fandango (the online movie ticket site), and a 32 percent stake in Hulu (with Fox and Disney). In 2015, there were about 660 companies still operating cable systems. Along with Comcast, the other large MSOs included Time Warner Cable (formerly part of Time Warner, Inc.), Cox Communications, Charter Communications, and Cablevision Systems.

In the DBS market, DirecTV and Dish control virtually all the DBS service in the continental United States. In 2008, News Corp. sold DirecTV to cable service provider Liberty Media, which also owned the Encore and Starz movie channels. The independently owned Dish was founded as EchoStar Communications in 1980. In 2014, to counter the proposed merger talks between cable giants Comcast and TWC, DirecTV began investigating deals with both Dish and AT&T. Over the last few years, TV services (combined with existing voice and Internet services) offered by telephone giants AT&T (U-verse) and Verizon (FiOS) have developed into viable competitors for cable and DBS.

The Effects of Consolidation

There are some concerns that the trend toward cable, broadcasting, and telephone companies merging will limit expression of political viewpoints, programming options, and technical innovation, and lead to price-fixing. These concerns raise an important question: *In an economic climate in which fewer owners control the circulation of communication, what happens to new ideas or controversial views that may not always be profitable to circulate?*

The response from the industries is that, given the tremendous capital investment it takes to run television, cable, and other media enterprises, it is necessary to form business conglomerates in order to buy up struggling companies and keep them afloat. This argument suggests that without today's video subscription services, many smaller ventures in programming would not be possible. However, there is evidence that large MSOs and other big media companies can wield their monopoly power unfairly. Business disputes have caused disruptions as networks and cable providers have dropped one another from their services, leaving customers in the dark. For example, in October 2010, News Corp. pulled six channels—including the Fox network—from over three million Cablevision customers for two weeks. This standoff over retransmission fees meant Cablevision subscribers missed two World Series games, various professional football matches, and popular programs like *Glee* and *Family Guy*. Then, in August 2013, Time Warner Cable took CBS off its systems for a month in a bitter dispute over retransmission fee hikes the network sought. In addition to blacking out WCBS in New York, Los Angeles, Dallas, and five other markets, the cable company yanked Showtime from its systems. These examples illustrate what can happen when a few large corporations engage in relatively minor arguments over prices and programs: Consumers are often left with little recourse or

choice in markets with minimal or no competition and programming from just a handful of large media companies.

Alternative Voices

After suffering through years of rising rates and limited expansion of services, some small U.S. cities have decided to challenge the private monopolies of cable giants by building competing, publicly owned cable systems. So far, the municipally owned cable systems number in the hundreds and can be found in places like Glasgow, Kentucky; Kutztown, Pennsylvania; Cedar Falls, Iowa; and Provo, Utah. In most cases, they're operated by the community-owned, nonprofit electric utilities. There are more than two thousand such municipal utilities across the United States, serving about 14 percent of the population and creating the potential for more municipal utilities to expand into communications services. As nonprofit entities, the municipal operations are less expensive for cable subscribers, too.

The first town to take on a national commercial cable provider (Comcast now runs the cable service there) was Glasgow, Kentucky, which built a competing municipal cable system in 1989. The town of fourteen thousand had seven thousand municipal cable customers in 2015. William J. Ray, the town's Electric Plant Board superintendent and the visionary behind the municipal communications service, has argued that this is not a new idea:

Cities have long been turning a limited number of formerly private businesses into public-works projects. This happens only when the people making up a local government believe that the service has become so essential to the citizens that it is better if it is operated by the government. In colonial America, it was all about drinking water. . . . In the twentieth century, the issue was electric power and natural gas service. Now, we are facing the same transformation in broadband networks.[25]

More than a quarter of the country's two thousand municipal utilities offer broadband services, including cable, high-speed Internet, and telephone. How will commercial cable operators fend off this unprecedented competition? According to Ray, "If cable operators are afraid of cities competing with them, there is a defense that is impregnable—they can charge reasonable rates, offer consummate customer service, improve their product, and conduct their business as if they were a guest that owes their existence to the benevolence of the city that has invited them in."[26]

Television, Cable, and Democracy

In the 1950s, television's arrival significantly changed the media landscape—particularly the radio and magazine industries, both of which had to cultivate specialized audiences and markets to survive. In its heyday, television carried the egalitarian promise that it could bypass traditional print literacy and reach all segments of society. This promise was reenergized in the 1970s when cable-access channels gave local communities the chance to create their own TV programming. In such a heterogeneous and diverse nation, the concept of a visual, affordable mass medium, giving citizens entertainment and information that they could all talk about the next day, held great appeal. However, since its creation, commercial television has tended to serve the interests of profit more often than those of democracy. Despite this, television remains the main storytelling medium of our time.

The development of cable, VCRs and DVD players, DVRs, the Internet, and smartphone services has fragmented television's audience by appealing to viewers' individual and special needs. These changes and services, by providing more specialized and individual choices, also alter television's role as a national unifying cultural force, potentially de-emphasizing the idea that we are all citizens of a larger nation and world. Moreover, many cable channels have survived mostly by offering live sports or recycling old television shows and movies. Although cable and on-demand services like Netflix are creating more and more original high-quality programs, they rarely reach even the diminished audience numbers commanded by the traditional broadcast networks. In fact, given that the television networks and many leading cable channels are now owned by the same media conglomerates, cable has evolved into something of an extension of the networks. And even though cable audiences are growing and network viewership is contracting, the division between the two is blurring. New generations who have grown up on cable and the Internet rarely make a distinction between a broadcast network, a cable service, and an on-demand program. In addition, tablets, smartphones, and Internet services that now offer or create our favorite "TV" programs are breaking down the distinctions between mobile devices and TV screens. Cable, which once offered promise as a place for alternative programming and noncommercial voices, is now being usurped by the Internet, where all kinds of TV experiments are under way.

The bottom line is that television, despite the audience fragmentation, still provides a gathering place for friends and family at the same time that it provides anywhere access to a favorite show. Like all media forms before it, television is adapting to changing technology and shifting economics. As the technology becomes more portable and personal, TV-related industries continue to search for less expensive ways to produce stories and more channels

TV AND DEMOCRACY
The first televised presidential debates took place in 1960, pitting Massachusetts senator John F. Kennedy against Vice President Richard Nixon. Don Hewitt, who later created the long-running TV newsmagazine *60 Minutes*, directed the first debate and has argued that the TV makeup that Nixon turned down would have helped create a better appearance alongside that of his tanned opponent. In fact, one study at the time reported that a majority of radio listeners thought Nixon won the first debate while a majority of TV viewers believed Kennedy won.

Paul Schutzer/Timepix-Getty Images

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Television Industry

Teresa Hein, Founder and CEO, My Media Jobs

The value of having an internship is key, not only for the experience but to help you know if you want to have a job in that field. Also, as you look for internships, don't just take any opportunity. Do as much as you can to get into a place that offers you the practical experience that is related to your desired field of interest. More and more students are doing two or more internships to expand their knowledge base. This gives visual experience to the paper résumé.

Darren Haynes, Studio Anchor, ESPN

As a college football player, I transferred from the University of Rhode Island to the University of New Haven. My former science education major at URI was not offered at UNH. So my mother said, "Darren, you have a passion for sports, you are not shy, you are well liked, and you have an outgoing personality. Why not look into majoring in sports broadcasting?" The rest is history. Now my mom wants 10 percent of my paycheck!

Anonymous Twentysomething on Becoming a Television Writer, as Described in *Forbes* Magazine

I turned the [online journalism] job down, bought a book on how to break into TV writing, and talked to anyone and everyone who would give me advice. I learned that (1) I needed to move to LA if I wanted to actually have a shot at this; (2) I needed to get an agent before I could get hired on any show; (3) I needed to write two spec scripts (original episodes of existing TV shows) before any agent would even look at me; and (4) I was going to spend every waking hour of the foreseeable future networking. And over the next few months, I wrote my spec scripts, talked to contacts, and planned my move. I knew it would be hard and risky, but that's the price, right?

Shonda Rhimes, Producer of *Grey's Anatomy* and *Scandal*, on How She Got Her Start in Writing

I was four and dictating stories into a tape recorder, and my mom typed them up.

on which to deliver them. But what will remain common ground on this shifting terrain is that television continues as our nation's chief storyteller, whether those stories come in the form of news bulletins, sporting events, cable dramas, network sitcoms, or YouTube vignettes.

TV's future will be about serving smaller rather than larger audiences. As sites like YouTube develop original programming and as niche cable services like the Weather Channel produce reality TV series about storms, no audience seems too small and no subject matter too narrow for today's TV world. For example, by 2013, *Duck Dynasty*—a program about an eccentric Louisiana family that got rich making products for duck hunters—had become a hit series on A&E. The program averaged a cable record 12.4 million viewers in 2012–13, but then lost half those numbers in 2013–14, as many viewers grew weary of the series. An overwhelming number of programming choices like this now exist for big and small TV screens alike. How might this converged TV landscape—with its volatile ups and downs in viewer numbers—change how audiences watch, and pay for, TV? With hundreds of shows available, will we adopt à la carte viewing habits, in which we download or stream only the shows that interest us, rather than pay for cable (or DBS) packages with hundreds of channels we don't watch?

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is mass media, cultural expression, and storytelling. As television and cable change their shape and size, do they remain the dominant way our culture tells stories?

By the end of the 1950s, television had become an "electronic hearth," where families gathered in living rooms to share cultural experiences. By 2012, though, the television experience had splintered. Now we are watching programming on our laptops, smartphones, and tablets, making the experience increasingly individual rather than communal. Still, television remains the mass medium that can reach most of us at a single moment in time, whether it's during a popular sitcom or a presidential debate.

In this shift, what has been lost, and what has been gained? As an electronic hearth, television has offered coverage of special moments—inaugurations, assassinations, moonwalks, space disasters, Super Bowls, *Roots*, the Olympics, 9/11, hurricanes, presidential campaigns, Arab uprisings, World Cups—that brought large heterogeneous groups together for the common experience of sharing information, celebrating triumphs, mourning loss, and electing presidents.

Accessible now in multiple digitized versions, the TV image has become portable—just as radio became portable in the 1950s. Today, we can watch television in cars, in the park, and in class (even when we're not supposed to).

The bottom line is that today television in all its configurations is both electronic hearth and digital encounter. It still provides a gathering place for friends and family, but now we can also watch a favorite show almost whenever or wherever we want. Like all media forms before it, television is adapting to changing technology and shifting economics. As technology becomes more portable and personal, the network TV, cable, and video subscription industries search for less expensive ways to produce and deliver television. Still, television remains the main place—whether it's the big LED screen or the handheld smartphone—where we go for stories. In what ways do you think this will change or remain the case in the future? Where do you prefer to get your stories?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

analog, 191
digital, 192
prime time, 194
network era, 195
CATV, 195
narrowcasting, 196
basic cable, 197
superstations, 197
premium channels, 197
pay-per-view (PPV), 197
video-on-demand (VOD), 199
direct broadcast satellite (DBS), 199
time shifting, 200
third screens, 200
fourth screens, 202
kinescope, 203
sketch comedy, 204
situation comedy, 204
anthology dramas, 205
episodic series, 206
chapter shows, 206
serial programs, 206
affiliate stations, 207
Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR), 211
fin-syn, 212
must-carry rules, 212
access channels, 212
leased channels, 214
electronic publishers, 214
common carriers, 214
Telecommunications Act of 1996, 215
deficit financing, 217
retransmission fees, 218
O & Os, 218
syndication, 218
evergreens, 218
fringe time, 218
off-network syndication, 219
first-run syndication, 219
rating, 220
share, 220
multiple-system operators (MSOs), 223
multichannel video programming distributors (MVPDs), 223
video subscription services, 223

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

The Origins and Development of Television

1. What were the major technical standards established for television in the 1940s? What happened to analog television?
2. Why did the FCC freeze the allocation of TV licenses between 1948 and 1952?
3. How did the sponsorship of network programs change during the 1950s?

The Development of Cable

4. What is CATV, and what were its advantages over broadcast television?
5. How did satellite distribution change the cable industry?
6. What is DBS? How well does it compete with the cable industry?

Technology and Convergence Change Viewing Habits

7. How have computers and mobile devices challenged the TV and cable industries?
8. What has happened to the audience in the digital era of third and fourth screens?

Major Programming Trends

9. What are the differences between sketch comedy and sitcoms on television?
10. Why did the anthology drama fade as a network programming staple?
11. How did news develop at the networks in the late 1940s and 1950s?
12. What are the challenges faced by public broadcasting today?

Regulatory Challenges to Television and Cable

13. What rules and regulations did the government impose to restrict the networks' power?
14. How did cable pose a challenge to broadcasting, and how did the FCC respond to cable's early development?
15. Why are cable companies treated more like electronic publishers than common carriers?
16. How did the Telecommunications Act of 1996 change the economic shape and future of the television and cable industries?

The Economics and Ownership of Television and Cable

17. Why has it become more difficult for independent producers to create programs for television?
18. What are the differences between off-network syndication and first-run syndication?
19. What are ratings and shares in TV audience measurement?
20. What are the main reasons some municipalities are building their own cable systems?

Television, Cable, and Democracy

21. Why has television's role as a national cultural center changed over the years? What are programmers doing to retain some of their influence?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. How much television do you watch today? How has technology influenced your current viewing habits?
2. If you were a television or cable executive, what changes would you try to make in today's programs? How would you try to adapt to third- and fourth-screen technologies?
3. Do you think the must-carry rules violate a cable company's First Amendment rights? Why or why not?
4. If you ran a public television station, what programming would you provide that isn't currently being supplied by commercial television? How would you finance such programming?
5. How do you think new technologies will further change TV viewing habits?
6. How could television be used to improve our social and political life?

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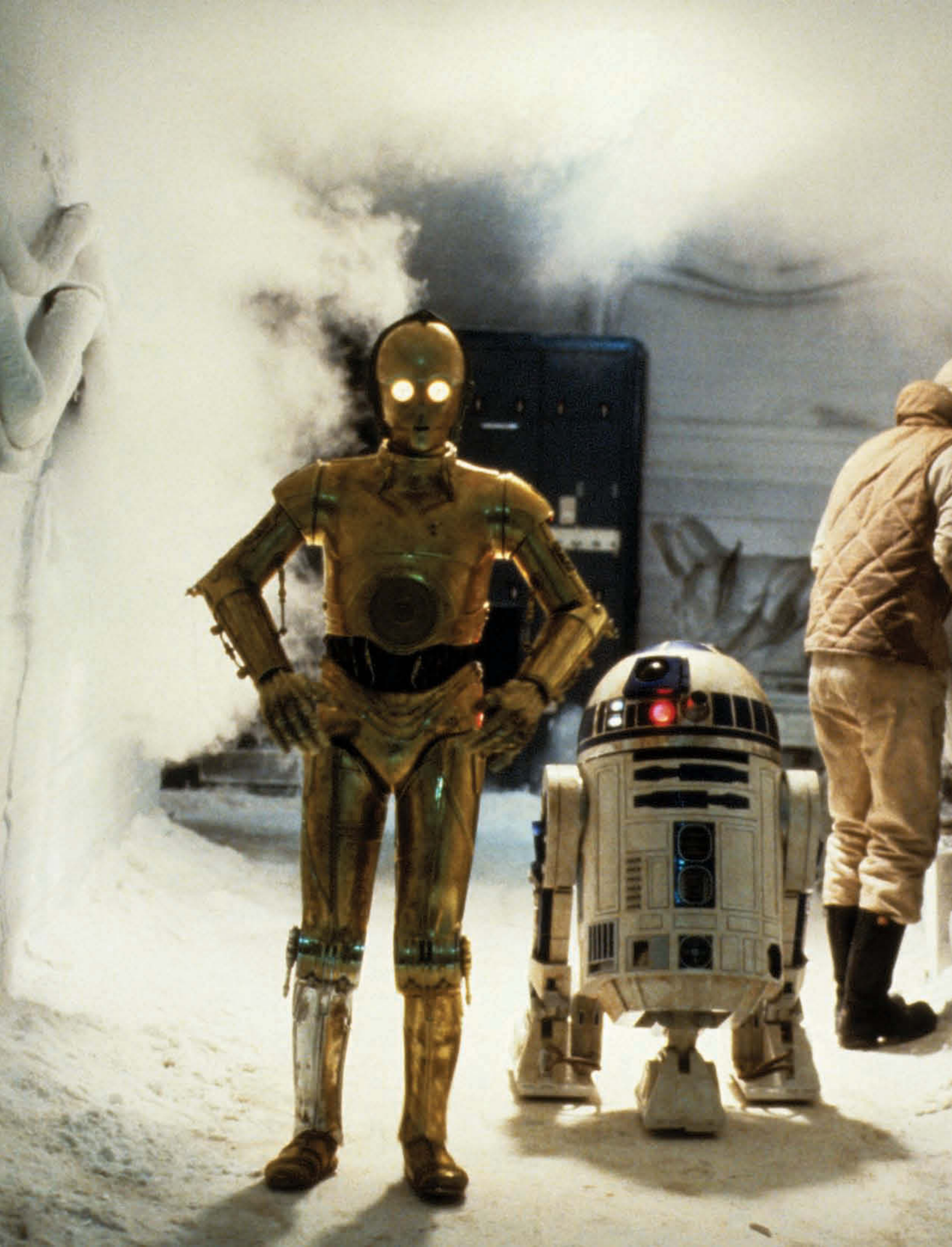
- VIDEO: WIRED OR WIRELESS: TELEVISION DELIVERY TODAY
  This video explores the switch to digital TV signals in 2009 and how it is changing television delivery.



7

Movies and the Impact of Images

233
Early Technology and the Evolution of Movies

238
The Rise of the Hollywood Studio System

241
The Studio System's Golden Age

251
The Transformation of the Studio System

255
The Economics of the Movie Business

262
Popular Movies and Democracy

"A long time ago in a galaxy far, far away . . ." So begins the now-famous opening credit crawl of *Star Wars*. The first appearance of those words was in movie theaters on earth, but the time now is rather long ago: May 25, 1977.

The space epic changed the culture of the movie industry. *Star Wars*, produced, written, and directed by George Lucas, departed from the personal filmmaking of the early 1970s and spawned a blockbuster mentality that formed a new primary audience for Hollywood: teenagers. It had all of the now-typical blockbuster characteristics, including massive promotion and lucrative merchandising tie-ins. Repeat attendance and positive buzz among young people made the first *Star Wars* the most successful movie of its generation.

Star Wars has impacted not only the cultural side of moviemaking but also the technical form. In the first *Star Wars* trilogy, produced in the 1970s and 1980s, Lucas developed technologies that are now commonplace in moviemaking: digital animation, special effects, and computer-based film editing. With the second trilogy (which was a prequel to the narrative of the original *Star Wars*), Lucas again broke new ground in the film industry.

© Lucasfilm Ltd./Everett Collection

Several scenes of *Star Wars: Episode I—The Phantom Menace* (1999) were shot on digital video, easing integration with digital special effects. *The Phantom Menace* also became the first full-length motion picture from a major studio to use digital projectors in its exhibition, which began the movement to replace standard film projectors in theaters around the world. By the time the last installment of the second trilogy—*Star Wars: Episode III—Revenge of the Sith* (2005)—was released, *Star Wars* was firmly in place as one of the most successful film series of all time, with more than $4.5 billion in worldwide box office revenue.[1]

The third *Star Wars* trilogy opened in late 2015, with *Star Wars: Episode VII—The Force Awakens*. The story picks up thirty years after *Star Wars: Episode VI—Return of the Jedi* (1983). Incredibly, Luke Skywalker, Han Solo, and Princess Leia return from the original trilogy, played by original actors Mark Hamill, Harrison Ford, and Carrie Fisher, respectively. However, perhaps the biggest news regarding *The Force Awakens* is on the business side: For the first time, *Star Wars* is a Disney property. In 2012, Disney paid $4 billion for Lucasfilm—George Lucas's independent production company, which had controlled the *Star Wars* legacy from its inception.

At the time of the announcement, Lucas (then sixty-eight years old) spoke of passing *Star Wars* to new filmmakers: "I've always believed that *Star Wars* could live beyond me, and I thought it was important to set up the transition during my lifetime." Disney CEO Robert Iger spoke less about the film and more about a bigger set of business possibilities: "This transaction combines a world-class portfolio of content including *Star Wars*, one of the greatest family entertainment franchises of all time, with Disney's unique and unparalleled creativity across multiple platforms, businesses, and markets to generate sustained growth and drive significant long-term value."[2] In plain language, this means more *Star Wars* on television, in digital games, in theme parks, and in consumer products.

Some *Star Wars* purists may groan at the volume of these ancillaries, but Disney's track record at turning its acquisitions into even greater media and merchandise franchises is enviable. Two other important movie brand acquisitions were its purchase of Pixar for $7.6 billion in 2006, and Marvel for $3.96 billion in 2009.[3] Pixar has created some of the most successful animated movies of the past two decades, such as *Up* (2009), *Toy Story 3* (2010), *Cars 2* (2011), *Monsters University* (2013), *Inside Out* (2015), and *Finding Dory* (2016). Marvel, in retrospect, appears to be even more of a bargain. Disney-produced films from the Marvel cinematic universe, including *The Avengers* (2012), *Iron Man 3* (2013), *Guardians of the Galaxy* (2014), *Captain America: The Winter Soldier* (2014), and *Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015), have catapulted Marvel-based films to the top movie franchise in the world, with $8.5 billion in worldwide box office revenue.[4]

With the *Star Wars* franchise now in Disney's hands, there is potential to develop it into the next top movie franchise. But for *The Force Awakens* director J.J. Abrams—director of the first *Star Wars* film that doesn't heavily involve George Lucas—the key is to first get the storytelling right. "That, to me, has been the constant struggle: to make sure that none of these things are treated like either they're a museum piece and we're trying to honor them or they're gratuitous and thrown in because, well, it's a *Star Wars* movie so you've got to put these things in," Abrams said. "Everything has got to be essential to the characters in the film."[5]

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

DATING BACK TO THE LATE 1800s, films have had a substantial social and cultural impact on society. Blockbuster movies such as *Star Wars*, *E.T.*, *Titanic*, *Lord of the Rings*, *Shrek*, *Avatar*, and *The Avengers* represent what Hollywood has become—America's storyteller. Movies tell communal stories that evoke and symbolize our most enduring values and our secret desires (from *The Wizard of Oz* to *The Godfather* to the *Batman* series).

Films have also helped moviegoers sort through experiences that either affirmed or deviated from their own values. Some movies—for instance, *Last Tango in Paris* (1972), *Scarface* (1983), *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), *Brokeback Mountain* (2005), and *12 Years a Slave* (2013)—have allowed audiences to survey "the boundary between the permitted and the forbidden" and to experience, in a controlled way, "the possibility of stepping across this boundary."[6] Such films—criticized by some for appearing to glorify crime and violence, verge on pornography, trample on sacred beliefs, or promote unpatriotic viewpoints—have even, on occasion, been banned from public viewing.

Finally, movies have acted to bring people together. Movies distract us from our daily struggles: They evoke and symbolize universal themes of human experience (that of childhood, coming of age, family relations, growing older, and coping with death); they can help us understand and respond to major historical events and tragedies (for instance, the Holocaust and 9/11); and they encourage us to reexamine contemporary ideas as the world evolves, particularly in terms of how we think about race, class, spirituality, gender, and sexuality.

In this chapter, we examine the rich legacy and current standing of movies. We will:

- Consider film's early technology and the evolution of film as a mass medium
- Look at the arrival of silent feature films; the emergence of Hollywood; and the development of the studio system with regard to production, distribution, and exhibition
- Explore the coming of sound and the power of movie storytelling
- Analyze major film genres, directors, and alternatives to Hollywood's style, including independent films, foreign films, and documentaries
- Survey the movie business today—its major players, economic clout, technological advances, and implications for democracy
- Examine how convergence has changed the way the industry distributes movies and the way we experience them

As you consider these topics, think about your own relationship with movies. What is the first movie you remember watching? What are your movie-watching experiences like today? How have certain movies made you think differently about an issue, yourself, or others? For more questions to help you think through the role of movies in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Early Technology and the Evolution of Movies

History often credits a handful of enterprising individuals with developing the new technologies that lead to new categories of mass media. Such innovations, however, are usually the result of simultaneous investigations by numerous people. In addition, the innovations of both known and unknown inventors are propelled by economic and social forces as well as by individual abilities.[7]

The Development of Film

The concept of film goes back as early as Leonardo da Vinci, who theorized in the late fifteenth century about creating a device that would reproduce reality. Other early precursors to film included the Magic Lantern, developed in the seventeenth century, which projected images painted on glass plates using an oil lamp as a light source; the *thaumatrope*, invented in 1824, a two-sided card with different images on each side that appeared to combine the images when twirled; and the *zoetrope,* introduced in 1834, a cylindrical device that rapidly twirled images inside a cylinder, which appeared to make the images move.

Muybridge and Goodwin Make Pictures Move

The development stage of movies began when inventors started manipulating photographs to make them appear to move while simultaneously projecting them onto a screen. Eadweard Muybridge, an English photographer living in America, is credited with being the first to do both. He studied motion by using multiple cameras to take successive photographs of humans and animals in motion. One of Muybridge's first projects involved using photography to determine if a racehorse actually lifts all four feet from the ground at full gallop (it does). By 1880, Muybridge had developed a method for projecting the photographic images onto a wall for public viewing. These early image sequences were extremely brief, showing only a horse jumping over a fence or a man running a few feet, because only so many photographs could be mounted inside the spinning cylinder that projected the images.

Meanwhile, other inventors were also working on capturing moving images and projecting them. In 1884, George Eastman (founder of Eastman Kodak) developed the first roll film—a huge improvement over the heavy metal and glass plates used to make individual photos. The first roll film had a paper backing that had to be stripped off during the film developing stage. Louis Aimé Augustin Le Prince, a Frenchman living in England, invented the first motion picture camera using roll film. Le Prince, who disappeared mysteriously on a train ride to Paris in

Movies and the Impact of Images

Celluloid
In 1889, U.S. minister Hannibal Goodwin develops the transparent, flexible film that enables motion pictures to be created (pp. 235–236).

The Vitascope
Edison's vitascope invention of 1896 popularizes large-screen film projection in the United States (p. 237).

Nickelodeons
Starting in 1907, storefront movie theaters with a five-cent admission price begin to flourish in the United States (pp. 237–238).

Movie Studio System
During the 1920s, a movie studio system gains control of the production, distribution, and exhibition of movies (pp. 238–241).

Big Five and Little Three
The Big Five studios (Paramount, MGM, Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century Fox, and RKO) and the Little Three (Columbia, Universal, and United Artists) form a powerful oligopoly in the late 1920s (p. 241).

1880 • 1890 • 1900 • 1910 • 1920 • 1930 • 1940

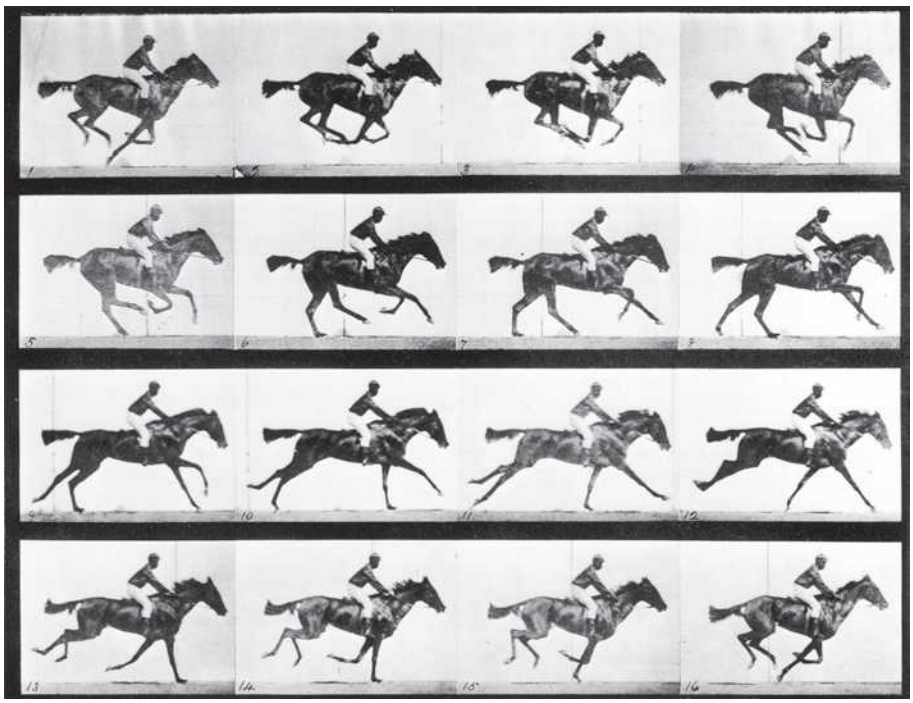
Kinetoscope Parlors
Thomas Edison's team opens the first such parlor of coin-operated machines in New York in 1894 (p. 236).

Film Screenings in Paris
In 1895, the Lumière brothers show short films in a Parisian café (p. 236).

Movie Palaces
The first opulent movie palace opens in New York in 1914, beginning a national trend (p. 241).

Sound Comes to Movies
The Jazz Singer (1927) and *The Singing Fool* (1928), both starring Al Jolson, bring sound to the screen (p. 242).

Everett Collection



Eadweard Muybridge/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE'S study of horses in motion proved that a racehorse gets all four feet off the ground during a gallop. In his various studies of motion, Muybridge would use up to twelve cameras at a time.

1890, is credited with filming the first motion picture, *Roundhay Garden Scene*, in 1888. About two seconds' worth of the film survives today.

In 1889, a New Jersey minister, Hannibal Goodwin, improved Eastman's roll film by using thin strips of transparent, pliable material called **celluloid**, which could hold a coating of chemicals sensitive to light. Goodwin's breakthrough solved a major problem: It enabled a

The Hollywood Ten
The House Un-American Activities Committee investigates ten unwilling witnesses in 1947 on grounds of allegedly having communist sympathies (pp. 251–252).

Ratings System
In 1967, the MPAA introduces a system to rate movies for age appropriateness (p. 254).

The Rise of the Indies
Independent films, particularly those that screen at the Sundance Film Festival, become an important source for identifying new talent in the 1990s (p. 249).

DVDs
The new digital movie format is quickly adopted in 1997 as a format superior to the VHS cassette (p. 254).

Netflix
Netflix eliminates any waiting time with its streaming service in 2008, allowing customers instant access to thousands of films and television shows (p. 260).

1950 • 1960 • 1970 • 1980 • 1990 • 2000 • 2010 • 2020

Paramount Decision
In 1948, the Supreme Court forces studios to divest themselves of their theaters to end the vertical integration of the industry (p. 252).

Video Transforms the Industry
VHS-format videocassette recorders (VCRs) hit the consumer market in 1977, creating a movie rental and purchase industry (p. 254).

Megaplex Mania
A building wave of giant movie complexes begins in the mid-1990s (p. 258).

Digital Film Production
By 2000, the digital production and distribution format gains strength in Hollywood and with independents (pp. 261–262).

© The Weinstein Company/Everett Collection (left);
© Walt Disney Pictures/Everett Collection (right)

strip of film to move through a camera and be photographed in rapid succession, producing a series of pictures. Because celluloid was transparent (except for the images made on it during filming), it was ideal for projection, as light could easily shine through it. George Eastman, who also announced the development of celluloid film, legally battled Goodwin for years over the patent rights. The courts eventually awarded Goodwin the invention, but Eastman's company became the major manufacturer of film stock for motion pictures after buying Goodwin's patents.

Edison and the Lumières Create Motion Pictures

As with the development of sound recording, Thomas Edison takes center stage in most accounts of the invention of motion pictures. In the late 1800s, Edison initially planned to merge phonograph technology and moving images to create talking pictures (which would not happen in feature films until 1927). Because there was no breakthrough, however, Edison lost interest. He directed an assistant, William Kennedy Dickson, to combine Edison's incandescent lightbulb, Goodwin's celluloid, and Le Prince's camera to create another early movie camera, the **kinetograph**, and a single-person viewing system, the **kinetoscope**. This small projection system housed fifty feet of film that revolved on spools (similar to a library microfilm reader). Viewers looked through a hole and saw images moving on a tiny plate. In 1894, the first kinetoscope parlor, featuring two rows of coin-operated machines, opened on Broadway in New York.

Meanwhile, in France, brothers Louis and Auguste Lumière developed the *cinematograph*, a combined camera, film developer, and projection system. The projection system was particularly important, as it allowed more than one person at a time to see the moving images on a large screen. In a Paris café on December 28, 1895, the Lumières projected ten short movies for viewers who paid one franc each, on such subjects as a man falling off a horse and a child trying to grab a fish from a bowl. Within three weeks, twenty-five hundred people were coming each night to see how, according to one Paris paper, film "perpetuates the image of movement."

Everett Collection

KINETOSCOPES allowed individuals to view motion pictures through a window in a cabinet that held the film. The first kinetoscope parlor opened in 1894 and was such a hit that many others quickly followed.

With innovators around the world now dabbling in moving pictures, Edison's lab renewed its interest in film. Edison patented several inventions and manufactured a new large-screen system called the **vitascope**, which enabled filmstrips of longer lengths to be projected without interruption and hinted at the potential of movies as a future mass medium. Staged at a music hall in New York in April 1896, Edison's first public showing of the vitascope featured shots from a boxing match and waves rolling onto a beach. The *New York Times* described the exhibition as "wonderfully real and singularly exhilarating." Some members of the audience were so taken with the realism of the film images that they stepped back from the screen's crashing waves to avoid getting their feet wet.

Early movie demonstrations such as these marked the beginning of the film industry's entrepreneurial stage. At this point, movies consisted of movement recorded by a single continuous camera shot, as early filmmakers had not yet figured out how to move the camera around or how to edit film shots together. Nonetheless, various innovators were beginning to see the commercial possibilities of film. By 1900, short movies had become a part of the entertainment industry and were showing up in amusement arcades, traveling carnivals, wax museums, and vaudeville theater.

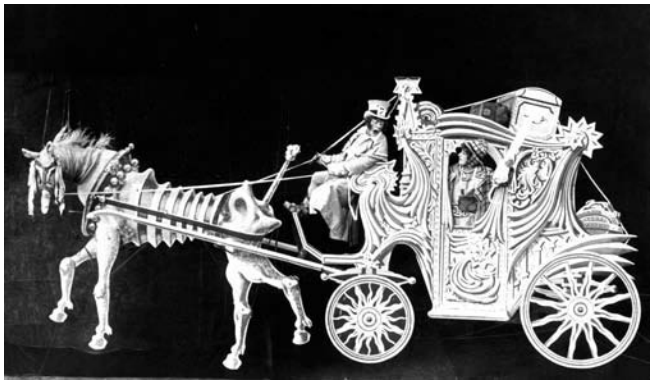
The Introduction of Narrative

The shift to the mass medium stage for movies occurred with the introduction of **narrative films**: movies that tell stories. Audiences quickly tired of static films of waves breaking on beaches or vaudeville acts recorded by immobile cameras. To become a mass medium, the early silent films had to offer what books achieved: the suspension of disbelief. They had to create narrative worlds that engaged an audience's imagination.

Some of the earliest narrative films were produced and directed by French magician and inventor Georges Méliès, who opened the first public movie theater in France in 1896. Méliès may have been the first director to realize that a movie was not simply a means of recording reality. He understood that a movie could be artificially planned and controlled like a staged play. Méliès began producing short fantasy and fairy-tale films—including *The Vanishing Lady* (1896), *Cinderella* (1899), and *A Trip to the Moon* (1902)—by increasingly using editing and existing camera tricks and techniques, such as slow motion and cartoon animation, which became key ingredients in future narrative filmmaking.

The first American filmmaker to adapt Méliès's innovations to narrative film was Edwin S. Porter. A cameraman who had studied Méliès's work in an Edison lab, Porter mastered the technique of editing diverse shots together to tell a coherent story. Porter shot narrative scenes out of order (for instance, some in a studio and some outdoors) and reassembled, or edited, them to make a story. In 1902, he made what is regarded as America's first narrative film, *The Life of an American Fireman*. It also contained the first close-up shot in U.S. narrative film history—a ringing fire alarm. Until then, moviemakers thought close-ups cheated the audience of the opportunity to see an entire scene. Porter's most important film, *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), introduced the western genre as well as chase scenes. In this popular eleven-minute movie, which inspired many copycats, Porter demonstrated the art of film suspense by alternating shots of the robbers with those of a posse in hot pursuit.

GEORGES MÉLIÈS trained as a stage magician before becoming interested in film—a talent he brought to his movies. Méliès is widely known as one of the first filmmakers to employ "tricks," or special effects, such as time-lapse photography, the stop trick, and multiple exposures. His impressive body of work includes the famous *A Trip to the Moon* (1902), *The Impossible Voyage* (1904), and *The Merry Frolics of Satan* (1906, pictured).



Mary Evans/MELIES/Ronald Grant/Everett Collection

The Arrival of Nickelodeons

Another major development in the evolution of film as a mass medium was the arrival of **nickelodeons**—a form of movie

theater whose name combines the admission price with the Greek word for "theater." According to media historian Douglas Gomery, these small and uncomfortable makeshift theaters were often converted storefronts redecorated to mimic vaudeville theaters: "In front, large, hand-painted posters announced the movies for the day. Inside, the screening of news, documentary, comedy, fantasy, and dramatic shorts lasted about one hour."[8] Usually a piano player added live music, and sometimes theater operators used sound effects to simulate gunshots or loud crashes. Because they showed silent films that transcended language barriers, nickelodeons flourished during the great European immigration at the turn of the twentieth century. These theaters filled a need for many newly arrived people struggling to learn English and seeking an inexpensive escape from the hard life of the city. Often managed by immigrants, nickelodeons required a minimal investment: just a secondhand projector and a large white sheet. Between 1907 and 1909, the number of nickelodeons grew from five thousand to ten thousand. The craze peaked by 1910, when entrepreneurs began to seek more affluent spectators, attracting them with larger and more lavish movie theaters.

The Rise of the Hollywood Studio System

By the 1910s, movies had become a major industry. Among the first to try his hand at dominating the movie business and reaping its profits, Thomas Edison formed the Motion Picture Patents Company, known as the *Trust*, in 1908. A cartel of major U.S. and French film producers, the company pooled patents in an effort to control film's major technology, acquired most major film distributorships, and signed an exclusive deal with George Eastman, who agreed to supply movie film only to Trust-approved companies.

However, some independent producers refused to bow to the Trust's terms. They saw too much demand for films, too much money to be made, and too many ways to avoid the Trust's scrutiny. Some producers began to relocate from the centers of film production in New York and New Jersey to Cuba and Florida. Ultimately, though, Hollywood became the film capital of the world. Southern California offered cheap labor, diverse scenery for outdoor shooting, and a mild climate suitable for year-round production. Geographically far from the Trust's headquarters in New Jersey, independent producers in Hollywood could easily slip over the border into Mexico to escape legal prosecution brought by the Trust for patent violations.

Wanting to free their movie operations from the Trust's tyrannical grasp, two Hungarian immigrants—Adolph Zukor, who would eventually run Paramount Pictures, and William Fox, who would found the Fox Film Corporation (which later became Twentieth Century Fox)—played a role in the collapse of Edison's Trust. Zukor's early companies figured out ways to bypass the Trust, and a suit by Fox, a nickelodeon operator turned film distributor, resulted in the Trust's breakup due to restraint of trade violations in 1917.

Ironically, entrepreneurs like Zukor developed other tactics for controlling the industry. The strategies, many of which are still used today, were more ambitious than just monopolizing patents and technology. They aimed at dominating the movie business at all three essential levels—*production*, everything involved in making a movie, from securing a script and actors to raising money and filming; *distribution*, getting the films into theaters; and *exhibition*, playing films in theaters. This control—or **vertical integration**—of all levels of the movie business gave certain studios great power and eventually spawned a film industry that turned into an **oligopoly**, a situation in which a few firms control the bulk of the business.

Production

In the early days of film, producers and distributors had not yet recognized that fans would seek not only particular film stories—like dramas, westerns, and romances—but also particular film actors. Initially, film companies were reluctant to identify their anonymous actors for fear that their popularity would raise the typical $5 to $15 weekly salary. Eventually, though, the industry understood how important the actors' identities were to a film's success.

Responding to discerning audiences and competing against Edison's Trust, Adolph Zukor hired a number of popular actors and formed the Famous Players Company in 1912. His idea was to control movie production not through patents but through exclusive contracts with actors. One Famous Players performer was Mary Pickford. Known as "America's Sweetheart" for her portrayal of spunky and innocent heroines, Pickford was "unspoiled" by a theater background and better suited to the more subtle and intimate new medium. She became so popular that audiences waited in line to see her movies, and producers were forced to pay her increasingly higher salaries.

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MARY PICKFORD
With legions of fans, Mary Pickford became the first woman ever to make a salary of $1 million in a year and gained the freedom to take artistic risks with her roles. (She would famously tell Adolph Zukor in 1915, "No, I really cannot afford to work for only $10,000 a week.") In 1919 she launched United Artists, a film distributing company, with Douglas Fairbanks, Charlie Chaplin, and D. W. Griffith. No woman since has been as powerful a player in the movie industry. Here she is seen with Buddy Rogers in *My Best Girl*.

An astute businesswoman, Mary Pickford was the key figure in elevating the financial status and professional role of film actors. In 1910, Pickford made about $100 a week, but by 1914 she was earning $1,000 a week, and by 1917, $15,000 a week. Having appeared in nearly two hundred films, Pickford was so influential that in 1919 she broke from Zukor to form her own company, United Artists. Joining her were actor Douglas Fairbanks (her future husband), comedian-director Charlie Chaplin, and director D. W. Griffith.

Although United Artists represented a brief triumph of autonomy for a few powerful actors, by the 1920s the **studio system** firmly controlled creative talent in the industry. Pioneered by director Thomas Ince and his company, Triangle, the studio system constituted a sort of assembly-line process for moviemaking: actors, directors, editors, writers, and others all worked under exclusive contracts for the major studios. Those who weren't under contract probably weren't working at all. Ince also developed the notion of the studio head; he appointed producers to handle hiring, logistics, and finances so that he could more easily supervise many pictures at one time. The system was so efficient that each major studio was producing a feature film every week. Pooling talent, rather than patents, was a more ingenious approach for movie studios aiming to dominate film production.

Distribution

An early effort to control movie distribution occurred around 1904, when movie companies provided vaudeville theaters with films and projectors on a *film exchange* system. In exchange for their short films, shown between live acts, movie producers received a small percentage of the vaudeville ticket-gate receipts. Gradually, as the number of production companies and the popularity of narrative films grew, demand for a distribution system serving national and international markets increased as well. One way Edison's Trust sought

to control distribution was by withholding equipment from companies not willing to pay the Trust's patent-use fees.

However, as with the production of film, independent film companies looked for distribution strategies outside of the Trust. Again, Adolph Zukor led the fight, developing **block booking** distribution. Under this system, in order to gain access to popular films with big stars like Mary Pickford, exhibitors had to agree to rent new or marginal films with no stars. Zukor would pressure theater operators into taking a hundred movies at a time to get the few Pickford titles they wanted. Such contracts enabled the new studios to test-market new stars without taking much financial risk. Although this practice was eventually outlawed as monopolistic, rising film studios used the tactic effectively to guarantee the success of their films in a competitive marketplace.

Another distribution strategy involved the marketing of American films in Europe. When World War I disrupted the once-powerful European film production industry, only U.S. studios were able to meet the demand for films in Europe. The war marked a turning point and made the United States the leader in the commercial movie business worldwide. After the war, no other nation's film industry could compete economically with Hollywood. By the mid-1920s, foreign revenue from U.S. films totaled $100 million. Today, Hollywood continues to dominate the world market.

Exhibition

Edison's Trust attempted to monopolize exhibition by controlling the flow of films to theater owners. If theaters wanted to ensure they had films to show their patrons, they had to purchase a license from the Trust and pay whatever price it asked. Otherwise, they were locked out of the Trust and had to try to find enough films from independent producers to show. Eventually, the flow of films from independents in Hollywood and foreign films enabled theater owners to resist the Trust's scheme.

After the collapse of the Trust, emerging studios in Hollywood had their own ideas on how to control exhibition. When industrious theater owners began forming film cooperatives to compete with block-booking tactics, producers like Zukor conspired to dominate exhibition by buying up theaters. By 1921, Zukor's Paramount owned three hundred theaters, solidifying its

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MOVIE PALACES
Many movie palaces of the 1920s were elaborate, opulent buildings. The one pictured here includes space for a live band at the front of the theater, to provide music and sound effects for the movie.

ability to show the movies it produced. In 1925, a business merger between Paramount and Publix (then the country's largest theater chain, with more than five hundred screens) gave Zukor enormous influence over movie exhibition.

Zukor and the heads of several major studios understood that they did not have to own all the theaters to ensure that their movies would be shown. Instead, the major studios (which would eventually include MGM, RKO, Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century Fox, and Paramount) only needed to own the first-run theaters (about 15 percent of the nation's theaters), which premiered new films in major downtown areas in front of the largest audiences, and which generated 85 to 95 percent of all film revenue.

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BUSTER KEATON (1895–1966)
Born into a vaudeville family, Keaton honed his comic skills early on. He got his start acting in a few shorts in 1917 and went on to star in some of the most memorable silent films of the 1920s, including classics such as *Sherlock Jr.* (1924), *The General* (1927), and *Steamboat Bill Jr.* (1928). Because of Keaton's ability to match physical comedy with an unfailingly deadpan and stoic face, he gained the nickname the Great Stone Face.

The studios quickly realized that to earn revenue from these first-run theaters they would have to draw the middle and upper-middle classes to the movies. To do so, they built **movie palaces**—full-time single-screen movie theaters that provided a more hospitable moviegoing environment. In 1914, the three-thousand-seat Strand Theatre, the first movie palace, opened in New York. With elaborate architecture, movie palaces lured spectators with an elegant décor usually reserved for high-society opera, ballet, symphony, and live theater.

Another major innovation in exhibition was the development of *mid-city movie theaters*. These movie theaters were built in convenient locations near urban mass-transit stations to attract the business of the urban and suburban middle class (the first wave of middle-class people moved from urban centers to city outskirts in the 1920s). This idea continues today, as **multiplexes** featuring multiple screens lure middle-class crowds to interstate highway crossroads.

By the late 1920s, the major studios had clearly established vertical integration in the industry. What had once been a fairly easy and cheap business to enter was now complex and expensive. What had been many small competitive firms in the early 1900s was now a few powerful studios, including the **Big Five**—Paramount, MGM, Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century Fox, and RKO—and the **Little Three** (which did not own theaters)—Columbia, Universal, and United Artists. Together, these eight companies formed a powerful oligopoly, which made it increasingly difficult for independent companies to make, distribute, and exhibit commercial films.

The Studio System's Golden Age

Many consider Hollywood's Golden Age as beginning in 1915 with innovations in feature-length narrative film in the silent era, peaking with the introduction of sound and the development of the classic Hollywood style, and ending with the transformation of the Hollywood studio system post–World War II.

Hollywood Narrative and the Silent Era

D. W. Griffith, among the first "star" directors, was the single most important director in Hollywood's early days. Griffith paved the way for all future narrative filmmakers by refining many of the narrative techniques introduced by Méliès and Porter and using nearly all of them in one film for the first time, including varied camera distances, close-up shots, multiple story lines, fast-paced editing, and symbolic imagery. Despite the cringe-inducing racism of this pioneering and controversial film, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) was the first *feature-length film* (more than an hour long) produced in America. The three-hour epic was also the first **blockbuster** and cost moviegoers a record $2 admission. Although considered a technical masterpiece, the film glorified the Ku Klux Klan and stereotyped southern blacks, leading to a campaign against the film by the NAACP and protests and riots at many screenings. Nevertheless, the movie triggered Hollywood's fascination with narrative films.

Feature films became the standard throughout the 1920s and introduced many of the film genres we continue to see produced today. The most popular films during the silent era were historical and religious epics, including *Napoleon* (1927), *Ben-Hur* (1925), and *The Ten Commandments* (1923), but the silent era also produced pioneering social dramas, mysteries, comedies, horror films, science-fiction films, war films, crime dramas, westerns, and even spy films. The silent era also introduced numerous technical innovations, established the Hollywood star system, and cemented the reputation of movies as a viable art form, when previously they had been seen as novelty entertainment.

The Introduction of Sound

With the studio system and Hollywood's worldwide dominance firmly in place, the next big challenge was to bring sound to moving pictures. Various attempts at **talkies** had failed since Edison first tried to link phonograph and moving picture technologies in the 1890s. During the 1910s, however, technical breakthroughs at AT&T's research arm, Bell Labs, produced prototypes of loudspeakers and sound amplifiers. Experiments with sound continued during the 1920s, particularly at Warner Brothers studios, which released numerous short sound films of vaudeville acts, featuring singers and comedians. The studio packaged them as a novelty along with silent feature films.

A SILENT COMEBACK
The Artist, a tribute to silent movies set around the dawn of the talkies, won the Academy Award for best picture of 2011. It was the first (mostly) silent movie to win since the first Academy Awards in 1927.

© The Weinstein Company/Everett Collection

In 1927, Warner Brothers produced *The Jazz Singer*, a feature-length film starring Al Jolson, a charismatic and popular vaudeville singer who wore blackface makeup as part of his act. This further demonstrated, as did *The Birth of a Nation*, that racism in America carried into the film industry. An experiment, *The Jazz Singer* was basically a silent film interspersed with musical numbers and brief dialogue ("Wait a minute, wait a minute, you ain't heard nothin' yet"). At first there was only modest interest in the movie, which featured just 354 spoken words. But the film grew in popularity as it toured the Midwest, where audiences stood and cheered the short bursts of dialogue. The breakthrough film, however, was Warner Brothers' 1928 release *The Singing Fool*, which also starred Jolson. Costing $200,000 to make, the film took in $5 million and "proved to all doubters that talkies were here to stay."[9]

Warner Brothers, however, was not the only studio exploring sound technology. Five months before *The Jazz Singer* opened, Fox studio premiered sound-film **newsreels**. Fox's newsreel company, Movietone, captured the first film footage with sound of the takeoff and return of Charles Lindbergh, who piloted the first solo, nonstop flight across the Atlantic Ocean in May 1927. Fox's Movietone system recorded sound directly onto the film, running it on a narrow filmstrip that ran alongside the larger image portion of the film. Superior to the sound-on-record system, the Movietone method eventually became film's standard sound system.

Boosted by the innovation of sound, annual movie attendance in the United States rose from sixty million a week in 1927 to ninety million a week in 1929. By 1931, nearly 85 percent of America's twenty thousand theaters accommodated sound pictures; and by 1935, the world had adopted talking films as the commercial standard.

The Development of the Hollywood Style

By the time sound came to movies, Hollywood dictated not only the business but also the style of most moviemaking worldwide. That style, or model, for storytelling developed with the rise of the studio system in the 1920s, solidified during the first two decades of the sound era, and continues to dominate American filmmaking today. The model serves up three ingredients that give Hollywood movies their distinctive flavor: the narrative, the genre, and the author (or director). The right blend of these ingredients—combined with timing, marketing, and luck—has led to many movie hits, from 1930s and 1940s classics like *It Happened One Night*, *Gone with the Wind*, *The Philadelphia Story*, and *Casablanca* to recent successes like *Gravity* (2013) and *Gone Girl* (2014).

Hollywood Narratives

American filmmakers from D. W. Griffith to Steven Spielberg have understood the allure of *narrative*, which always includes two basic components: the story (what happens to whom) and the discourse (how the story is told). Further, Hollywood codified a familiar narrative structure across all genres. Most movies, like most TV shows and novels, feature recognizable character types (protagonist, antagonist, romantic interest, sidekick); a clear beginning, middle, and end (even with flashbacks and flash-forwards, the sequence of events is usually clear to the viewer); and a plot propelled by the main character experiencing and resolving a conflict by the end of the movie.

Within Hollywood's classic narratives, filmgoers find an amazing array of intriguing cultural variations. For example, familiar narrative conventions of heroes, villains, conflicts, and resolutions may be made more unique with inventions like computer-generated imagery (CGI) or digital remastering for an IMAX 3D Experience release. This combination of convention and invention—standardized Hollywood stories and differentiated special effects—provides a powerful economic package that satisfies most audiences' appetites for both the familiar and the distinctive.

Hollywood Genres

In general, Hollywood narratives fit a **genre**, or category, in which conventions regarding similar characters, scenes, structures, and themes recur in combination. (See Table 7.1 for a list of Hollywood's top movie genres.) Grouping films by category is another way for the industry to achieve the two related economic goals of *product standardization* and *product differentiation*. By making films that fall into popular genres, the movie industry provides familiar models that can be imitated. It is much easier for a studio to promote a film that already fits into a preexisting category with which viewers are familiar. Among the most familiar genres are comedy,

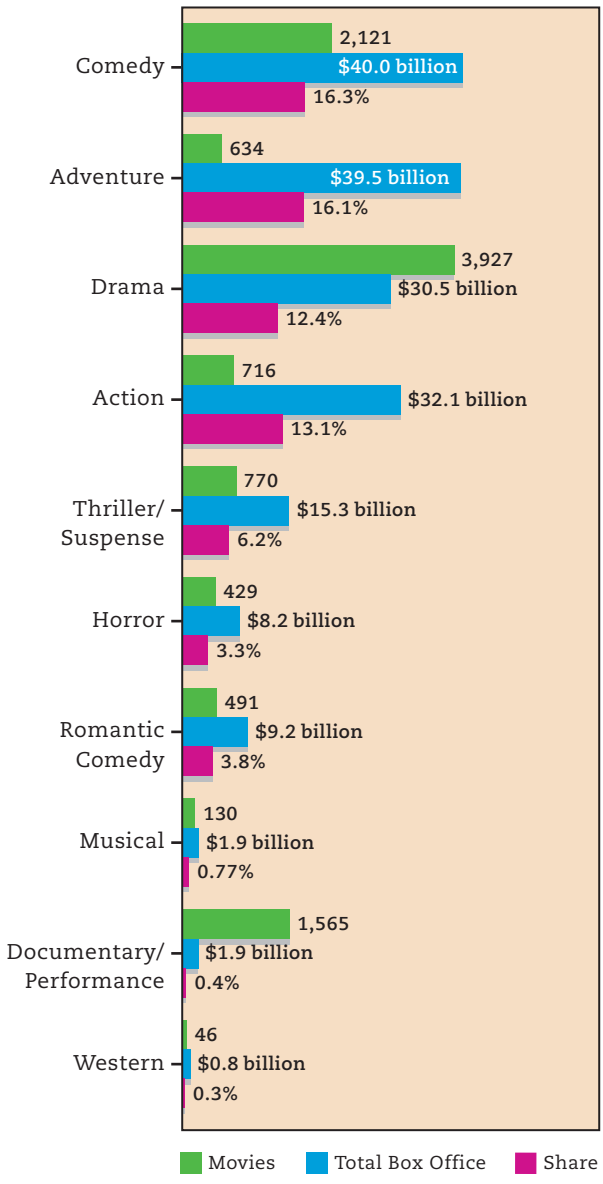


TABLE 7.1

HOLLYWOOD'S TOP GENRES

Data from: "Market Share for Each Genre 1995–2015," The Numbers, June 24, 2015, www.the-numbers.com/market/genres.

adventure, drama, action, thriller/suspense, horror, romantic comedy, musical, documentary/performance, western, gangster, fantasy–science fiction, and film noir.

Variations of dramas and comedies have long dominated film's narrative history. A western typically features "good" cowboys battling "evil" bad guys, as in *True Grit* (2010), or resolves tension between the natural forces of the wilderness and the civilizing influence of a town. Romances (such as *The Fault in Our Stars*, 2014) present conflicts that are mediated by the ideal of love. Another popular genre, thriller/suspense (such as *Prisoners*, 2013), usually casts "the city" as a corrupting place that needs to be overcome by the moral courage of a heroic detective.[10]

Because most Hollywood narratives try to create believable worlds, the artificial style of musicals is sometimes a disruption of what many viewers expect. Musicals' popularity peaked in the 1940s and 1950s, but they showed a small resurgence in the 2000s with *Moulin Rouge!* (2001), *Chicago* (2002), and *Les Misérables* (2012). Still, no live-action musicals rank among the top fifty highest-grossing films of all time.

Another fascinating genre is the horror film, which also claims none of the top fifty highest-grossing films of all time. In fact, from *Psycho* (1960) to *The Conjuring* (2013), this lightly regarded genre has earned only one Oscar for best picture: *Silence of the Lambs* (1991). Yet these movies are extremely popular with teenagers, among the largest theatergoing audience, who are in search of cultural choices distinct from those of their parents. Critics suggest that the teen appeal of horror movies is similar to the allure of gangster rap or heavy-metal music; they believe teens enjoy the horror genre because it is a cultural form that often carries anti-adult messages and does not appeal to most adults.

The *film noir* genre (French for "black film") developed in the United States in the late 1920s and hit its peak after World War II. Still, the genre continues to influence movies today. Using low-lighting techniques, few daytime scenes, and bleak urban settings, films in this genre (such as *The Big Sleep*, 1946, and *Sunset Boulevard*, 1950) explore unstable characters and the sinister side of human nature. Although the French critics who first identified noir as a genre place these films in the 1940s, their influence resonates in contemporary films—sometimes called *neo-noir*—including *Se7en* (1995), *L.A. Confidential* (1997), and *Sin City* (2005).

Hollywood "Authors"

In commercial filmmaking, the director serves as the main author of a film. Sometimes called "auteurs," successful directors develop a particular cinematic style or an interest in particular topics that differentiates their narratives from those of other directors. Alfred Hitchcock, for instance, redefined the suspense drama through editing techniques that heightened tension (*Rear Window*, 1954; *Vertigo*, 1958; *North by Northwest*, 1959; *Psycho*, 1960).

The contemporary status of directors stems from two breakthrough films: Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* (1969) and George Lucas's *American Graffiti* (1973), which became surprise box-office hits. Their inexpensive budgets, rock-and-roll soundtracks, and big payoffs created opportunities for a new generation of directors. The success of these films exposed cracks in the Hollywood system, which was losing money in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Studio executives seemed at a loss to explain and predict the tastes of a new generation of moviegoers. Yet Hopper and Lucas had tapped into the anxieties of the postwar baby-boom generation in its search for self-realization, its longing for an innocent past, and its efforts to cope with the turbulence of the 1960s.

This opened the door for a new wave of directors who were trained in California or New York film schools and were also products of the 1960s, such as Francis Ford Coppola (*The Godfather*, 1972), William Friedkin (*The Exorcist*, 1973), Steven Spielberg (*Jaws*, 1975), Martin Scorsese (*Taxi Driver*, 1976), Brian De Palma (*Carrie*, 1976), and George Lucas (*Star Wars*, 1977). Combining news or documentary techniques and Hollywood narratives, these films demonstrated how mass media borders had become blurred and how movies had become dependent on audiences who were used to television and rock and roll. These films signaled the start of a period that Scorsese has called "the deification of the director." A handful of successful directors gained the kind of economic clout and celebrity standing that had belonged almost exclusively to top movie stars.

Everett Collection

FILM GENRES
Psycho (1960), a classic horror film, tells the story of Marion Crane (played by Janet Leigh), who flees to a motel after embezzling $40,000 from her employer. There, she meets the motel owner, Norman Bates (played by Anthony Perkins), and her untimely death. The infamous shower scene, pictured above, is widely considered one of the most iconic horror film sequences.

Although the status of directors grew in the 1960s and 1970s, recognition for women directors of Hollywood features remained rare.[11] A breakthrough came with Kathryn Bigelow's best director Academy Award for *The Hurt Locker* (2009), which also won the best picture award. Prior to Bigelow's win, only three women had received an Academy Award nomination for directing a feature film: Lina Wertmüller in 1976 for *Seven Beauties*, Jane Campion in 1994 for *The Piano*, and Sofia Coppola in 2004 for *Lost in Translation*. Both Wertmüller and Campion are from outside the United States, where women directors frequently receive more opportunities for film development. Some women in the United States get an opportunity to direct because of their prominent standing as popular actors; Barbra Streisand, Jodie Foster, Penny Marshall, and Sally Field all fall into this category. Other women have come to direct films via their scriptwriting achievements. For example, Jennifer Lee, who wrote *Wreck-It Ralph* (2012), followed up by writing and directing *Frozen* (2013). Other women directors—like Bigelow, Catherine Hardwicke (*Twilight*, 2008), Lone Scherfig (*One Day*, 2011), Debra Granik (*Winter's Bone*, 2010), and Kimberly Peirce (*Carrie*, 2013)—have moved past debut films and proven themselves as experienced studio auteurs.

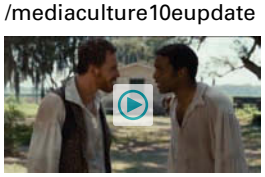
Members of minority groups, including African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, have also struggled for recognition in Hollywood. Still, some have succeeded as directors, crossing over from careers as actors or gaining notoriety through independent filmmaking. Among the most successful contemporary African American directors are Kasi Lemmons (*Black Nativity*, 2013), Lee Daniels (*The Butler*, 2013), John Singleton (*Abduction*, 2011), Tyler Perry (*A Madea Christmas*, 2013), and Spike Lee (*Oldboy*, 2013). (See "Case Study:

Atsushi Nishijima/© Paramount Pictures/Everett Collection

WOMEN DIRECTORS have long struggled in Hollywood. However, some, like Kathryn Bigelow and Ava DuVernay are making a name for themselves. Known for her rough-and-tumble style of filmmaking and her penchant for directing action and thriller movies, Bigelow became the first woman to win the Academy Award for best director for *The Hurt Locker* in 2010. DuVernay (*above*) wasn't nominated for her acclaimed Martin Luther King film *Selma*, but the project vaulted her into consideration for even bigger films.

LaunchPad

macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate



Breaking Barriers with *12 Years a Slave*

Visit LaunchPad to view a short clip from the Oscar-winning movie from director Steve McQueen.

Discussion: How do you think *12 Years a Slave* differs from previous depictions of black history in America?

Breaking through Hollywood's Race Barrier" on page 247.) Asian Americans such as M. Night Shyamalan (*After Earth*, 2013), Ang Lee (*Life of Pi*, 2012), Wayne Wang (*Snow Flower and the Secret Fan*, 2011), and documentarian Arthur Dong (*The Killing Fields of Dr. Haing S. Ngor,* 2014) have built immensely accomplished directing careers. Chris Eyre (*Hide Away*, 2011) remains the most noted Native American director, working mainly as an independent filmmaker.

Outside the Hollywood System

Since the rise of the studio system, Hollywood has focused on feature-length movies that command popular attention and earn the most money. However, the movie industry has a long tradition of films made outside the Hollywood studio system. In the following sections, we look at three alternatives to Hollywood: international films, documentaries, and independent films.

Global Cinema

For generations, Hollywood has dominated the global movie scene. In many countries, American films capture up to 90 percent of the market. In striking contrast, foreign films constitute only a tiny fraction—less than 2 percent—of motion pictures seen in the United States today. Despite Hollywood's domination of global film distribution, other countries have a rich history of producing both successful and provocative short-subject and feature films. For example, cinematic movements of the twentieth century—such as German expressionism (capturing psychological moods), Soviet social realism (presenting a positive view of Soviet life), Italian neorealism (focusing on the everyday lives of Italians), and European new-wave cinema (experimenting with the language of film)—and post–World War II Japanese, Hong Kong, Korean, Australian, Indian, Canadian, and British cinema have all been extremely influential, demonstrating alternatives to the Hollywood approach.

Early on, Americans showed interest in British and French short films and in experimental films, such as Germany's *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1919). Foreign-language movies did reasonably well throughout the 1920s, especially in ethnic neighborhood theaters in large American cities. For a time, Hollywood studios even dubbed some popular American movies into Spanish, Italian, French, and German for these theaters. But the Depression brought cutbacks, and by the 1930s, the daughters and sons of turn-of-the-century immigrants—many of whom were trying to assimilate into mainstream American culture—preferred their Hollywood movies in English.[12]

Postwar prosperity, rising globalism, and the gradual decline of the studios' hold over theater exhibition in the 1950s and 1960s stimulated the rise of art-house theaters, and these decades saw a rebirth of interest in foreign-language films by such prominent directors as Sweden's Ingmar Bergman (*Wild Strawberries*, 1957), Italy's Federico Fellini (*La Dolce Vita*, 1960), France's François Truffaut (*Jules and Jim*, 1961), Japan's Akira Kurosawa (*Seven Samurai*, 1954), and India's Satyajit Ray (Apu Trilogy, 1955–1959). Catering to academic audiences, art houses made a statement against Hollywood commercialism as they sought to show alternative movies.

By the late 1970s, though, the home video market had emerged, and audiences began staying home to watch both foreign and domestic films. New multiplex theater owners rejected the smaller profit margins of most foreign titles, which lacked the promotional hype

CASE STUDY

Breaking through Hollywood's Race Barrier

The problem of the term *black cinema* is that such a term needs to exist. (Do we, for example, talk about a *white cinema* in the United States?) But there is a long history of blacks' exclusion from the industry as writers, directors, and actors—not to mention even as audience members at theaters—so when a film like *Dope* (2015) by director Rick Famuyiwa gets praised as "revolutionary" and "subversive," it's because this teen coming-of-age story dares to feature a cast that for the most part isn't white. Even more exciting (and sadly rare), it opened not in a handful of theaters but on over two thousand screens nationwide.

Despite African Americans' long support of the film industry, their moviegoing experience has not been the same as that of whites. From the late 1800s until the passage of Civil Rights legislation in the mid-1960s, many theater owners discriminated against black patrons. In large cities, blacks often had to attend separate theaters, where new movies might not appear until a year or two after white theaters had shown them. In smaller towns and in the South, blacks were often allowed to patronize local theaters only after midnight. In addition, some theater managers required black patrons to sit in less desirable areas of the theater.[1]

Changes began taking place during and after World War II. In response to the "white flight" from central cities during the suburbanization of the 1950s, many downtown and neighborhood theaters began catering to black customers in order to keep from going out of business. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, these theaters had become major venues for popular commercial films, even featuring a few movies about African Americans, including *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* (1967), *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), *The Learning Tree* (1969), and *Sounder* (1972).

Based on the popularity of these films, black photographer-turned-filmmaker Gordon Parks, who directed *The Learning Tree* (adapted from his own novel), went on to make commercial action/adventure films, including *Shaft* (1971, remade by John Singleton in 2000). Popular in urban theaters—especially among black teenagers—the movies produced by Parks and his son, Gordon Parks Jr. (*Super Fly*, 1972), spawned a number of commercial imitators. Labeled *blaxploitation* movies, these films were the subject of heated cultural debates in the 1970s; like some rap songs today, they were both praised for their realistic depictions of black urban life and criticized for glorifying violence.

Opportunities for black film directors have expanded some since the 1980s and 1990s, but only recently have black filmmakers achieved a measure of mainstream success. Lee Daniels received only the second Academy Award nomination for a black director for *Precious: Based on the Novel "Push" by Sapphire* in 2009 (the first was John Singleton for *Boyz N the Hood* in 1991). *Precious*, about an obese, illiterate black teenage girl subjected to severe sexual and emotional abuse, was praised by many critics but decried by others who interpreted it as either more blaxploitation or "poverty porn."[2] In 2013, Daniels returned as the director of *The Butler*, inspired by the true story of an African American man who experienced major events of the twentieth century from his position as a White House butler. In that same year, *12 Years a Slave*—a film by black British director Steve McQueen—told the story of a free African American man who was kidnapped and sold into slavery. The film adaptation of Solomon Northup's 1853 memoir won three Academy Awards and a best director nomination for McQueen. McQueen became the first black director to win a best picture award.

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The Kobal Collection at Art Resource, NY

FOREIGN FILMS
China restricts the number of imported films shown and regulates the lengths of their runs in order to protect its own domestic film industry. Nonetheless, China has become a lucrative market—for both U.S. films and its own features, like *The Monkey King* (2014). This 3-D live-action film based on a classic Chinese folk story became one of China's biggest hits of 2014.

of U.S. films. As a result, between 1966 and 1990 the number of foreign films released annually in the United States dropped by two-thirds, from nearly three hundred to about one hundred titles per year.

With the growth of superstore video chains like Blockbuster in the 1990s, which were supplanted by online video services like Netflix in the 2000s, viewers gained access to a larger selection of foreign-language titles. The successes of *Amélie* (France, 2001), *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* (Sweden, 2009), and *Instructions Not Included* (Mexico, 2013) illustrate that U.S. audiences are willing to watch subtitled films with non-Hollywood perspectives. However, foreign films are losing ground as they compete with the expanding independent American film market for screen space.

Today, the largest film industry is in India, out of Bollywood (a play on words combining city names Bombay—now Mumbai—and Hollywood), where about a thousand films a year are produced—mostly romance or adventure musicals in a distinct style.[13] In comparison, Hollywood moviemakers release five hundred to six hundred films a year. (For a broader perspective, see "Global Village: Beyond Hollywood: Asian Cinema" on page 250.)

The Documentary Tradition

Both TV news and nonfiction films trace their roots to the movie industry's *interest films* and *newsreels* of the late 1890s. In Britain, interest films compiled footage of regional wars, political leaders, industrial workers, and agricultural scenes, and were screened with fiction shorts. Pioneered in France and England, newsreels consisted of weekly ten-minute magazine-style compilations of filmed news events from around the world. International news services began supplying theaters and movie studios with newsreels, and by 1911, they had become a regular part of the moviegoing menu.

Early filmmakers also produced *travelogues*, which recorded daily life in various communities around the world. Travel films reached a new status in Robert Flaherty's classic *Nanook of the North* (1922), which tracked an Inuit family in the harsh Hudson Bay region of Canada. Flaherty edited his fifty-five-minute film to both tell and interpret the story of his subject. Flaherty's second film, *Moana* (1925), a study of the lush South Pacific islands, inspired the term **documentary** in a 1926 film review by John Grierson, a Scottish film producer. Grierson defined Flaherty's work and the documentary form as "the creative treatment of actuality," or a genre that interprets reality by recording real people and settings.

Over time, the documentary developed an identity apart from its commercial presentation. As an educational, noncommercial form, the documentary usually required the backing of industry, government, or philanthropy to cover costs. In support of a clear alternative to Hollywood cinema, some nations began creating special units, such as Canada's National Film Board, to sponsor documentaries. In the United States, art and film received considerable support from the Roosevelt administration during the Depression.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the development of portable cameras had led to **cinema verité** (a French term for "truth film"). This documentary style allowed filmmakers to go where cameras could not go before and record fragments of everyday life more unobtrusively. Directly opposed to packaged, high-gloss Hollywood features, verité aimed to track reality, employing a rough, grainy look and shaky, handheld camera work. Among the key

innovators in cinema verité was Drew Associates, led by Robert Drew, a former *Life* magazine photographer. Through his connection to Time Inc. (which owned *Life*) and its chain of TV stations, Drew shot the groundbreaking documentary *Primary*, which followed the 1960 Democratic presidential primary race between Hubert Humphrey and John F. Kennedy.

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DOCUMENTARY FILMS
Citizenfour, a documentary released in 2014, tells the story of Edward Snowden—a whistleblower who leaked information regarding the National Security Agency's wiretapping program—and follows along with him as he leaks the information and makes his identity public. The film, praised for its detail and tension, won the Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature in 2015.

Perhaps the major contribution of documentaries has been their willingness to tackle controversial or unpopular subject matter. For example, American documentary filmmaker Michael Moore often addresses complex topics that target corporations or the government. His films include *Roger and Me* (1989), a comic and controversial look at the relationship between the city of Flint, Michigan, and General Motors; the Oscar-winning *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), an exploration of gun violence; *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), a critique of the Bush administration's Middle East policies; *Sicko* (2007), an investigation of the U.S. health-care system; and the recent *Where to Invade Next*, a look at other countries' quality of life. Moore's later films were part of a resurgence in high-profile documentary filmmaking in the United States, which included *The Fog of War* (2003), *Super Size Me* (2004), *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006), *The Cove* (2009), *Bully* (2012), and *Citizenfour* (2014).

The Rise of Independent Films

The success of documentary films like *Super Size Me* and *Fahrenheit 9/11* dovetails with the rise of **indies**, or independently produced films. As opposed to directors working in the Hollywood system, independent filmmakers typically operate on a shoestring budget and show their movies in thousands of campus auditoriums and at hundreds of small film festivals. The decreasing costs of portable technology, including smaller digital cameras and computer editing, have kept many documentary and independent filmmakers in business. They make movies inexpensively, relying on real-life situations, stage actors and nonactors, crews made up of friends and students, and local nonstudio settings. Successful independents like Sofia Coppola (*Lost in Translation*, 2003; *The Bling Ring*, 2013) and Jim Jarmusch (*Dead Man*, 1995; *Only Lovers Left Alive*, 2014) continue to find substantial audiences in college and art-house theaters and through online DVD and streaming services like Netflix, which promote work produced outside the studio system. Meanwhile, independent-minded filmmakers like Wes Anderson (*Rushmore*, 1998; *The Grand Budapest Hotel*, 2014), Darren Aronofsky (*Black Swan*, 2010; *Noah*, 2014), and David O. Russell (*American Hustle*, 2013; *Joy*, 2015) have established careers somewhere between fully independent and studio backed, often with smaller companies financing their films before they're picked up by bigger studios.

Distributing smaller films can be big business for the studios. The rise of independent film festivals in the 1990s—especially the Sundance Film Festival held every January in Park City, Utah—helped Hollywood rediscover low-cost independent films as an alternative to traditional movies with *Titanic*-size budgets. Films such as *Little Miss Sunshine* (2006), *500 Days of Summer* (2009), *The Way, Way Back* (2013), and *Whiplash* (2014) were able to generate industry buzz and garner major studio distribution deals through Sundance screenings, becoming star vehicles for several directors and actors. As with the recording industry, the

GLOBAL VILLAGE

Beyond Hollywood: Asian Cinema

Asian nations easily outstrip Hollywood in quantity of films produced. India alone produces about a thousand movies a year. But from India to South Korea, Asian films are increasingly challenging Hollywood in terms of quality, and they have become more influential as Asian directors, actors, and film styles are exported to Hollywood and the world.

India

Part musical, part action, part romance, and part suspense, the epic films of Bollywood typically have fantastic sets, hordes of extras, plenty of wet saris, and symbolic fountain bursts (as a substitute for kissing and sex, which are prohibited from being shown). Indian movie fans pay from $.75 to $5 to see these films, and they feel shortchanged if the movies are shorter than three hours. With many films produced in less than a week, however, most of the Bollywood fare is cheaply produced and badly acted. But these production aesthetics are changing, as bigger-budget releases target middle and upper classes in India, the twenty-five million Indians living abroad, and Western audiences. *Jab Tak Hai Jaan* (2012), a romance starring Shahrukh Khan—India's most famous leading man—had the most successful U.S. box-office opening of any Bollywood film. The film was released just weeks after the death of Yash Chopra, its award-winning director.

China

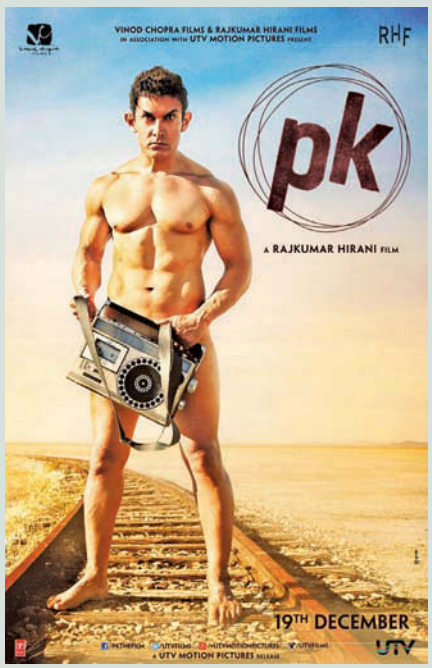
Since the late 1980s, Chinese cinema has developed an international reputation. Leading this generation of directors are Yimou Zhang (*House of Flying Daggers*, 2004; *Coming Home*, 2014) and Kaige Chen (*Farewell My Concubine*, 1993; *Caught in the Web*, 2012), whose work has spanned such genres as historical epics, love stories, contemporary tales of city life, and action fantasy. These directors have also helped make international stars out of Li Gong (*Memoirs of a Geisha*, 2005; *Coming Home*, 2014) and Ziyi Zhang (*Memoirs of a Geisha*, 2005; *Dangerous Liaisons*, 2012).

Hong Kong

Hong Kong films were the most talked about—and the most influential—film genre in cinema throughout the late 1980s and 1990s. The style of highly choreographed action with often breathtaking, balletlike violence became hugely popular around the world, reaching American audiences and in some cases even outselling Hollywood blockbusters. Hong Kong directors like John Woo, Ringo Lam, and Jackie Chan (who also acts in his movies) have directed Hollywood action films; and stars like Jet Li (*Lethal Weapon 4*, 1998; *The Expendables 3,* 2014), Yun-Fat Chow (*Pirates of the Caribbean: At World's End*, 2007; *The Monkey King*, 2014), and Malaysia's Michelle Yeoh (*Memoirs of a Geisha*, 2005; *The Lady,* 2011) are landing leading roles in American movies.

Japan

Americans may be most familiar with low-budget monster movies like *Godzilla*, but the widely heralded films of the late director Akira Kurosawa have had an even greater impact: His *Seven Samurai* (1954) was remade by Hollywood as *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), and *The Hidden Fortress* (1958) was George Lucas's inspiration for *Star Wars*. Hayao Miyazaki (*Ponyo*, 2009; *The Wind Rises*, 2013) is the country's top director of anime movies. Japanese thrillers like *Ringu* (1998), *Ringu 2* (1999), and *Ju-on: The Grudge* (2003) were remade into successful American horror films. Hirokazu Koreeda's drama *Like Father, Like Son* (2013) won the Jury Prize at the Cannes Film Festival and caught the attention of Steven Spielberg, who acquired the remake rights for his company DreamWorks.



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The current highest-grossing Indian film of all time is *PK*, a science-fiction comedy about a visiting alien.

South Korea

The end of military regimes in the late 1980s and corporate investment in the film business in the 1990s created a new era in Korean moviemaking. Leading directors include Kim Jee-woon; Lee Chang-dong (nominated for the Palme d'Or award at Cannes for *Poetry*, 2010); and Chan-wook Park, whose Vengeance Trilogy films (*Sympathy for Mr. Vengeance*, 2002; *Oldboy*, 2003; and *Lady Vengeance*, 2005) have won international acclaim, including the Grand Prix at Cannes for *Oldboy*, which was remade in the United States in 2013 by director Spike Lee. Joon-ho Bong's science-fiction film *Snowpiercer* (2013)—based on a French graphic novel, filmed in the Czech Republic, and starring a mostly English-speaking cast (including Chris Evans and Tilda Swinton)—epitomizes the international outlook of Korean cinema.

major studios see these festivals—which also include New York's Tribeca Film Festival, the South by Southwest festival in Austin, and international film festivals in Toronto and Cannes—as important venues for discovering new talent. Some major studios even purchased successful independent film companies (Disney's purchase of Miramax) or developed in-house indie divisions (Sony's Sony Pictures Classics) to specifically handle the development and distribution of indies.

But by 2010, the independent film business as a feeder system for major studios was declining due to the poor economy and studios' waning interest in smaller specialty films. Disney sold Miramax for $660 million to an investor group composed of Hollywood outsiders. Viacom folded its independent unit, Paramount Vantage, into its main studio, and Time Warner closed its Warner Independent and Picturehouse in-house indie divisions. Meanwhile, producers of low-budget independent films increasingly looked to alternative digital distribution models, such as Internet downloads, direct DVD sales, and on-demand screenings via cable and services like Netflix.

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INDEPENDENT FILM FESTIVALS, like the Sundance Film Festival, are widely recognized in the film industry as a major place to discover new talent and acquire independently made films on topics that might otherwise be too controversial, too niche specific, or too original for a major studio-backed picture. One of the breakout hits of Sundance 2015, the comedy-drama *Me and Earl and the Dying Girl* adapted a young-adult novel by Jesse Andrews and was picked up by Fox Searchlight for release that summer.

The Transformation of the Studio System

After years of thriving, the Hollywood movie industry began to falter after 1946. Weekly movie attendance in the United States peaked at ninety million in 1946, then fell to under twenty-five million by 1963. Critics and observers began talking about the death of Hollywood, claiming that the Golden Age was over. However, the movie industry adapted and survived, just as it continues to do today. Among the changing conditions facing the film industry were the communist witch-hunts in Hollywood, the end of the industry's vertical integration, suburbanization, the arrival of television, and the appearance of home entertainment.

The Hollywood Ten

In 1947, in the wake of the unfolding Cold War with the Soviet Union, conservative members of Congress began investigating Hollywood for alleged subversive and communist ties. That year, aggressive witch-hunts for political radicals in the film industry by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) led to the famous **Hollywood Ten** hearings and subsequent trial. (HUAC included future president Richard M. Nixon, then a congressman from California.)

During the investigations, HUAC coerced prominent people from the film industry to declare their patriotism and to give up the names of colleagues suspected of having politically unfriendly tendencies. Upset over labor union strikes and outspoken writers, many film executives were eager to testify and provide names. For instance, Jack L. Warner of Warner Brothers suggested that whenever film writers made fun of the wealthy or America's political system in

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THE HOLLYWOOD TEN
While many studio heads, producers, and actors "named names" to HUAC, others, such as the group shown here, held protests to demand the release of the Hollywood Ten.

their work, or if their movies were sympathetic to "Indians and the colored folks,"[14] they were engaging in communist propaganda. Other "friendly" HUAC witnesses included actors Gary Cooper and Ronald Reagan, director Elia Kazan, and producer Walt Disney. Whether they believed it was their patriotic duty or they feared losing their jobs, many prominent actors, directors, and other film executives also "named names."

Eventually, HUAC subpoenaed ten unwilling witnesses who were questioned about their memberships in various organizations. The so-called Hollywood Ten—nine screenwriters and one director—refused to discuss their memberships or to identify communist sympathizers. Charged with contempt of Congress in November 1947, they were eventually sent to prison. Although jailing the Hollywood Ten clearly violated their free-speech rights, in the atmosphere of the Cold War many people worried that "the American way" could be sabotaged via unpatriotic messages planted in films. Upon release from jail, the Hollywood Ten found themselves blacklisted, or boycotted, by the major studios, and their careers in the film industry were all but ruined. The national fervor over communism continued to plague Hollywood well into the 1950s.

The Paramount Decision

Coinciding with the HUAC investigations, the government also increased its scrutiny of the movie industry's aggressive business practices. By the mid-1940s, the Justice Department demanded that the five major film companies—Paramount, Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century Fox, MGM, and RKO—end vertical integration, which involved the simultaneous control over production, distribution, and exhibition. In 1948, after a series of court appeals, the Supreme Court ruled against the film industry in what is commonly known as the **Paramount decision**, forcing the studios to gradually divest themselves of their theaters.

Although the government had hoped to increase competition, the Paramount case never really changed the oligopoly structure of the Hollywood film industry because it failed to challenge the industry's control over distribution. However, the 1948 decision did create opportunities in the exhibition part of the industry for those outside Hollywood. In addition to art houses showing documentaries or foreign films, thousands of drive-in theaters sprang up in farmers' fields, welcoming new suburbanites who embraced the automobile. Although drive-ins had been around since the 1930s, by the end of the 1950s, more than four thousand existed. The Paramount decision encouraged new indoor theater openings as well, but the major studios continued to dominate distribution.

Moving to the Suburbs

Common sense might suggest that television alone precipitated the decline in post–World War II movie attendance, but the most dramatic drop actually occurred in the late 1940s—before most Americans even owned TV sets.[15]

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MOVIES TAKE ON SOCIAL ISSUES
Rebel without a Cause (1955), starring James Dean and Natalie Wood, was marketed in movie posters as "Warner Bros. Challenging Drama of Today's Teenage Violence!" James Dean's memorable portrayal of a troubled youth forever fixed his place in movie history. He was killed in a car crash a month before the movie opened.

The transformation from a wartime economy and a surge in consumer production had a significant impact on moviegoing. With industries turning from armaments to appliances, Americans started cashing in their wartime savings bonds for household goods and new cars. Discretionary income that formerly went to buying movie tickets now went to acquiring consumer products, and the biggest product of all was a new house far from the downtown movie theaters—in the suburbs, where tax bases were lower. Home ownership in the United States doubled between 1945 and 1950, while the moviegoing public decreased just as quickly. Additionally, after the war, the average age for couples entering marriage dropped from twenty-four to nineteen. Unlike their parents, many postwar couples had their first child before they turned twenty-one. The combination of social and economic changes meant there were significantly fewer couples dating at the movies. Then, when television exploded in the late 1950s, there was even less discretionary income—and less reason to go to the movies.

Television Changes Hollywood

In the late 1940s, radio's popularity had a strong impact on film. Not only were 1948 and 1949 high points in radio listenership, but with the mass migration to the suburbs, radio offered Americans an inexpensive entertainment alternative to the movies (as it had during the Great Depression). As a result, many people stayed home and listened to radio programs until TV displaced both radio and movies as the medium of national entertainment in the mid-1950s. The movie industry responded in a variety of ways.

First, with growing legions of people gathering around their living room TV sets, movie content slowly shifted toward more serious subjects. At first, this shift was a response to the war and an acknowledgment of life's complexity, but later movies focused on subject

matter that television did not encourage. This shift began with film noir in the 1940s but continued into the 1950s, as commercial movies, for the first time, explored larger social problems such as alcoholism (*The Lost Weekend*, 1945), anti-Semitism (*Gentleman's Agreement*, 1947), mental illness (*The Snake Pit*, 1948), racism (*Pinky*, 1949), adult–teen relationships (*Rebel without a Cause*, 1955), drug abuse (*The Man with the Golden Arm*, 1955), and—perhaps most controversial—sexuality (*Peyton Place*, 1957; *Butterfield 8*, 1960; *Lolita*, 1962).

These and other films challenged the authority of the industry's own prohibitive Motion Picture Production Code. Hollywood adopted the Code in the early 1930s to restrict film depictions of violence, crime, drug use, and sexual behavior and to quiet public and political concerns that the movie business was lowering the moral standards of America. (For more on the Code, see Chapter 16.) In 1967, after the Code had been ignored by producers for several years, the Motion Picture Association of America initiated the current ratings system, which rated films for age appropriateness rather than censoring all adult content.

Second, just as radio worked to improve sound to maintain an advantage over television in the 1950s, the film industry introduced a host of technological improvements to lure Americans away from their TV sets. Technicolor, invented by an MIT scientist in 1917, had improved and was being used in more movies to draw people away from their black-and-white TVs. In addition, Cinerama, CinemaScope, and VistaVision all arrived in movie theaters, featuring striking wide-screen images, multiple synchronized projectors, and stereophonic sound. Then 3-D (three-dimensional) movies appeared, although they wore off quickly as a novelty. Finally, Panavision, which used special Eastman color film and camera lenses that decreased the fuzziness of images, became the wide-screen standard throughout the industry. These developments, however, generally failed to address the movies' primary problem: the middle-class flight to the suburbs, away from downtown theaters.

Hollywood Adapts to Home Entertainment

Just as nickelodeons, movie palaces, and drive-ins transformed movie exhibition in earlier times, the introduction of cable television and the videocassette in the 1970s transformed contemporary movie exhibition. Although the video market became a financial bonanza for the movie industry, Hollywood ironically tried to stall the arrival of the VCR in the 1970s—even filing lawsuits to prohibit customers from copying movies from television. The 1997 introduction of the DVD helped reinvigorate the flat sales of the home video market as people began to acquire new movie collections on DVD. Today, home movie exhibition is again in transition, this time from DVD to Internet video. As DVD purchases began to decline, Hollywood endorsed the high-definition format Blu-ray in 2008 to revive sales, but the format didn't grow quickly enough to help the video store business. The biggest chain, Blockbuster, filed for bankruptcy in 2010, closed hundreds of stores, and was auctioned to the Dish Network in 2011, while the Movie Gallery–Hollywood Video chain shuttered all its stores. The only bright spot in DVD rentals has been at the low end of the market—automated kiosks like Redbox that rent movies for $1.50 to $2.00 a day—but even the kiosk rental business began to flatline by 2013.

The future of the video business is in Internet distribution. Movie fans can download or stream movies and television shows for rent or for purchase from services like Netflix, Amazon, Hulu, Google Play, and the iTunes store to their television sets through devices like Roku, Apple TV, TiVo Premiere, video game consoles, and Internet-ready TVs. As people invest in wide-screen TVs (including 3-D televisions) and sophisticated sound systems, home entertainment is getting bigger and keeping pace with the movie theater experience. Interestingly, home entertainment is also getting smaller—movies are increasingly available to stream and download on portable devices like tablets, laptop computers, and smartphones.

The Economics of the Movie Business

Despite the development of network and cable television, video-on-demand, DVDs, and Internet downloads and streaming, the movie business has continued to thrive. In fact, since 1963, Americans have purchased roughly 1 billion movie tickets each year; in 2014, 1.27 billion tickets were sold.[16] With first-run movie tickets in some areas rising to $15 (and 3-D movies costing even more), gross revenues from North American box-office sales have climbed above the $10 billion mark, up from $9.2 billion annually in 2006 (see Figure 7.1). The bigger news for Hollywood studios is that global box-office revenues have grown at a much more rapid rate, especially in China (though it returns less money to studios), Russia, and Mexico.[17]

The growing global market for Hollywood films has helped cushion the industry as the home video market undergoes a significant transformation, with the demise of the video rental business and the rise of video streaming. In order to flourish, the movie industry has had to continually revamp its production, distribution, and exhibition system and consolidate its ownership.

Production, Distribution, and Exhibition Today

In the 1970s, attendance by young moviegoers at new suburban multiplex theaters made megahits of *The Godfather* (1972), *The Exorcist* (1973), *Jaws* (1975), *Rocky* (1976), and *Star Wars* (1977). During this period, *Jaws* and *Star Wars* became the first movies to gross more than $100 million at the U.S. box office in a single year. In trying to copy the success of these blockbuster hits, the major studios set in place economic strategies for future decades (see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: The Blockbuster Mentality" on page 259).

Making Money on Movies Today

With 80 to 90 percent of newly released movies failing to make money at the domestic box office, studios need a couple of major hits each year to offset losses on other films. (See Table 7.2 on page 256 for a list of the highest-grossing films of all time.) The potential losses are great: Over

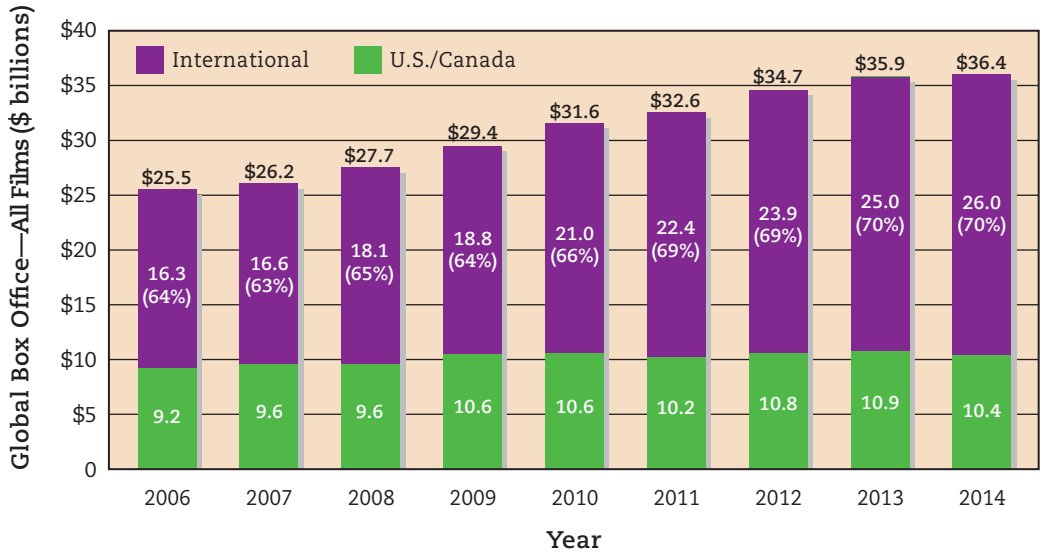

FIGURE 7.1

NORTH AMERICAN AND GLOBAL BOX-OFFICE REVENUE, 2006–2014 (IN $ BILLIONS)

Data from: Motion Picture Association of America, "Global Box Office" www.mpaa.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/growth-of-global-box-office.jpg.

TABLE 7.2

THE TOP 10 ALL-TIME BOX-OFFICE CHAMPIONS*

Data from: "All-Time Domestic Blockbusters," Box Office Guru, Sept. 25, 2015, www.boxofficeguru.com/blockbusters.htm.

*Most rankings of the Top 10 most popular films are based on American box-office receipts. If these were adjusted for inflation, *Gone with the Wind* (1939) would become No. 1 in U.S. theater revenue. *Star Wars* and *Titanic* would remain in the Top 10.

**Gross is shown in absolute dollars based on box-office sales in the United States and Canada.

Rank	Title/Date	Domestic Gross** ($ millions)
1	*Avatar* (2009)	760.5
2	*Titanic* (1997, 2012 3-D)	658.6
3	*Jurassic World* (2015)	650.0
4	*The Avengers* (2012)	623.4
5	*The Dark Knight* (2008)	533.0
6	*Star Wars: Episode I—The Phantom Menace* (1999, 2012 3-D)	474.5
7	*Avengers: Age of Ultron* (2015)	458.8
8	*Star Wars* (1977, 1997)	461.0
9	*The Dark Knight Rises* (2012)	447.8
10	*Shrek 2* (2004)	437.7

the past decade, a major studio film, on average, cost about $66 million to produce and about $37 million for domestic marketing, advertising, and print costs.[18]

With climbing film costs, creating revenue from a movie is a formidable task. Studios make money on movies from six major sources:

- First, the studios get a portion of the theater box-office revenue—about 40 percent of the box-office take (the theaters get the rest). More recently, studios have found that they can often reel in bigger box-office receipts for 3-D films and their higher ticket prices. For example, admission to the 2-D version of a film costs $15 at a New York City multiplex, while the 3-D version costs closer to $20 at the same theater. In 2014, 3-D film screenings accounted for 14 percent of domestic box-office revenue. As Hollywood makes more 3-D films (the latest form of product differentiation), the challenge for major studios has been to increase the number of digital 3-D screens across the country. By 2014, about 37 percent of U.S. theater screens were capable of showing digital 3-D.
- Second, about three to four months after the theatrical release comes the home video market, which includes video-on-demand (VOD), subscription streaming, and the remaining Blu-ray and DVD sales and rental business. This second release "window" generates more revenue than the domestic box-office income for major studios, but has been in transition as VOD has replaced the Blu-ray and DVD formats. Video-on-demand includes services like iTunes, Amazon, Google Play, Vudu, Hulu Plus, and Netflix, and the VOD services of cable companies like Comcast, Time Warner Cable, Cox, and Verizon, and satellite providers DirecTV and Dish. Depending on the agreement with the film distributer, movies may be purchased for instant viewing, rented for a limited period of time at a lower price, or instantly streamed as part of a monthly fee for access to a company's entire library of licensed offerings. (Netflix, the largest streaming service, has over 62 million subscribers.)

  Generally, discount rental kiosk companies like Redbox must wait twenty-eight days after films go on sale before they can rent them. Netflix has entered into a similar agreement with movie studios in exchange for more video streaming content—a concession to Hollywood's preference to first try to get the greater profits from selling movies as digital downloads or as DVDs before renting them or licensing them to a streaming service. Independent films and documentaries often bypass the theatrical box-office release window entirely because of the necessary steep marketing expenses and instead go straight to home video for release. An executive with the Weinstein Company, a leading independent studio, suggests that a traditional release to movie theaters makes sense only if the studio

anticipates that the film will make gross revenues of more than $20 million.[19] There is pressure from services like Netflix for Hollywood to release films simultaneously to the home video market and to theaters, but the theater industry and its major studio allies have fiercely protected the three- to four-month exclusive window that theaters have for movie releases, arguing that to lose exclusivity would destroy the movie theater business.[20]

- Third are the next "windows" of release for a film: premium cable (such as HBO and Showtime), then network and basic cable showings, and finally the syndicated TV market. The price these cable and television outlets pay to the studios is negotiated on a film-by-film basis.
- Fourth, studios earn revenue from distributing films in foreign markets. In fact, at $25 billion in 2013, international box-office gross revenues are more than double the U.S. and Canadian box-office receipts, and they continue to climb annually, even as other countries produce more of their own films.
- Fifth, studios make money by distributing the work of independent producers and filmmakers, who hire the studios to gain wider circulation. Independents pay the studios between 30 and 50 percent of the box-office and home video money they make from movies.
- Sixth, revenue is earned from merchandise licensing and *product placements* in movies. In the early days of television and film, characters generally used generic products, or product labels weren't highlighted in shots. For example, Bette Davis's and Humphrey Bogart's cigarette packs were rarely seen in those actors' movies. But with soaring film production costs, product placements are adding extra revenue while lending an element of authenticity to the staging. Famous product placements in movies include Reese's Pieces in *E.T.* (1982), Pepsi-Cola in *Back to the Future II* (1989), and an entire line of toy products in *The Lego Movie* (2014).

Theater Chains Consolidate Exhibition

Film exhibition is controlled by a handful of theater chains; the leading five companies operate more than 50 percent of U.S. screens. Each of the major chains—Regal Cinemas, AMC

BLOCKBUSTERS like *Jurassic* World (2015), a sequel to the 1993 hit, are sought after despite their large budgets because they can bring in twice their cost in box-office receipts, disc and video-on-demand sales, streaming, merchandising, and—studios hope—sequels that generate more of the same. *Jurassic World* grossed over a billion dollars worldwide within weeks of its release, revitalizing a long-dormant franchise for Universal.

© Universal Pictures/Everett Collection

Entertainment, Cinemark USA, Carmike Cinemas, and Cineplex Entertainment—owns thousands of screens in suburban malls and at highway crossroads, and most have expanded into international markets as well. Because distributors require access to movie screens, they do business with the chains that control the most screens. In a multiplex, an exhibitor can project a potential hit on two or three screens at the same time; films that do not debut well are relegated to the smallest theaters or bumped quickly for a new release.

The strategy of the leading theater chains during the mid-1990s was to build more **megaplexes** (facilities with fourteen or more screens), featuring upscale concession services and luxurious screening rooms equipped with stadium-style seating and digital sound to make moviegoing a special event. By 2014, the movie exhibition business had grown to a record number (39,783) of indoor screens, most of them at megaplex locations. To further combat the home theater market, movie theater chains added IMAX screens and digital projectors to exhibit specially mastered 3-D blockbusters that carry higher ticket prices.[21]

Still, theater chains sought to be less reliant on Hollywood studios, and with new digital projectors they began to screen nonmovie events, including live sporting events, rock concerts, and classic TV show marathons. One of the most successful theater events is the live HD simulcast of the New York Metropolitan Opera's performances, which began in 2007 and during the 2014–15 season screened ten operas in more than 1,900 locations in sixty-four countries worldwide. The top two theater chains, Regal and AMC, also joined forces in 2011 to form their own film studio, Open Road Films, which became a successful production and distribution business for smaller movies, like the animated film *The Nut Job* (2014) and the indie comedy *Chef* (2014).

The Major Studio Players

The current Hollywood commercial film business is ruled primarily by six companies: Warner Brothers, Paramount, 21st Century Fox, Universal, Columbia Pictures, and Disney—the **Big Six**. Except for Disney and Fox, all these companies are owned by large parent conglomerates (see Figure 7.2). The six major studios account for about 77 percent of the revenue generated by commercial films. They also control more than half the movie market in Europe and Asia. In the United States, three independent studios—sometimes called mini-majors—have maintained modest market share recently: Lionsgate (*The Hunger Games*, the *Twilight* series), which purchased indie Summit Entertainment in 2012; the Weinstein Company (*Django Unchained*, *Southpaw*); and Relativity (*Beyond the Lights*, *The Lazarus Effect*), which has recently run into financial problems.

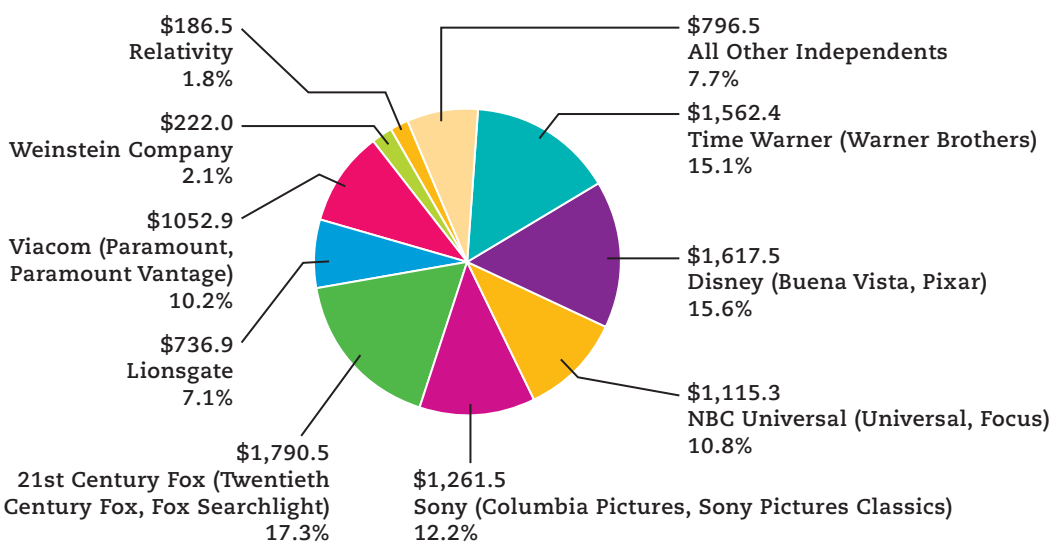

FIGURE 7.2

MARKET SHARE OF U.S. FILM STUDIOS AND DISTRIBUTORS, 2014 (IN $ MILLIONS)

Note: Based on gross box-office revenue, January 1, 2014–December 31, 2014. Overall gross for period: $10.361 billion.

Data from: Box Office Mojo, "Studio Market Share, 2014," www.boxofficemojo.com/studio/.

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Consider a list of the all-time highest-grossing movies in the United States, such as the one on Box Office Mojo, www.boxofficemojo.com/alltime/domestic.htm.

2 ANALYSIS. Note patterns in the list. For example, of the thirty top-grossing films, twenty-four target young audiences (*The Passion of the Christ* is the only exception). Nearly all of these top-grossing films feature animated or digitally composited characters (*Frozen*, *Shrek*, *Jurassic Park*) or extensive special effects (*Transformers*, *The Avengers*). Nearly all of the films also either spawned or are a part of a series, like *The Lord of the Rings*, *Transformers*, *The Dark Knight*, and *Harry Potter*. More than half of the films fit into the action movie genre. Nearly all of the Top 30 had intense merchandising campaigns that featured action figures, fast-food tie-ins, and an incredible variety of products for sale; that is, hardly any were "surprise" hits.

The Blockbuster Mentality

In the beginning of this chapter, we noted Hollywood's shift toward a blockbuster mentality after the success of films like *Star Wars*. How pervasive is this blockbuster mentality, which targets an audience of young adults, releases action-packed big-budget films featuring heavy merchandising tie-ins, and produces sequels?

3 INTERPRETATION. What do the patterns mean? It's clear, economically, why Hollywood likes to have successful blockbuster movie franchises. But what kinds of films get left out of the mix? Hits like *Forrest Gump* (now bumped out of the Top 30), which may have had big-budget releases but lack some of the other attributes of blockbusters, are clearly anomalies of the blockbuster mentality, although they illustrate that strong characters and compelling stories can carry a film to great commercial success.

4 EVALUATION. It is likely that we will continue to see an increase in youth-oriented, animated/action movie franchises that are heavily merchandised and intended for wide international distribution. Indeed, Hollywood does not have a lot of motivation to put out the kinds of movies that don't fit these categories. Is this a good thing? Can you think of a film that you thought was excellent and that would have probably been a bigger hit with better promotion and wider distribution?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Watch independent and foreign films and see what you're missing. Visit foreignfilms.com or the Sundance Film Festival site and browse through the many films listed. Find these films on Netflix, Amazon, Google Play, or iTunes (and if the films are unavailable, let these services know). Write your cable company and request to have the Sundance Channel on your cable lineup. Organize an independent film night on your college campus and bring these films to a crowd.

In the 1980s, to offset losses resulting from box-office failures, the movie industry began to diversify, expanding into other product lines and other mass media. This expansion included television programming, print media, sound recordings, and home videos/DVDs, as well as cable and computers, electronic hardware and software, retail stores, and theme parks such as Universal Studios. To maintain the industry's economic stability, management strategies today rely on both heavy advance promotion (which can double the cost of a commercial film) and **synergy**—the promotion and sale of a product throughout the various subsidiaries of the media conglomerate. Companies promote not only the new movie itself but also its book form, soundtrack, calendars, T-shirts, Web site, and toy action figures, as well as "the-making-of" story on television, home video, and the Internet. The Disney studio, in particular, has been successful with its multiple repackaging of youth-targeted movies, including comic books, toys, television specials, fast-food tie-ins, and theme-park attractions. Since the 1950s, this synergy has been a key characteristic of the film industry and an important element in the flood of corporate mergers that have made today's Big Six even bigger.

The biggest corporate mergers have involved the internationalization of the American film business. Investment in American popular culture by the international electronics industry is particularly significant. This business strategy represents a new, high-tech kind of vertical integration—an attempt to control both the production of electronic equipment that

SYNERGIES in feature films can be easy for Disney, which is a $45 billion multinational corporation. *Frozen* (2013) is one of Disney's biggest animated hits ever, and *Frozen* merchandise was in short supply in North America for fans wanting to celebrate the story of Anna and Elsa, two princess sisters who also became attractions at Disney resort parks. The movie's soundtrack hit No. 1 in sales, and Disney Cruise Line and the Adventures by Disney tour company experienced a huge increase in holiday business to Geirangerfjord, Norway, the fjord that inspired the film's fantasy kingdom of Arendelle.

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consumers buy for their homes and the production and distribution of the content that runs on that equipment. This began in 1985, when Australia's News Corp. bought Twentieth Century Fox (News Corp. has since split into two separate companies; the film division is under the umbrella of 21st Century Fox). Sony bought Columbia in 1989 for $4 billion. Vivendi, a French utility, acquired Universal in 2000 but sold it to General Electric, the parent of NBC, in 2003. Comcast bought a controlling stake in NBC Universal in 2009, and government agencies approved the merger in 2011. In 2006, Disney bought its animation partner, Pixar. It also bought Marvel in 2009, which gave Disney the rights to a host of characters, including Spider-Man, Iron Man, the Hulk, the X-Men, and the Fantastic Four. In 2012, Disney bought Lucasfilm, gaining control of the *Indiana Jones* and *Star Wars* franchises, plus the innovative technologies of George Lucas's famed Industrial Light & Magic special effects company.

Convergence: Movies Adjust to the Digital Turn

The biggest challenge the movie industry faces today is the Internet. As broadband Internet service connects more households, movie fans are increasingly getting movies from the Web. After witnessing the difficulties that illegal file-sharing brought on the music labels (some of which share the same corporate parent as the Big Six), the movie industry has more quickly embraced the Internet for movie distribution. Apple's iTunes store began selling digital downloads of a limited selection of movies in 2006, and in 2008, iTunes began renting new movies from all the major studios for just $3.99. In the same year, online DVD rental service Netflix began streaming some movies and television shows to customers' computer screens and televisions.

The popularity of Netflix's streaming service opened the door to other similar services. Hulu, a joint venture by NBC Universal (Universal Studios), Twentieth Century Fox, and Disney, was created as the studios' attempt to divert attention from YouTube and get viewers to either watch free, ad-supported streaming movies and television shows online or subscribe to Hulu Plus, Hulu's premium service. Comcast operates a similar Web site, called Xfinity. Google's YouTube, the most popular online video service, moved to offer commercial films in 2010 by redesigning its interface to be more film-friendly and offering online rentals. Amazon, Vudu (owned by Walmart), and CinemaNow (owned by retailer Best Buy) also operate digital movie stores.

Movies are also increasingly available to stream or download on mobile phones and tablets. Several companies, including Netflix, Hulu, Amazon, Google, Apple, Redbox, and Blockbuster, have developed distribution to mobile devices. Small screens don't offer an optimal viewing experience, but if customers watch movies on their mobile devices, they will likely

use the same company's service to continue viewing on the larger screens of computers and televisions.

The year 2012 marked a turning point: For the first time, movie fans accessed more movies through digital online media than through physical copies, like DVD, and Blu-ray discs.[22] For the movie industry, this shift to Internet distribution has mixed consequences. On the one hand, the industry needs to offer movies where people want to access them, and digital distribution is a growing market. "We're agnostic about where the money comes from," says Eammon Bowles, president of the independent distributor Magnolia Pictures. "We don't care. Basically, our philosophy is we want to make the film available for however the customer wants to purchase it."[23] On the other hand, although providing streaming is less expensive than producing physical DVDs, the revenue is still much lower compared to DVD sales, which has had a larger impact on the major studios that had grown reliant on healthy DVD revenue.

The digital turn creates two long-term paths for Hollywood. One path is that studios and theaters will lean even more heavily toward making and showing big-budget blockbuster film franchises with a lot of special effects, since people will want to watch those on the big screen (especially IMAX and 3-D) for the full effect—and they are easy to export for international audiences. The other path involves inexpensive digital distribution of lower-budget documentaries and independent films, which probably wouldn't get wide theatrical distribution anyway but could find an audience in those who watch at home.

The Internet has also become an essential tool for movie marketing, and one that studios are finding less expensive than traditional methods, like television ads or billboards. Films regularly have Web pages, but many studios now also use a full menu of social media to promote films in advance of their release. For example, the marketing plan for Lionsgate's 2012 movie *The Hunger Games*, which launched an enormously successful movie franchise, employed "near-constant use of Facebook and Twitter, a YouTube channel, a Tumblr blog, iPhone games and live Yahoo streaming from the premiere" to build interest that made it a hit film.[24]

Alternative Voices

With the major studios exerting such a profound influence on the worldwide production, distribution, and exhibition of movies, new alternatives have helped open and redefine the movie industry. The digital revolution in movie production is the most recent opportunity to wrest some power away from the Hollywood studios. Substantially cheaper and more accessible than standard film equipment, **digital video** is a shift from celluloid film; it allows filmmakers to replace expensive and bulky 16-mm and 35-mm film cameras with less expensive, lightweight digital video cameras. For moviemakers, digital video also means seeing camera work instantly instead of waiting for film to be developed, and being able to capture additional footage without concern for the high cost of film stock and processing.

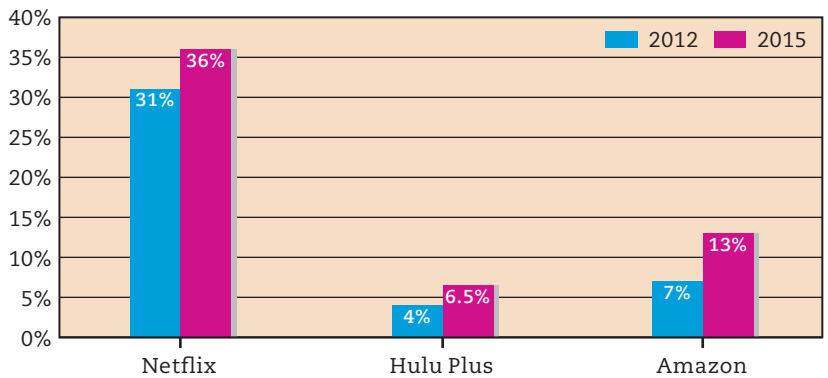

FIGURE 7.3

ONLINE VIDEO STREAMING MARKET SHARE RANKING IN 2015

Data from: "Nielsen Charts Reach of Video Streaming," March 11, 2015, www.nytimes.com/2015/03/12/business/nielsen-reports-2-in-5-us-households-subscribe-to-video-streaming-services.html.

© Paramount Pictures/Photofest

PARANORMAL ACTIVITY (2007), the horror film made by first-time director Oren Peli for a mere $15,000 with digital equipment, proves that you don't always need a big budget to make a successful film. Peli asked fans to "demand" the film be shown in their area via the Web site www.eventful.com, and Paramount agreed to a nationwide release if the film received one million "demands." *Paranormal Activity* was released nationwide on October 16, 2009, and went on to gross close to $200 million worldwide, spawning several sequels.

British director Mike Figgis achieved the milestone of producing the first fully digital release from a major studio with his film *Timecode* (2000). Though digital video has become commonplace on big studio productions, the greatest impact of digital technology has been on independent filmmakers. Low-cost digital video opened up the creative process to countless new artists. With digital video camera equipment and computer-based desktop editors, movies can be made for just a few thousand dollars, a fraction of what the cost would be on film. For example, *Paranormal Activity* (2007) was made for about $15,000 with digital equipment and went on to be a top box-office feature. Digital cameras are now the norm for independent filmmakers. Ironically, both independent and Hollywood filmmakers have to contend with issues of preserving digital content: Celluloid film stock can last a hundred years, whereas digital formats can be lost as storage formats fail and devices become obsolete.[25]

Because digital production puts movies in the same format as the Internet, independent filmmakers have new distribution venues beyond film festivals or the major studios. For example, Vimeo, YouTube, and Netflix have grown into leading Internet sites for the screening and distribution of short films and film festival entries, providing filmmakers with their most valuable asset—an audience. Others have used the Web to sell DVDs directly, sell merchandise, or accept contributions for free movie downloads.

Popular Movies and Democracy

At the cultural level, movies function as **consensus narratives**, a term that describes cultural products that become popular and provide shared cultural experiences. These consensus narratives operate across different times and cultures. In this sense, movies are part of a long narrative tradition, encompassing "the oral formulaic of Homer's day, the theater of Sophocles, the Elizabethan theater, the English novel from Defoe to Dickens, . . . the silent film, the sound film, and television during the Network Era."[26] Consensus narratives—whether they are dramas, romances, westerns, or mysteries—speak to central myths and values in an accessible language that often bridges global boundaries.

At the international level, countries continue to struggle with questions about the influence of American films on local customs and culture. Like other American mass media industries, the long reach of Hollywood movies is one of the key contradictions of contemporary life: Do such films contribute to a global village in which people throughout the world share a universal culture that breaks down barriers? Or does an American-based common culture stifle the development of local cultures worldwide and diversity in moviemaking? Clearly, the steady production of profitable action/adventure movies—whether they originate in the United States, Africa, France, or China—continues, not only because these movies appeal to mass audiences but also because they translate easily into other languages.

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More Than a Movie: Social Issues and Film
Independent filmmakers are using social media to get moviegoers involved.
Discussion: Do you think the convergence of digital media with social-issue movies helps such films make a larger impact? Why or why not?

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Film Industry

Jeff White, Visual Effects Supervisor, Industrial Light & Magic

I was always interested in computer graphics and their application to visual effects. At the time I was going to college, there were very few formal programs in CG. I ended up studying cinema and photography with a minor in computer science. It actually turned out to be a nice combination of skills for a job in the field. I am terrible at drawing, so that route was not going to get me in, but studying film production, lighting, camera work, editing, was all very relevant to the job I do today.

Hossein Amini, Screenwriter (*Drive, The Wings of the Dove, Snow White and the Huntsman*)

I think you learn from doing lots and lots of stuff, but also you have to be quite tough about rejection and not getting breaks. I mean, I had tons of stuff. I kept on sending scripts out and getting rejection letters, often probably from people who sometimes hadn't even read them, I assume. I think that persistence and toughness are just so important. And I think everyone gets better; I don't think it's something you're born with. I do think it's something that hard work gets you further and further, and I think you improve.

Robert Rodriguez, Filmmaker (*Sin City, Spy Kids*), to the Graduating Class at the University of Texas

I didn't know that it was impossible to go make a movie for such a low budget with no film crew. . . . How did I figure it out? I'm from a big family. I can't waste money. It's against my genetic makeup. So I had to substitute money with creativity, and that's what made all the difference. So I had to make a movie in a way that broke the traditional mold and learn not to be a slave to tradition. Traditional thinking will hold you back.

Jennifer Lee, Filmmaker (*Frozen*), to the Graduating Class at the University of New Hampshire

When you are free from self-doubt, you fail better. You accept criticism and listen. . . . If I learned one thing, it is that self-doubt is one of the most destructive forces. It makes you defensive instead of open, reactive instead of active. . . . If you can learn to not take it personally, you'll be able to listen to constructive criticism and find it inspiring. It might motivate you and show you that you are capable of far more than you ever imagined.

With the rise of international media conglomerates, it has become more difficult to awaken public debate over issues of movie diversity and America's domination of the film business. Consequently, issues concerning increased competition and a greater variety of movies sometimes fall by the wayside. As critical consumers, those of us who enjoy movies and recognize their cultural significance must raise these broader issues in public forums as well as in our personal conversations.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is mass media, cultural expression, and storytelling. The movie industry is a particularly potent example of this, as Hollywood movies dominate international screens. But Hollywood dominates our domestic screens as well. Does this limit our exposure to other kinds of stories?

In the 1920s, when the burgeoning film industries in Europe lay in ruins after World War I, Hollywood gained an international dominance it has never relinquished. Critics have long cited America's *cultural imperialism*, claiming America floods the world with its movies, music, television shows, fashion, and products. The strength of American cultural and economic power is evident when you witness a Thai man in a Tommy Hilfiger shirt watching *Transformers* at a Bangkok bar while eating a hamburger and drinking a Coke. Critics feel that American-produced culture overwhelms indigenous cultural industries, which will never be able to compete at the same level.

But other cultures are good at bending and blending our content. Hip-hop has been remade into regional music in places like Senegal, Portugal, Taiwan, and the Philippines. McDonald's is global, but in India you can get a McAloo Tikki sandwich—a spicy fried potato and pea vegetarian patty. In Turkey you can get a McTurco, a kebab with lamb or chicken. And in France you can order a beer with your meal.

While some may be proud of the success of America's cultural exports, we might also ask ourselves this: What is the impact of our cultural dominance on our own media environment? Foreign films, for example, account for less than 2 percent of all releases in the United States. Is this because we find subtitles or other languages too challenging? At points in the twentieth century, American moviegoers were much more likely to see foreign films. Did our taste in movies change on our own accord, or did we simply forget how to appreciate different narratives and styles?

Of course, international content does make it to our shores. We exported rock and roll, and the British sent it back to us, with long hair. They also gave us *The Office* and *House of Cards*. Japan gave us anime, Pokémon, *Iron Chef*, and Hello Kitty.

But in a world where globalization is a key phenomenon, Hollywood rarely shows us the world through another's eyes. The burden falls to us to search out and watch those movies until Hollywood finally gets the message.

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

celluloid, 235
kinetograph, 236
kinetoscope, 236
vitascope, 237
narrative films, 237
nickelodeons, 237
vertical integration, 238
oligopoly, 238
studio system, 239
block booking, 240
movie palaces, 241
multiplexes, 241
Big Five, 241
Little Three, 241
blockbuster, 242
talkies, 242
newsreels, 243
genre, 243
documentary, 248
cinema verité, 248
indies, 249
Hollywood Ten, 251
Paramount decision, 252
megaplexes, 258
Big Six, 258
synergy, 259
digital video, 261
consensus narratives, 262

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Early Technology and the Evolution of Movies

1. How did film go from the novelty stage to the mass medium stage?
2. Why were early silent films popular?
3. What contribution did nickelodeons make to film history?

The Rise of the Hollywood Studio System

4. Why did Hollywood end up as the center of film production?
5. Why did Thomas Edison and the patents Trust fail to shape and control the film industry, and why did Adolph Zukor of Paramount succeed?
6. How does vertical integration work in the film business?

The Studio System's Golden Age

7. Why did a certain structure of film—called classic Hollywood narrative—become so dominant in moviemaking?
8. Why are genres and directors important to the film industry?
9. Why are documentaries an important alternative to traditional Hollywood filmmaking? What contributions have they made to the film industry?

The Transformation of the Studio System

10. What political and cultural forces changed the Hollywood system in the 1950s?
11. How did the movie industry respond to the advent of television?
12. How has the home entertainment industry developed and changed since the 1970s?

The Economics of the Movie Business

13. What are the various ways in which major movie studios make money from the film business?
14. How do a few large film studios manage to control most of the commercial industry?
15. How is the movie industry adapting to the Internet?
16. What is the impact of inexpensive digital technology on filmmaking?

Popular Movies and Democracy

17. Do films contribute to a global village in which people throughout the world share a universal culture? Or do U.S.-based films overwhelm the development of other cultures worldwide? Discuss.

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. Do some research, and compare your earliest memory of going to a movie with a parent's or grandparent's earliest memory.
2. Do you remember seeing a movie you were not allowed to see? Discuss the experience.
3. Do you prefer viewing films at a movie theater or at home, either by playing a DVD or by streaming/downloading from the Internet? How might your viewing preferences connect to the way in which the film industry is evolving?
4. If you were a Hollywood film producer or executive, what kinds of films would you like to see made? What changes would you make in what we see at the movies?
5. Look at the international film box-office statistics in the latest issue of *Variety* magazine or online at www.boxofficemojo.com. Note which films are the most popular worldwide. What do you think about the significant role U.S. movies play in global culture? Should their role be less significant? Explain your answer.

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- VIDEO: *Gravity*
  Watch a brief clip from *Gravity*, and discuss how the movie uses the most advanced technical tools in service of classical storytelling.

PART 3

Words and Pictures

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The dominant media of the nineteenth century featured printed material, with pictures supplementing the written text of newspapers, magazines, and books—our oldest mass media. Print media have played a significant role in our society, becoming the depository of information and narratives so that we now have a record of our culture's best ideas and finest stories. Print media enabled individualism—the concept that people were no longer bound by the rules and rituals of tribal communities and could seek new ways of thinking—and democracy to flourish, as literate citizens could access more information from newspapers, magazines, and books to better inform their judgments.

These media did not disappear when music, radio, and TV came along in the twentieth century. Rather, the newspaper, magazine, and book industries adapted. And in the twenty-first century, the story of our oldest media is still about adapting, but this time in the age of Apple and Amazon. As older media make the digital turn, daily papers, sports magazines, and romance novels are all transformed on digital tablets, like Apple's iPad and Amazon's Kindle. We are still reading newspapers, subscribing to magazines, and buying books, but they now come in multiple forms—from their old printed versions to their new digital incarnations.

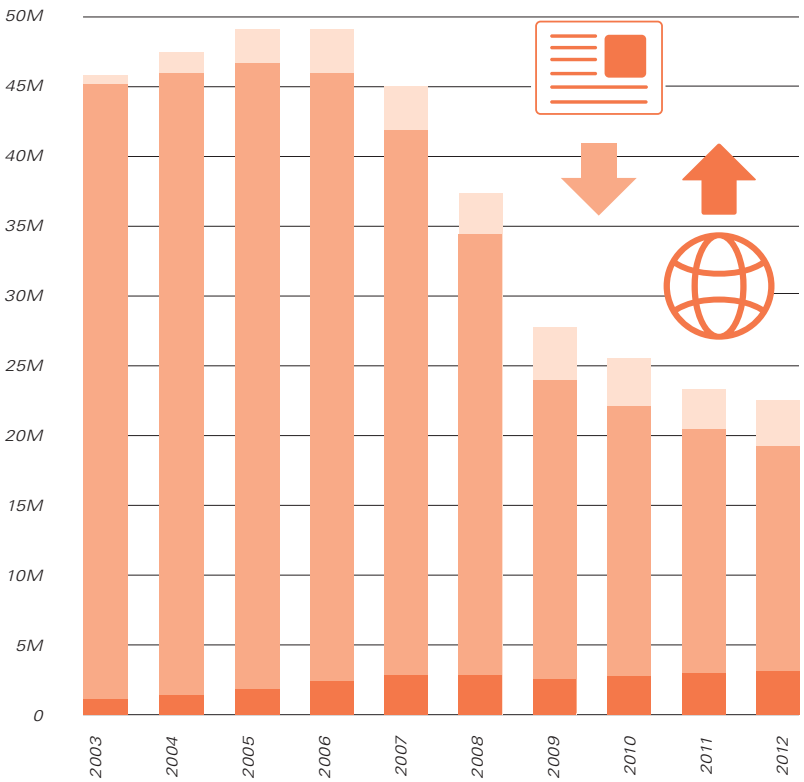
Still, even with the rich older histories of our printed media, we wonder whether rising technological innovation and crumbling business models are obstacles too big to overcome. Indeed, online start-up companies like craigslist created havoc in the newspaper industry by demonstrating better and cheaper ways to display classified advertising. Great old newspapers like the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times* still drift into bankruptcy as newspaper stock prices plunge and critics forecast their doom. In addition, we saw the venerable magazine *Newsweek*, around since 1933, sell for $1 in 2010 and then disappear in its print form in 2013 (although a new owner relaunched a print edition of *Newsweek* in March 2014). In 2011, we witnessed the demise of the mega-bookstore chain Borders, which failed to adapt fast enough to the digital turn and in the end could not compete with online behemoths like Amazon, only a few years ago a start-up company itself.

As we wrestle with the changes of the digital age, does it make any difference whether we get our news from a printed newspaper or an online Web site? Does it matter if we hold a physical magazine or even this textbook in our hands, or is an online version just as good? Digital versions of printed text can be updated, modified, and augmented far more easily, but they lack the traditional physical property of words and pictures printed on paper. What is clear is that newspapers, magazines, and books will continue in some form. Perhaps these forms will represent something entirely new, but the forms pioneered by earlier, physical versions of newspapers, magazines, and books will continue to shape that digital content, even as the ways they are read and interpreted change.

HOW WE READ NOW

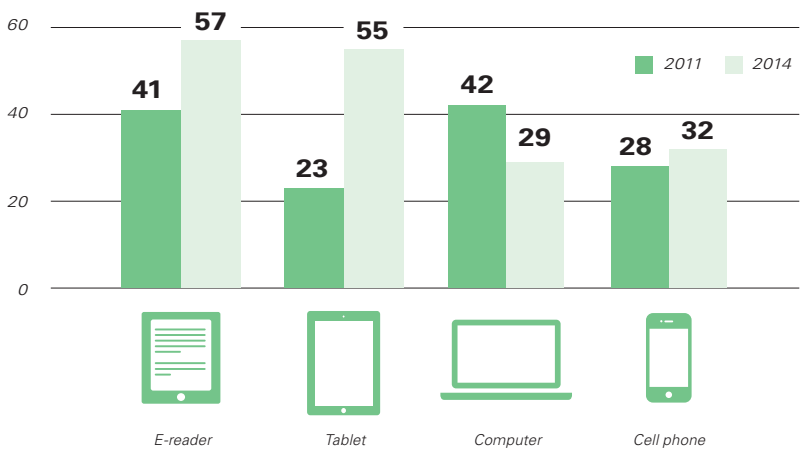
NEWSPAPER PRINT ADVERTISING REVENUES FALL, ONLINE GROWS

*In millions of dollars.



AS TABLET OWNERSHIP GROWS, MORE USE THEM FOR E-BOOKS

*Among all e-book readers ages 18 and older, the % who read e-books on each device.



TOP 10 iPAD NEWS APPS, 2014

1. NY TIMES
2. NEW YORK POST
3. **THE ECONOMIST**
4. **ZINIO**
5. **THE NEW YORKER**
6. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
7. **NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC**
8. **TIME**
9. **WIRED**
10. **POPULAR MECHANICS**

*Bold are magazine based; light are newspaper based.

IN THE PAST YEAR…

The typical adult read five books in the past year (five is the median, so half read more, half read fewer).

76% 76% of adults (18 and over) report to have read at least one book.

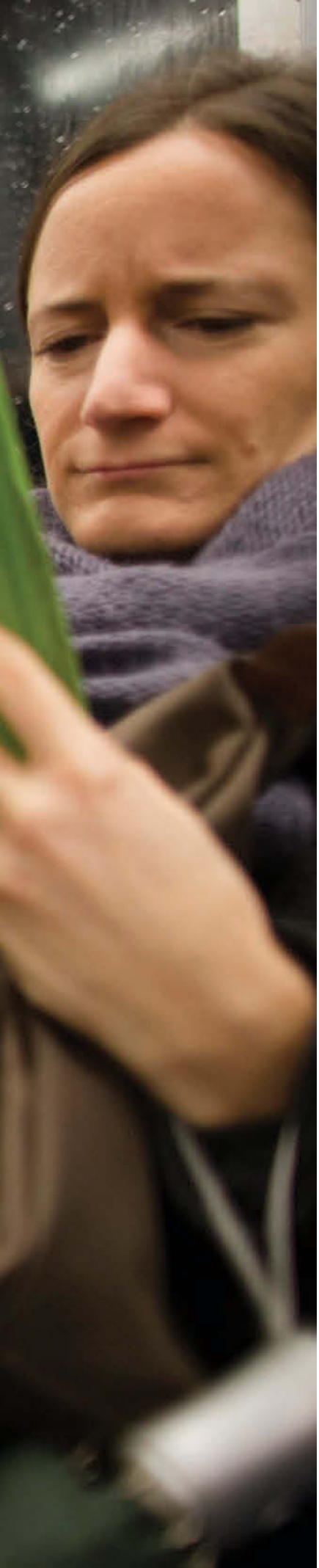
69% 69% of adults read a book in print in the past year.

28% 28% of adults read an e-book.

14% 14% of adults listened to an audiobook.

47% 47% of adults 18–29 read an e-book in the past year.

metro
"THE GREATEST GLORY IN LIVING LIES NOT IN NEVER FALLING, BUT IN RISING EVERY TIME WE FALL."
1918-2013



AP Photo/John Minchillo

8 Newspapers

The Rise and Decline of Modern Journalism

271
The Evolution of American Newspapers

278
Competing Models of Modern Print Journalism

284
The Business and Ownership of Newspapers

296
Challenges Facing Newspapers Today

303
Newspapers and Democracy

Advertising Age reported in 2013 that adult newspaper readership had fallen by 20 percent since 2001. Among major U.S. cities, Pittsburgh had the most adults—51 percent—claiming to still read a daily print newspaper; Atlanta ranked last with only 23 percent. (In general, the South and Southwest had adult readership numbers around 25 percent, with the Northeast and Upper Midwest around 45 to 50 percent.)[1] More troubling may be the decline in the value of those newspapers. For example, between 1993 and 2013, the value of the *Boston Globe* and *Worcester Telegram & Gazette* fell 96 percent, from $1.8 billion when the *New York Times* bought the papers in 1993 to the $71 million paid by businessman John Henry in 2013. The same thing happened to the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, which declined 93 percent—from $1.7 billion in 1998 to $122 million in 2013.[2]

Despite these numbers, some big investors have been picking up papers at bargain prices. Amazon's Jeff Bezos paid $250 million in 2013 for the *Washington Post*—last sold at auction in 1933. Investment guru Warren Buffett bought more than sixty newspapers in 2012 and 2013—at a time when many traditional print companies, looking at the

decline in readership, were trying to unload their papers. For example, in 2013, the Tribune Company—owners of *the Los Angeles Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, two of the largest U.S. newspapers—tried to sell its papers shortly after spending $2.7 billion to buy nineteen local TV stations (adding to the twenty-three it already owned).[3] And in June 2015, the Wolfe family sold the *Columbus Dispatch*—which it had owned since 1905—along with several suburban papers and regional magazines, to New Media Investment group, but kept the family's TV properties.

In other words, some newspaper executives are betting that good old television is the way to go—and they may be right. Though TV viewing has declined dramatically following the digital turn, broadcast programs still command a comparably large audience. Buying TV stations gives companies access to lucrative *retransmission fees* (which cable companies now pay local broadcasters and national networks, mostly for traditional prime-time programs on ABC, CBS, Fox, and NBC) as well as a chunk of the lucrative political ad money that comes around to certain swing states every two years during election season. Although the Internet has long overtaken newspapers in annual U.S. ad revenue, TV and cable still led all media in advertising in 2014, with the Internet expected to catch up by 2016 (see Chapter 11).

So with newspaper advertising's share declining dramatically over the past decade and digital media in ascendance, what will happen to newspapers—and why are Warren Buffett and Jeff Bezos buying them? In 2013, Buffett argued, "I believe that papers delivering comprehensive and reliable information to tightly-bound communities . . . will remain viable for a long time."[4] Bezos, on the other hand, had to be talked into it by the Graham family and its chairman, Donald Graham, longtime owners of the *Post*. Bezos told *60 Minutes*, "Don thought that because the newspaper business is being so disrupted by the Internet that someone who had a lot of Internet knowledge and technology knowledge could actually be helpful."[5] While that is not a strong endorsement of newspapers, many observers believe that if anyone can turn a newspaper into a digital enterprise that makes a profit (even a tiny one), it is Bezos.

Just as the music and radio industries have adapted and survived over the years, newspapers will survive, too—by delivering a print version two or three days a week or moving to digital smartphone and tablet formats, where that advertising revenue is indeed growing. In 2012 and 2013, respectively, the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reduced those papers' print versions to just three days a week, while other newspapers, like the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, have gone online only. What newspapers have going for them is that news reporting is part of the business of telling stories. This is where Amazon is heading: getting into the digital-content-creation business with TV shows on Amazon Prime—and with the news stories in the *Washington Post*. In the end, the Buffett and Bezos purchases remind us that media businesses are ultimately about telling and selling stories—regardless of formats.

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

DESPITE THEIR CURRENT PREDICAMENTS, newspapers and their online offspring play many roles in contemporary culture. As chroniclers of daily life, newspapers both inform and entertain. By reporting on scientific, technological, and medical issues, newspapers disseminate specialized knowledge to the public. In reviews of films, concerts, and plays, they shape cultural trends. Opinion pages trigger public debates and offer differing points of view. Columnists provide everything from advice on raising children to opinions on the U.S. role as an economic and military superpower. Newspapers help readers make choices about everything from what kind of food to eat to what kinds of leaders to elect.

Although newspapers have played a central role in daily life, in today's digital age the industry is losing both papers and readers. Newspapers have lost their near monopoly on classified advertising, much of which has shifted to free Web sites like craigslist and eBay. According to the Newspaper Association of America (NAA), in 2013 total newspaper ad revenues totaled more than $38 billion, a decline of 2.6 percent from 2012, when revenues fell 6 percent. Of that total, $24 billion came from ads across all platforms, $11 billion came from circulation, and $3.15 billion came from "other sources." In 2012, online ads accounted for about $3.4 billion in total revenue, while print advertising brought in more than $18.6 billion in ad revenue for the nation's papers—less than half of the ad money generated as recently as 2006. In 2013, online advertising rose just slightly—1.5 percent to $3.42 billion in total revenue. The NAA reported in 2013 that circulation revenue for U.S. newspapers recorded a second straight year of growth, rising 3.7 percent to $10.87 billion (the first such growth since 2003). These two years of circulation growth provided a spark of hope at a time when the loss of papers, readers, advertising, and investor confidence raised concerns in a nation where daily news has historically functioned to "speak truth to power" by holding elected officials responsible and acting as a watchdog for democratic life.[6]

In this chapter, we examine the cultural, social, and economic impact of newspapers. We will:

- Trace the history of newspapers through a number of influential periods and styles
- Explore the early political-commercial press, the penny press, and yellow journalism
- Examine the modern era through the influence of the *New York Times* and journalism's embrace of objectivity
- Look at interpretive journalism in the 1920s and 1930s and the revival of literary journalism in the 1960s
- Review issues of newspaper ownership, new technologies, citizen journalism, declining revenue, and the crucial role of newspapers in our democracy

As you read this chapter, think about your own early experiences with newspapers and the impact they have had on you and your family. Did you read certain sections of the paper, like sports or comics? What do you remember from your childhood about your parents' reading habits? What are your own newspaper reading habits today? How often do you actually hold a newspaper? How often do you get your news online? For more questions to help you think through the role of newspapers in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

The Evolution of American Newspapers

The idea of news is as old as language itself. The earliest news was passed along orally from family to family, from tribe to tribe, by community leaders and oral historians. The earliest known written news account, or news sheet, *Acta Diurna* (Latin for "daily events"), was

developed by Julius Caesar and posted in public spaces and on buildings in Rome in 59 BCE. Even in its oral and early written stages, news informed people on the state of their relations with neighboring tribes and towns. The development of the printing press in the fifteenth century greatly accelerated a society's ability to send and receive information. Throughout history, news has satisfied our need to know things we cannot experience personally. Newspapers today continue to document daily life and bear witness to both ordinary and extraordinary events.

Colonial Newspapers and the Partisan Press

The novelty and entrepreneurial stages of print media development first happened in Europe with the rise of the printing press. In North America, the first newspaper, *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick*, was published on September 25, 1690, by Boston printer Benjamin Harris. The colonial government objected to Harris's negative tone regarding British rule, and local ministers were offended by his published report that the king of France had an affair with his son's wife. The newspaper was banned after one issue.

In 1704, the first regularly published newspaper appeared in the American colonies—the *Boston News-Letter*, published by John Campbell. Because European news took weeks to travel by ship, these early colonial papers were not very timely. In their more spirited sections, however, the papers did report local illnesses, public floggings, and even suicides. In 1721, also in Boston, James Franklin, the older brother of Benjamin Franklin, started the *New England Courant*. The *Courant* established a tradition of running stories that interested ordinary readers rather than printing articles that appealed primarily to business and colonial leaders. In 1729, Benjamin Franklin, at age twenty-four, took over the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and created, according to historians, the best of the colonial papers. Although a number of colonial papers operated solely on subsidies from political parties, the *Gazette* also made money by advertising products.

Newspapers: The Rise and Decline of Modern Journalism

First Colonial Newspaper
In 1690, Boston printer Benjamin Harris publishes the first North American newspaper—*Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick* (p. 272).

First Precedent for Libel and Press Freedom
In 1734, printer John Peter Zenger is arrested for seditious libel; a jury rules in Zenger's favor in 1735, establishing freedom of the press and newspapers' right to criticize government (p. 273).

First Native American Newspaper
The *Cherokee Phoenix* appears in Georgia in 1828, giving a voice to tribal concerns as settlers encroach and move west (p. 290).

Yellow Journalism
Joseph Pulitzer buys the *New York World* in 1883; William Randolph Hearst buys the *New York Journal* in 1895 and battles Pulitzer during the heyday of the yellow journalism era (pp. 276–278).

1650 **1800** **1850**

First U.S.-Based Spanish Paper
New Orleans' *El Misisipi* is founded in 1808 to serve Spanish-language readers (p. 289).

First African American Newspaper
Freedom's Journal begins its short-lived operation in 1827, establishing a tradition of newspapers speaking out against racism (p. 288).

Penny Press
Printer Benjamin Day founds the *New York Sun* in 1833 and sets the price at one cent, helping usher in the penny press era and news for the working and emerging middle classes (p. 274).

© Bettmann/Corbis (top); Library of Congress (bottom left); © Lucien Aigner/Corbis (bottom right)

Another important colonial paper, the *New-York Weekly Journal*, appeared in 1733. John Peter Zenger had been installed as the printer of the *Journal* by the Popular Party, a political group that opposed British rule and ran articles that criticized the royal governor of New York. After a Popular Party judge was dismissed from office, the *Journal* escalated its attack on the governor. When Zenger shielded the writers of the critical articles, he was arrested in 1734 for *seditious libel*—defaming a public official's character in print. Championed by famed Philadelphia lawyer Andrew Hamilton, Zenger ultimately won his case in 1735. A sympathetic jury, in revolt against the colonial government, decided that newspapers had the right to criticize government leaders as long as the reports were true. After the Zenger case, the British never prosecuted another colonial printer. The Zenger decision would later provide a key foundation—the right of a democratic press to criticize public officials—for the First Amendment to the Constitution, adopted as part of the Bill of Rights in 1791. (See Chapter 16 for more on the First Amendment.)

By 1765, about thirty newspapers operated in the American colonies, with the first daily paper beginning in 1784. Newspapers were of two general types: political or commercial. Their development was shaped in large part by social, cultural, and political responses to British rule and by its eventual overthrow. The gradual rise of political parties and the spread of commerce also influenced the development of early papers. Although the political and commercial papers carried both party news and business news, they had different agendas. Political papers, known as the **partisan press**, generally pushed the plan of the particular political group that subsidized the paper. The *commercial press*, by contrast, served business leaders, who were interested in economic issues. Both types of journalism left a legacy. The partisan press gave us the editorial pages, while the early commercial press was the forerunner of the business section.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, even the largest of these papers rarely reached a circulation of fifteen hundred. Readership was primarily confined to educated or

Modern Journalism
Adolph Ochs buys the *New York Times* in 1896, transforming it into "the paper of record" and jump-starting modern "objective" journalism (pp. 278–279).

Catholic Worker
In 1933, Dorothy Day cofounds a religious organization; its radical monthly paper, the *Catholic Worker*, opposes war and supports social reforms (p. 292).

First Underground Paper
In 1955, the *Village Voice* begins operating in Greenwich Village (p. 291).

Postmodern News
In 1982, the Gannett chain launches *USA Today*, ushering in the postmodern era in news with the first paper modeled on television (pp. 282–283).

Paywalls
By 2014, most newspapers were charging readers for access to all or part of their Web sites (p. 300).

1900 • 1950 • 2000 • 2050

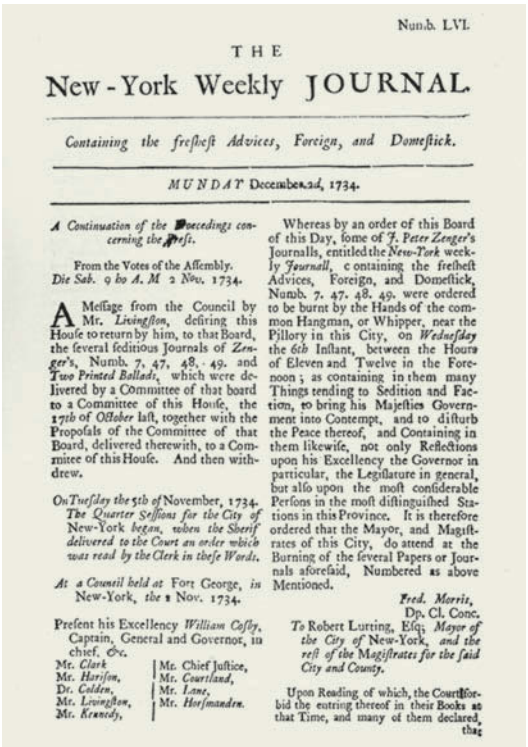
Watergate
Investigative reporting by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of the *Washington Post* uncovers the Watergate scandal, which leads to the resignation of President Richard Nixon in 1974 (p. 283).

First Online Paper
Ohio's *Columbus Dispatch* in 1980 becomes the first newspaper to go online (p. 282).

Dominance of Chains
Led by Gannett, the Top 10 newspaper chains by 2001 control more than one-half of the nation's total daily newspaper circulation (p. 294).

Newspapers in Peril
In 2009, a number of daily newspapers close, stop publishing daily editions, or go online only (pp. 299–300).

Courtesy of Media Mobilizing



Numb. LVI.

THE

New-York Weekly JOURNAL.

Containing the freſheſt Advices, Foreign, and Domeſtick.

MUNDAY December 2d, 1734.

A Continuation of the Proceedings concerning the Preſs.

From the Votes of the Aſſembly.
Die Sab. 9 ho A. M 2 Nov. 1734.

A Meſſage from the Council by Mr. *Livingſton*, deſiring this Houſe to return by him, to that Board, the ſeveral ſeditious Journals of *Zenger's*, Numb. 7, 47, 48, 49. and *Two Printed Ballads*, which were delivered by a Committee of that board to a Committee of this Houſe, the 17th of *October* laſt, together with the Propoſals of the Committee of that Board, delivered therewith, to a Committee of this Houſe. And then withdrew.

On Tueſday the 5th of November, 1734. *The Quarter Seſſions for the City of New-York began, when the Sheriff delivered to the Court an order which was read by the Clerk in theſe Words.*

At a Council held at Fort George, *in* New-York, *the* 1 Nov. 1734.

Preſent his Excellency *William Coſby*, Captain, General and Governor, in chief, *&c.*

Mr. *Clark*	Mr. Chief Juſtice,
Mr. *Harriſon*,	Mr. *Courtland*,
Dr. *Colden*,	Mr. *Lane*,
Mr. *Livingſton*,	Mr. *Horſmanden.*
Mr. *Kennedy*,	

Whereas by an order of this Board of this Day, ſome of *J. Peter Zenger's* Journalls, entitled the *New-York* weekly *Journall*, containing the freſheſt Advices, Foreign, and Domeſtick, Numb. 7. 47. 48. 49. were ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, or Whipper, near the Pillory in this City, on *Wedneſday* the 6th Inſtant, between the Hours of Eleven and Twelve in the Forenoon; as containing in them many Things tending to Sedition and Faction, to bring his Majeſties Government into Contempt, and to diſturb the Peace thereof, and Containing in them likewiſe, not only Reflections upon his Excellency the Governor in particular, the Legiſlature in general, but alſo upon the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the moſt diſtinguiſhed Stations in this Province. It is therefore ordered that the Mayor, and Magiſtrates of this City, do attend at the Burning of the ſeveral Papers or Journals aforeſaid, Numbered as above Mentioned.

Fred. Morris, Dp. Cl. Conc.

To Robert Lutting, Eſq; *Mayor of the City of* New-York, *and the reſt of the Magiſtrates for the ſaid City and County.*

Upon Reading of which, the Court forbid the entring thereof in their Books at that Time, and many of them declared, that

© Bettmann/Corbis

COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS During the colonial period, New York printer John Peter Zenger was arrested for seditious libel. He eventually won his case, which established the precedent that today allows U.S. journalists and citizens to criticize public officials. In this 1734 issue, Zenger's *New-York Weekly Journal* reported his own arrest and the burning of the paper by the city's "Common Hangman."

wealthy men who controlled local politics and commerce. During this time, though, a few pioneering women operated newspapers, including Elizabeth Timothy, the first American woman newspaper publisher (and mother of eight children). After her husband died of smallpox in 1738, Timothy took over the *South Carolina Gazette*, established in 1734 by Benjamin Franklin and the Timothy family. Also during this period, Anna Maul Zenger ran the *New-York Weekly Journal* throughout her husband's trial and after his death in 1746.[7]

The Penny Press Era: Newspapers Become Mass Media

By the late 1820s, the average newspaper cost six cents a copy and was sold through yearly subscriptions priced at ten to twelve dollars. Because that price was more than a week's salary for most skilled workers, newspaper readers were mostly affluent. By the 1830s, however, the Industrial Revolution made possible the replacement of expensive handmade paper with cheaper machine-made paper. During this time, the rise of the middle class spurred the growth of literacy, setting the stage for a more popular and inclusive press. In addition, breakthroughs in technology, particularly the replacement of mechanical presses by steam-powered presses, permitted publishers to produce as many as four thousand newspapers an hour, which lowered the cost of newspapers. **Penny papers** soon began competing with six-cent papers. Though subscriptions remained the preferred sales tool of many penny papers, they began relying increasingly on daily street sales of individual copies.

Day and the *New York Sun*

In 1833, printer Benjamin Day founded the *New York Sun* with no subscriptions and the price set at one penny. The *Sun*—whose slogan was "It shines for all"—highlighted local events, scandals, police reports, and serialized stories. Like today's supermarket tabloids, the *Sun* fabricated stories, including the infamous moon hoax, which reported "scientific" evidence of life on the moon. Within six months, the *Sun*'s lower price had generated a circulation of eight thousand, twice that of its nearest New York competitor.

The *Sun*'s success initiated a wave of penny papers that favored **human-interest stories**: news accounts that focus on the daily trials and triumphs of the human condition, often featuring ordinary individuals facing extraordinary challenges. These kinds of stories reveal journalism's ties to literary traditions, such as the archetypal conflicts between good and evil, normal and deviant, or individuals and institutions. Today, these themes can be found in everyday feature stories that chronicle the lives of remarkable people or in crime news that details the daily work of police and the misadventures of criminals. As in the nineteenth century, crime stories remain popular and widely read.

Bennett and the *New York Morning Herald*

The penny press era also featured James Gordon Bennett's *New York Morning Herald*, founded in 1835. Bennett, considered the first U.S. press baron, freed his newspaper from political influence. He established an independent paper serving middle- and working-class readers as well as his own business ambitions. The *Herald* carried political essays, news about scandals, business stories, a letters section, fashion notes, moral reflections, religious news, society gossip, colloquial tales and jokes, sports stories, and eventually reports from the Civil War.

In addition, Bennett's paper sponsored balloon races, financed safaris, and overplayed crime stories. Charles Dickens, after returning to Britain from his first visit to America in the early 1840s, used the *Herald* as a model for the sleazy *Rowdy Journal*, the fictional newspaper in his novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*. By 1860, the *Herald* reached nearly eighty thousand readers, making it the world's largest daily paper at the time.

Changing Economics and the Founding of the Associated Press

The penny papers were innovative. For example, they were the first to assign reporters to cover crime, and readers enthusiastically embraced the reporting of local news and crime. By gradually separating daily front-page reporting from overt political viewpoints on an editorial page, penny papers shifted their economic base from political parties to the market—to advertising revenue, classified ads, and street sales. Although many partisan papers had taken a moral stand against advertising some controversial products and "services"—such as medical "miracle" cures, abortionists, and especially the slave trade—the penny press became more neutral toward advertisers and printed virtually any ad. In fact, many penny papers regarded advertising as consumer news. The rise in ad revenues and circulation accelerated the growth of the newspaper industry. In 1830, 650 weekly and 65 daily papers operated in the United States, reaching a circulation of 80,000. By 1840, a total of 1,140 weeklies and 140 dailies attracted more than 300,000 readers.

In 1848, six New York newspapers formed a cooperative arrangement and founded the Associated Press (AP), the first major news wire service. **Wire services** began as commercial organizations that relayed news stories and information around the country and the world using telegraph lines and, later, radio waves and digital transmissions. In the case of the AP, the New York papers provided access to both their own stories and those from other newspapers. In the 1850s, papers started sending reporters to cover Washington, D.C., and in the early 1860s, more than a hundred reporters from northern papers went south to cover the Civil War, relaying their reports back to their home papers via telegraph and wire services. The news wire companies enabled news to travel rapidly from coast to coast and set the stage for modern journalism.

Library of Congress

NEWSIES sold Hearst and Pulitzer papers on the streets of New York in the 1890s. With more than a dozen dailies competing, street tactics were ferocious, and publishers often made young "newsies"—news boys and girls—buy the papers they could not sell.

The marketing of news as a product and the use of modern technology to dramatically cut costs gradually elevated newspapers from an entrepreneurial stage to the status of a mass medium. By adapting news content, penny papers captured the middle- and working-class readers who could now afford the paper and also had more leisure time to read it. As newspapers sought to sustain their mass appeal, news and "factual" reports about crimes and other items of human interest eventually superseded the importance of partisan articles about politics and commerce.

The Age of Yellow Journalism: Sensationalism and Investigation

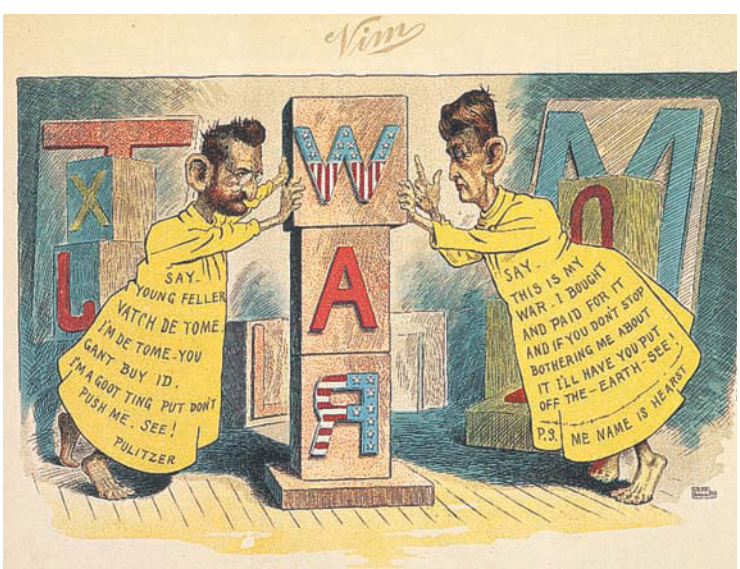
The rise of competitive dailies and the penny press triggered the next significant period in American journalism. In the late 1800s, **yellow journalism** emphasized profitable papers that carried exciting human-interest stories, crime news, large headlines, and more readable copy. Generally regarded as sensationalistic and the direct forerunner of today's tabloid papers, reality TV, and celebrity-centered shows like *Access Hollywood*, yellow journalism featured two major developments. First was the emphasis on overly dramatic—or sensational—stories about crimes, celebrities, disasters, scandals, and intrigue. Second, and sometimes forgotten, were early in-depth "detective" stories—the legacy for twentieth-century **investigative journalism**: news reports that hunt out and expose corruption, particularly in business and government. Reporting during this yellow journalism period increasingly became a crusading force for common people, with the press assuming a watchdog role on their behalf.

During this period, a newspaper circulation war pitted Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* against William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. A key player in the war was the first popular cartoon strip, *The Yellow Kid*, created in 1895 by artist R. F. Outcault, who once worked for Thomas Edison. The phrase *yellow journalism* has since become associated with the cartoon strip, which was shuttled back and forth between the Hearst and Pulitzer papers during their furious battle for readers in the mid to late 1890s.

Pulitzer and the *New York World*

Joseph Pulitzer, a Jewish-Hungarian immigrant, began his career in newspaper publishing in the early 1870s as part owner of the *St. Louis Post*. He then bought the bankrupt *St. Louis*

YELLOW JOURNALISM
Generally considered America's first comic-strip character, the Yellow Kid was created in the mid-1890s by cartoonist Richard (R. F.) Outcault. The cartoon was so popular that newspaper barons Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst fought over Outcault's services, giving yellow journalism its name.



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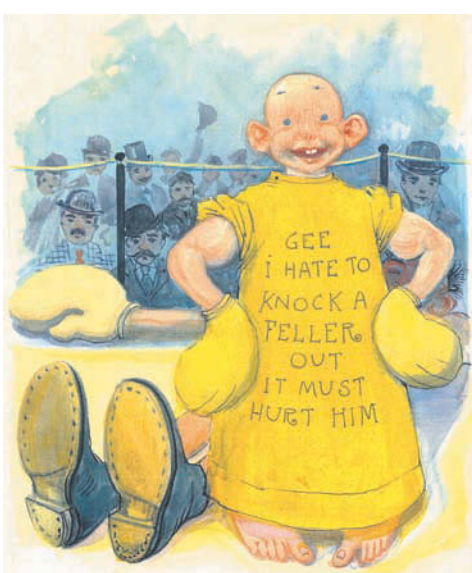


Dept. of Special Collections, Syracuse University Library

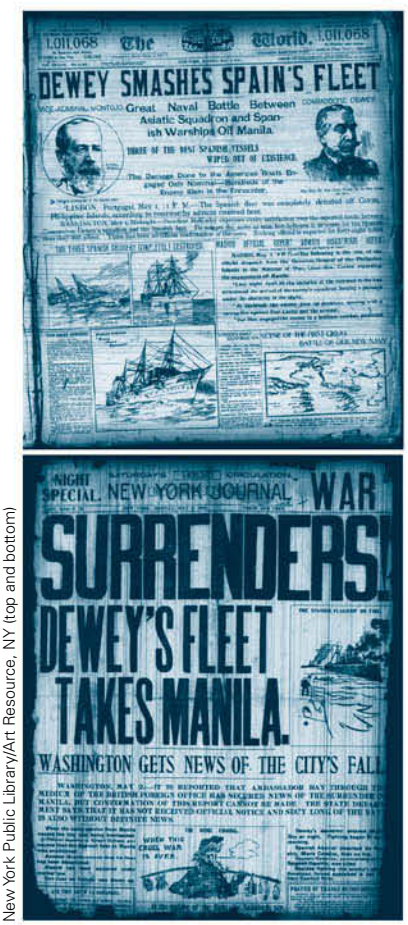
Dispatch for $2,500 at an auction in 1878 and merged it with the *Post*. The *Post-Dispatch* became known for stories that highlighted "sex and sin" ("A Denver Maiden Taken from Disreputable House") and satires of the upper class ("St. Louis Swells"). Pulitzer also viewed the *Post-Dispatch* as a "national conscience" that promoted the public good. He carried on the legacies of James Gordon Bennett: making money and developing a "free and impartial" paper that would "serve no party but the people." Within five years, the *Post-Dispatch* became one of the most influential newspapers in the Midwest.

In 1883, Pulitzer bought the *New York World* for $346,000. He encouraged plain writing and the inclusion of maps and illustrations to help immigrant and working-class readers understand the written text. In addition to running sensational stories on crime and sex, Pulitzer instituted advice columns and women's pages. Like Bennett, Pulitzer treated advertising as a kind of news that displayed consumer products for readers. In fact, department stores became major advertisers during this period. This development contributed directly to the expansion of consumer culture and indirectly to the acknowledgment of women as newspaper readers. Eventually (because of pioneers like Nellie Bly—see Chapter 14), newspapers began employing women as reporters.

The *World* reflected the contradictory spirit of the yellow press. It crusaded for improved urban housing, better conditions for women, and equitable labor laws. It campaigned against monopoly practices by AT&T, Standard Oil, and Equitable Insurance. Such popular crusades helped lay the groundwork for tightening federal antitrust laws in the early 1910s. At the same time, Pulitzer's paper manufactured news events and staged stunts, such as sending star reporter Nellie Bly around the world in seventy-two days to beat the fictional "record" in the popular 1873 Jules Verne novel *Around the World in Eighty Days*. By 1887, the *World*'s Sunday circulation had soared to more than 250,000, the largest anywhere.

Pulitzer created a lasting legacy by leaving $2 million to start the graduate school of journalism at Columbia University in 1912. In 1917, part of Pulitzer's Columbia endowment established the Pulitzer Prizes, the prestigious awards given each year for achievements in journalism, literature, drama, and music.

THE PENNY PRESS
The *World* (*top*) and the *New York Journal* (*bottom*) cover the same story in May 1898.



New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY (top and bottom)

Hearst and the *New York Journal*

The *World* faced its fiercest competition when William Randolph Hearst bought the *New York Journal* (a penny paper founded by Pulitzer's brother Albert). Before moving to New York, the twenty-four-year-old Hearst took control of the *San Francisco Examiner* when his father, George Hearst, was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1887 (the younger Hearst had recently been expelled from Harvard for playing a practical joke on his professors). In 1895, with an inheritance from his father, Hearst bought the ailing *Journal* and then raided Joseph Pulitzer's paper for editors, writers, and cartoonists.

Taking his cue from Bennett and Pulitzer, Hearst focused on lurid, sensational stories and appealed to immigrant readers by using large headlines and bold layout designs. To boost circulation, the *Journal* invented interviews, faked pictures, and encouraged conflicts that might result in a story. One tabloid account describes "tales about two-headed virgins" and "prehistoric creatures roaming the plains of Wyoming."[8] In promoting journalism as mere dramatic storytelling, Hearst reportedly said, "The modern editor of the popular journal does not care for facts. The editor wants novelty. The editor has no objection to facts if they are also novel. But he would prefer a novelty that is not a fact to a fact that is not a novelty."[9]

Hearst is remembered as an unscrupulous publisher who once hired gangsters to distribute his newspapers. He was also, however, considered a champion of the underdog, and his paper's readership soared among the working and middle classes.

In 1896, the *Journal*'s daily circulation reached 450,000, and by 1897, the Sunday edition of the paper rivaled the 600,000 circulation of the *World*. By the 1930s, Hearst's holdings included more than forty daily and Sunday papers, thirteen magazines (including *Good Housekeeping* and *Cosmopolitan*), eight radio stations, and two film companies. In addition, he controlled King Features Syndicate, which sold and distributed articles, comics, and features to many of the nation's dailies. Hearst, the model for Charles Foster Kane, the ruthless publisher in Orson Welles's classic 1940 film *Citizen Kane*, operated the largest media business in the world—the Disney or Google of its day.

Competing Models of Modern Print Journalism

The early commercial and partisan presses were, to some extent, covering important events impartially. These papers often carried verbatim reports of presidential addresses and murder trials, or the annual statements of the U.S. Treasury. In the late nineteenth century, as newspapers pushed for greater circulation, newspaper reporting changed. Two distinct types of journalism emerged: the *story-driven model*, dramatizing important events and used by the penny papers and the yellow press; and the *"just the facts" model*, an approach that appeared to package information more impartially and that the six-cent papers favored.[10] Implicit in these efforts was a question that is still debated today: Is there, in journalism, an ideal, attainable, objective model, or does the quest for objectivity actually conflict with journalists' traditional role of raising important issues about potential abuses of power in a democratic society?

"Objectivity" in Modern Journalism

As the consumer marketplace expanded during the Industrial Revolution, facts and news became marketable products. Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, the more a newspaper appeared not to take sides on its front pages, the more its readership base grew (although, as they are today, editorial pages were still often partisan). In addition, wire service organizations were serving a variety of newspaper clients in different regions of the country. To satisfy all clients, readers, and the wide range of political views, newspapers tried to appear more impartial.

Ochs and the *New York Times*

The ideal of an impartial, or purely informational, news model was championed by Adolph Ochs, who bought the *New York Times* in 1896. The son of immigrant German Jews, Ochs grew up in Ohio and Tennessee, where at age twenty-one he took over the *Chattanooga Times* in 1878. Known more for his business and organizational ability than for his writing and editing skills, he transformed the Tennessee paper. Seeking a national stage and business expansion, Ochs moved to New York and invested $75,000 in the struggling *Times*. Through strategic hiring, Ochs and his editors rebuilt the paper around substantial news coverage and provocative editorial pages. To distance his New York paper from the yellow press, the editors also downplayed sensational stories, favoring the documentation of major events or issues.

Partly as a marketing strategy, Ochs offered a distinct contrast to the more sensational Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers: an informational paper that provided stock and real estate reports to businesses, court reports to legal professionals, treaty summaries to political leaders, and theater and book reviews to educated general readers and intellectuals. Ochs's

promotional gimmicks took direct aim at yellow journalism, advertising the *Times* under the motto "It does not soil the breakfast cloth." Ochs's strategy is similar to today's advertising tactic of targeting upscale viewers and readers who control a disproportionate share of consumer dollars.

With the Hearst and Pulitzer papers capturing the bulk of working- and middle-class readers, managers at the *Times* first tried to use their straightforward, "no frills" reporting to appeal to more affluent and educated readers. In 1898, however, Ochs lowered the paper's price to a penny. He believed that people bought the *World* and the *Journal* primarily because they were cheap, not because of their stories. The *Times* began attracting middle-class readers who gravitated to the now-affordable paper as a status marker for the educated and well informed. Between 1898 and 1899, its circulation rose from 25,000 to 75,000. By 1921, the *Times* had a daily circulation of 330,000, and 500,000 on Sunday. (For contemporary print and digital circulation figures, see Table 8.1 on page 280.)

AP Photo/Evan Agostini

THE *NEW YORK TIMES* had established itself as the official paper of record by the 1920s. The *Times* was the first modern newspaper, gathering information and presenting news in a straightforward way—without the opinion of the reporter. Today, the *Times* is known for its opinion columns and editorial pages as much as for its original reporting. In 2011, Jill Abramson (pictured) became its first woman executive editor. She was let go in 2014, setting off controversy and rumors over whether she was paid as much as her male predecessors.

"Just the Facts, Please"

Early in the twentieth century, with reporters adopting a more "scientific" attitude to news- and fact-gathering, the ideal of objectivity began to anchor journalism. In **objective journalism**, which distinguishes factual reports from opinion columns, modern reporters strive to maintain a neutral attitude toward the issue or event they cover; they also search out competing points of view among the sources for a story.

The story form for packaging and presenting this kind of reporting has been traditionally labeled the **inverted-pyramid style**. Civil War correspondents developed this style by imitating the terse, compact press releases (summarizing or imitating telegrams to generals) that came from President Abraham Lincoln and his secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton.[11] Often stripped of adverbs and adjectives, inverted-pyramid reports began—as they do today—with the most dramatic or newsworthy information. They answered who, what, where, when (and, less frequently, why or how) questions at the top of the story and then narrowed down the story to presumably less significant details. If wars or natural disasters disrupted the telegraph transmission of these dispatches, the information the reporter led with had the best chance of getting through.

For much of the twentieth century, the inverted-pyramid style served as an efficient way to arrange a timely story. As one news critic pointed out, the wire services distributing stories to newspapers nationwide "had to deal with large numbers of newspapers with widely different political and regional interests. The news had to be 'objective' . . . to be accepted by such a heterogeneous group."[12] Among other things, the importance of objectivity and the reliance on the inverted pyramid signaled journalism's break from the partisan tradition. Although impossible to achieve (journalism is, after all, a literary practice, not a science), objectivity nonetheless became the guiding ideal of the modern press.

Despite the success of the *New York Times* and other modern papers, the more factual inverted-pyramid approach toward news has come under increasing scrutiny. As news critic and writing coach Roy Peter Clark has noted, "Some reporters let the pyramid control the content so that the news comes out homogenized. Traffic fatalities, three-alarm fires, and new city ordinances all begin to look alike. In extreme cases, reporters have been known to keep files of story forms. Fill in the blanks. Stick it in the paper."[13] Although the inverted-pyramid style has for years solved deadline problems for reporters and enabled editors to cut a story from the

TABLE 8.1

THE NATION'S TEN LARGEST DAILY NEWSPAPERS, 2014

Note: Count includes print and digital editions.

Data from: Cision, "Top 10 US Daily Newspapers," June 18, 2014, www.cision.com/us/2014/06/top-10-us-daily-newspapers; and Alliance for Audited Media, www.auditedmedia.com/news/blog/top-25-us-newspapers-for-march-2013.aspx.

Newspaper	2014 Weekday Circulation (print and digital)
1. *USA Today**	3,255,157
2. *Wall Street Journal*	2,294,093
3. *New York Times*	2,149,012
4. *Orange County Register*	681,512
5. *Los Angeles Times*	673,171
6. *San Jose Mercury News*	581,532
7. *New York Post*	477,314
8. (New York) *Daily News*	456,360
9. (Long Island, N.Y.) *Newsday*	443,362
10. *Washington Post*	436,601

*The Gannett-owned *USA Today* jumped from third in 2013 (1,674,306) to first in 2014 because since 2014, its circulation figures have included all the brief *USA Today* inserts found in Gannett's largest daily papers, such as the *Detroit Free Press*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *Nashville Tennessean*, and the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

bottom to fit available space, it has also discouraged many readers from continuing beyond the key details in the opening paragraphs. Studies have demonstrated that the majority of readers do not follow a front-page story when it continues, or "jumps," inside the paper.

Interpretive Journalism

By the 1920s, there was a sense, especially after the trauma of World War I, that the impartial approach to reporting was insufficient for explaining complex national and global conditions. It was partly as a result of "drab, factual, objective reporting," one news scholar contended, that "the American people were utterly amazed when war broke out in August 1914, as they had no understanding of the foreign scene to prepare them for it."[14]

The Promise of Interpretive Journalism

Under the sway of objectivity, modern journalism had downplayed an early role of the partisan press: offering analysis and opinion. But with the world becoming more complex, some papers began to reexplore the analytical function of news. The result was the rise of **interpretive journalism**, which aims to explain key issues or events and place them in a broader historical or social context. According to one historian, this approach, especially in the 1930s and 1940s, was a viable way for journalism to address "the New Deal years, the rise of modern scientific technology, the increasing interdependence of economic groups at home, and the shrinking of the world into one vast arena for power politics."[15] In other words, journalism took an analytic turn in a world grown more interconnected and complicated.

Noting that objectivity and factuality should serve as the foundation for journalism, by the 1920s editor and columnist Walter Lippmann insisted that the press should do more. He ranked three press responsibilities: (1) "to make a current record"; (2) "to make a running analysis of it"; and (3) "on the basis of both, to suggest plans."[16] Indeed, reporters and readers alike have historically distinguished between informational reports and editorial (interpretive) pieces, which offer particular viewpoints or deeper analyses of the issues. Since the boundary between information and interpretation can be somewhat ambiguous, American papers have traditionally placed news analysis in separate, labeled columns and placed opinion articles on certain pages so that readers do not confuse them with "straight news." It was during this time that political columns developed to evaluate and provide context for news. Moving beyond the informational and storytelling functions of news, journalists and newspapers began to extend their role as analysts.

Broadcast News Embraces Interpretive Journalism

In a surprising twist, the rise of broadcast radio in the 1930s also forced newspapers to become more analytical in their approach to news. At the time, the newspaper industry was upset that broadcasters took their news directly from papers and wire services. As a result, a battle developed between radio journalism and print news. Although mainstream newspapers tried to copyright the facts they reported and sued radio stations for routinely using newspapers as their main news sources, the papers lost many of these court battles. Editors and newspaper lobbyists argued that radio should be permitted to do only commentary. By conceding this interpretive role to radio, the print press tried to protect its dominion over "the facts." It was in this environment that radio analysis began to flourish as a form of interpretive news. Lowell Thomas delivered the first daily network analysis for CBS on September 29, 1930, attacking Hitler's rise to power in Germany. By 1941, twenty regular commentators—the forerunners of today's radio talk-show hosts, "talking heads" on cable, and political bloggers—were explaining their version of the world to millions of listeners.

Some print journalists and editors came to believe, however, that interpretive stories, rather than objective reports, could better compete with radio. They realized that interpretation was a way to counter radio's (and later television's) superior ability to report breaking news quickly—even live. In 1933, the American Society of News Editors (ASNE) supported the idea of interpretive journalism. Most newspapers, however, still did not embrace probing analysis during the 1930s. So in most U.S. dailies, interpretation remained relegated to a few editorial and opinion pages. It wasn't until the 1950s—with the Korean War, the development of atomic power, tensions with the Soviet Union, and the anticommunist movement—that news analysis resurfaced on the newest medium: television. Interpretive journalism in newspapers grew at the same time, especially in such areas as the environment, science, agriculture, sports, health, politics, and business. Following the lead of the *New York Times*, many papers by the 1980s had developed an "op-ed" page—an opinion page opposite the traditional editorial page, which allowed a greater variety of columnists, news analyses, and letters to the editor.

Literary Forms of Journalism

By the late 1960s, many people were criticizing America's major social institutions. Political assassinations, Civil Rights protests, the Vietnam War, the drug culture, and the women's movement were not easily explained. Faced with so much change and turmoil, many individuals began to lose faith in the ability of institutions to oversee and ensure the social order. Members of protest movements as well as many middle- and working-class Americans began to suspect the privileges and power of traditional authority. As a result, key institutions—including journalism—lost some of their credibility.

Journalism as an Art Form

Throughout the first part of the twentieth century—journalism's modern era—journalistic storytelling was downplayed in favor of the inverted-pyramid style and the separation of fact from opinion. Dissatisfied with these limitations, some reporters began exploring a new model of reporting. **Literary journalism**, sometimes dubbed "new journalism," adapted fictional techniques, such as descriptive details and settings and extensive character dialogue, to nonfiction material and in-depth reporting. In the United States, literary journalism's roots are evident in the work of nineteenth-century novelists like Mark Twain, Stephen Crane, and Theodore Dreiser, all of whom started out as reporters. In the late 1930s and 1940s, literary journalism surfaced: Journalists, such as James Agee and John Hersey, began to demonstrate how writing about real events could achieve an artistry often associated only with fiction.

In the 1960s, Tom Wolfe, a leading practitioner of new journalism, argued for mixing the *content* of reporting with the *form* of fiction to create "both the kind of objective reality of

AP Images

JOAN DIDION'S two essay collections—*Slouching Towards Bethlehem* (1968) and *The White Album* (1979)—are considered iconic pieces from the new journalism movement. Both books detail and analyze Didion's life in California, where she experienced everything from the counterculture movement in San Francisco to encounters with members of the Black Panther Party, the Doors, and even followers of Charles Manson.

journalism" and "the subjective reality" of the novel.[17] Writers such as Wolfe (*The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*), Truman Capote (*In Cold Blood*), Joan Didion (*The White Album*), Norman Mailer (*Armies of the Night*), and Hunter S. Thompson (*Hell's Angels*) turned to new journalism to overcome flaws they perceived in routine reporting. Their often self-conscious treatment of social problems gave their writing a perspective that conventional journalism did not offer. After the 1960s' tide of intense social upheaval ebbed, new journalism subsided as well. However, literary journalism not only influenced magazines like *Mother Jones* and *Rolling Stone* but also affected daily newspapers by emphasizing longer feature stories on cultural trends and social issues, with detailed description or dialogue. Today, writers such as Adrian Nicole LeBlanc (*Random Family*), Dexter Filkins (*The Forever War*), and Åsne Seierstad (*The Bookseller of Kabul*) keep this tradition alive.

The Attack on Journalistic Objectivity

Former *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker argued that in the early 1960s an objective approach to news remained the dominant model. According to Wicker, the "press had so wrapped itself in the paper chains of 'objective journalism' that it had little ability to report anything beyond the bare and undeniable facts."[18] Through the 1960s, attacks on the detachment of reporters escalated. News critic Jack Newfield rejected the possibility of genuine journalistic impartiality and argued that many reporters had become too trusting and uncritical of the powerful: "Objectivity is believing people with power and printing their press releases."[19] Eventually, the ideal of objectivity became suspect along with the authority of experts and professionals in various fields.

A number of reporters responded to the criticism by rethinking the framework of conventional journalism and adopting a variety of alternative techniques. One of these was *advocacy journalism*, in which the reporter actively promotes a particular cause or viewpoint. *Precision journalism*, another technique, attempts to make the news more scientifically accurate by using poll surveys and questionnaires. Throughout the 1990s, precision journalism became increasingly important. However, critics have charged that in every modern presidential campaign—including that of 2012—too many newspapers and TV stations became overly reliant on political polls, thus reducing campaign coverage to "racehorse" journalism, telling only "who's ahead" and "who's behind" stories rather than promoting substantial debates on serious issues. (See Table 8.2 for top works of American journalism.)

Contemporary Journalism in the TV and Internet Age

In the early 1980s, a postmodern brand of journalism arose from two important developments. In 1980, the *Columbus Dispatch* became the first paper to go online; today, nearly all U.S. papers offer some Web services. Then the colorful *USA Today*, started by Gannett, arrived in 1982, radically changing the look of most major U.S. dailies.

	Journalist(s)	Title or Subject	Publisher	Year(s)
1	John Hersey	"Hiroshima"	*New Yorker*	1946
2	Rachel Carson	*Silent Spring*	Houghton Mifflin	1962
3	Bob Woodward/Carl Bernstein	Watergate investigation	*Washington Post*	1972–73
4	Edward R. Murrow	Battle of Britain	CBS Radio	1940
5	Ida Tarbell	"The History of the Standard Oil Company"	*McClure's Magazine*	1902–04
6	Lincoln Steffens	"The Shame of the Cities"	*McClure's Magazine*	1902–04
7	John Reed	*Ten Days That Shook the World*	Random House	1919
8	H. L. Mencken	Coverage of the Scopes "monkey" trial	*Baltimore Sun*	1925
9	Ernie Pyle	Reports from Europe and the Pacific during World War II	Scripps-Howard newspapers	1940–45
10	Edward R. Murrow/Fred Friendly	Investigation of Senator Joseph McCarthy	CBS Television	1954

TABLE 8.2

EXCEPTIONAL WORKS OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM

Working under the aegis of New York University's journalism department, thirty-six judges compiled a list of the Top 100 works of American journalism in the twentieth century. The list takes into account not just the newsworthiness of the event but the craft of the writing and reporting. What do you think of the Top 10 works listed here? What are some problems associated with a list like this? Do you think newswriting should be judged in the same way we judge novels or movies?

Data from: New York University, Department of Journalism, New York, N.Y., 1999.

USA Today Colors the Print Landscape

USA Today made its mark by incorporating features closely associated with postmodern forms, including an emphasis on visual style over substantive news or analysis and the use of brief news items that appealed to readers' busy schedules and shortened attention spans.

Now the second most widely circulated paper in the nation, *USA Today* represents the only successful launch of a new major U.S. daily newspaper in the last several decades. Showing its marketing savvy, *USA Today* was the first paper to openly acknowledge television's central role in mass culture: The paper used TV-inspired color and designed its first vending boxes to look like color TVs. Even the writing style of *USA Today* mimics TV news by casting many reports in the present tense rather than the past tense (which was the print-news norm throughout the twentieth century).

Writing for *Rolling Stone* in March 1992, media critic Jon Katz argued that the authority of modern newspapers suffered in the wake of a variety of "new news" forms that combined immediacy, information, entertainment, persuasion, and analysis. Katz claimed that the news supremacy of most prominent daily papers, such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, was being challenged by "news" coming from talk shows, television sitcoms, popular films, and even rap music. In other words, society was changing from one in which the transmission of knowledge depended mainly on books, newspapers, and magazines to one dominated by a mix of print, visual, and digital information.

Online Journalism Redefines News

What started out in the 1980s as simple, text-only experiments for newspapers developed into more robust Web sites in the 1990s, allowing newspapers to develop an online presence. Today, online journalism is completely changing the industry. First, rather than subscribing to a traditional paper, many readers now begin their day on their iPads, smartphones, or computers scanning a wide variety of news Web sites, including those of print papers, cable news channels, newsmagazines, bloggers, and online-only news organizations. Such sources are increasingly taking over the roles of more traditional forms of news, helping set the nation's cultural, social, and political agendas. One of the biggest changes is that online news has sped up the news cycle to a constant stream of information and has challenged traditional news services to keep up. For instance, Matt Drudge, the conservative Internet gossip and news source

behind the *Drudge Report*, hijacked the national agenda in January 1998 and launched a scandal when he posted a report that *Newsweek* had delayed the story about President Clinton's affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Another change is the way nontraditional sources and even newer digital technology help drive news stories. For example, the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement, inspired by the Arab Spring uprisings, began in September 2011 when a group of protesters gathered in Zuccotti Park in New York's financial district to express discontentment with overpaid CEOs, big banks, and Wall Street, all of which helped cause the 2008–09 financial collapse but still enjoyed a government bailout.

Mainstream media was slow to cover OWS, with early coverage simply pitting angry protesters against dismissive Wall Street executives and politicians, many of whom questioned the movement's longevity as well as its vague agenda. But as retirees, teachers, labor unions, off-duty police officers, firefighters, and other government workers joined the college students, the jobless, and the homeless in OWS protests across the country, the coverage and narratives in the media became more complicated and nuanced. As in the Arab uprisings, sites like Tumblr, Facebook, and Twitter became key organizational tools. But more than that, they became alternative media sources, documenting incidents of police brutality and arrests, and covering the issues protesters championed. In both the Arab Spring and the OWS stories, the Internet and social media gave ordinary people more agency than ever before. Still, it's important to remember that while successful movements need good communication and media coverage, they also require enough people willing to challenge power, just as they did in the days of the American Revolution and the Civil Rights movement.

In the digital age, newsrooms are integrating their digital and print operations and asking their journalists to tweet breaking news that links back to newspapers' Web sites. However, editors are still facing a challenge to get reporters and editors to fully embrace what news executives regard as a reporter's online responsibilities. In 2011, for example, then executive editor of the *New York Times* Jill Abramson noted that although the *Times* had fully integrated its online and print operations, some editors still tried to hold back on publishing a timely story online, hoping that it would make the front page of the print paper instead. "That's a culture I'd like to break down, without diminishing the [reporters'] thrill of having their story on the front page of the paper," said Abramson.[20] (For more about how online news ventures are changing the newspaper industry, see pages 298–301.)

LaunchPad
macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

Newspapers and the Internet: Convergence
This video discusses the ways newspapers are adapting to online delivery of news.
Discussion: What different kinds of skills are needed to be effective in the new online world? What skills might remain the same?

The Business and Ownership of Newspapers

In the news industry today, there are several kinds of papers. *National newspapers* (such as the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and *USA Today*) serve a broad readership across the country. Other papers primarily serve specific geographic regions. Roughly 70 *metropolitan dailies* have a weekday paid circulation of approximately 100,000 (much more if we count digital hits on their Web sites). About 35 of these papers have a circulation of more than 200,000 during the workweek. In addition, about 100 daily newspapers are classified as medium dailies, with circulations between 50,000 and 100,000. By far the largest number of U.S. dailies—about 1,200 papers—fall into the small-daily category, with circulations under 50,000. While dailies serve urban and suburban centers, over 7,000 nondaily and *weekly newspapers* (down from 14,000 back in 1910) serve smaller communities and average over 8,000 copies per issue.[21]

No matter the size of the paper, each must determine its approach, target readers, and deal with ownership issues in a time of technological transition and declining revenue.

Consensus versus Conflict: Newspapers Play Different Roles

Smaller nondaily papers tend to promote social and economic harmony in their communities. Besides providing community calendars and meeting notices, nondaily papers focus on **consensus-oriented journalism**, carrying articles on local schools, social events, town government, property crimes, and zoning issues. Recalling the partisan spirit of an earlier era, small newspapers are often owned by business leaders who may also serve in local politics. Because consensus-oriented papers have a small advertising base, they are generally careful not to offend local advertisers, who provide the financial underpinnings for many of these papers. At their best, these small-town papers foster a sense of community; at their worst, they overlook or downplay discord and problems.

In contrast, national and metro dailies practice **conflict-oriented journalism**, in which front-page news is often defined primarily as events, issues, or experiences that deviate from social norms. Under this news orientation, journalists see their role not merely as neutral fact-gatherers but also as observers who monitor their city's institutions and problems. They often maintain an adversarial relationship with local politicians and public officials. These papers offer competing perspectives on such issues as education, government, poverty, crime, and the economy; and their publishers, editors, or reporters avoid playing major, overt roles in community politics. In theory, modern newspapers believe their role in large cities is to keep a wary eye fixed on recent local and state intrigue and events.

Daniel Acker/Bloomberg via Getty Images

USA TODAY recently took the crown for largest circulation of any newspaper in the United States because inserts that the owner, Gannett, includes in its other high-circulation papers are now counted in *USA Today*'s figures.

In telling stories about complex and controversial topics, conflict-oriented journalists often turn such topics into two-dimensional accounts, pitting one idea or person against another. This convention, or "telling both sides of a story," allows a reporter to take the position of a detached observer. Although this practice offers the appearance of balance, it usually functions to generate conflict and sustain a lively news story. Sometimes, though, good reporters ignore the notion that there are two sides to *every* story in order to tell the fullest and best story possible. However, often faced with deadline pressures, reporters do not always have the time—or the space—to develop a multifaceted and complex report or series of reports. But with the digital revolution releasing journalism from time and space constraints, news observers see the potential for more complex and longer stories developing online (see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Covering the News Media Business" on page 286).

Newspapers Target Specific Readers

Historically, small-town weeklies and daily newspapers have served predominantly white, mainstream readers. However, ever since Benjamin Franklin launched the short-lived German-language *Philadelphische Zeitung* in 1732, newspapers aimed at ethnic groups have played a

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Track three to four weeks' worth of business and economic news in your local paper or a regional paper you have access to through LexisNexis. You could pick a story about a paper that has recently been sold to another company, such as the purchase of the *Columbus Dispatch* by New Media Investment Group or the sale of the *San Diego Union-Tribune* to Tribune Publishing, both in 2015. Examine both the business pages and the front and local sections for business/economic stories in general and media business stories in particular. Devise a chart and create categories for sorting stories (e.g., business scandal stories, earnings reports, home foreclosures, job promotion reports, and news-media-related stories), and gauge whether these stories are positive or negative. If possible, compare your local or regional paper's coverage of new media business to the coverage in one of the nation's dailies, like the *New York Times* or *Wall Street Journal,* over the same period.

2 ANALYSIS. Look for patterns in the coverage. How many economic or business stories were produced over the period? How many were positive? How many were negative? How many stories did you find about individual reporters and columnists discussing the impact of the economy and the Internet on the newspaper business? Compared to the local or regional paper, are there differences in the frequency and kinds of coverage offered in the national newspaper? Does your paper cover the business of the parent company that owns the local paper? Does it cover national or international business stories? What are the differences between the local/regional coverage and national coverage of business in general and the news media in particular?

Covering the News Media Business

With the economic challenges in journalism over the last decade, the loss of jobs has affected what gets covered as news. We already know that local newspapers don't always do a good job covering their state and federal governments, and many statehouse and federal news bureaus have been closed or consolidated. But what about coverage of the changing news media business itself? Over the years, critics have claimed that business news pages tend to favor issues related to management and downplay the role of everyday employees, and favor positive business stories—such as managers' promotions—and minimize negative news (unlike regional and local newspapers, which often emphasize crime stories). So do local newspapers today cover business in general and their own business owners well? Are there any stories in the news about editors and reporters and the challenges they face? Using the LexisNexis database or the Pew Research Center, check the business coverage in a regional daily paper to see how the paper covers itself and the news media business in general. You can also call business editors and reporters at your local or regional paper and ask them about how they cover economic issues related to their own business.

3 INTERPRETATION. What do some of the patterns mean? Did you find examples in which the coverage of business seems comprehensive and fair? If business news gets more positive coverage than does political news, what might this mean? What does it mean if certain businesses are not being covered adequately by local/regional and national news operations? If men are quoted as sources more often than women are quoted in these stories, what might this mean? What does it mean if there are very few stories about the news business in general and about the paper you are studying specifically? What does it mean if there are differences between local/regional coverage and national coverage of business and news media?

4 EVALUATION. Determine which papers and stories you would judge as stronger models for how business and news media get covered, and which ones you would judge as weaker models. What do you think makes a good business or media story, and what makes a weak one? Are some elements that should be included missing from coverage? If so, make suggestions.

5 ENGAGEMENT. Either write to or e-mail the editor or a business reporter to offer your findings, or make an appointment with the editor or business reporter to discuss what you discovered or to ask questions about the kind of coverage you have found. Note what the newspaper is doing well, and make a recommendation on how to improve business and news media coverage. Possibly recommend issues and trends of concern to college students—college loans, credit card debt, rise of college tuition costs—that aren't being covered well, and suggest ways to report on these better. Recommend stories about the news media (and your newspaper's owner) that you would like to see covered.

ELSEWHERE IN MEDIA & CULTURE

$8.3B

THE PRICE OF THE BIGGEST NEWSPAPER MERGER EVER

p. 463

MARVEL COMICS ARE A BIG PART OF DISNEY'S CORPORATE STRATEGY

p. 460

1887

the year that Nellie Bly caused a sensation in the *New York World*

p. 477

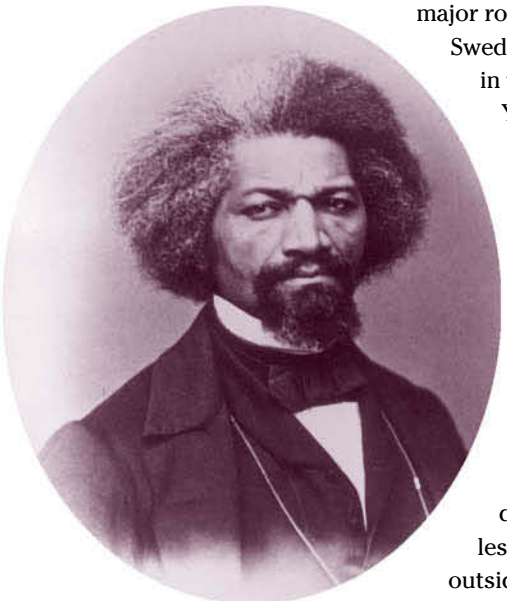
$31.2B

the revenue that print advertising is expected to generate in 2017

p. 385

WHERE CAN YOU FIND JOURNALISTS' TWEETS COLLECTED IN ONE PLACE?

p. 499



FREDERICK DOUGLASS helped found the *North Star* in 1847. It was printed in the basement of the Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, a gathering spot for abolitionists and "underground" activities in Rochester, New York. At the time, the white-owned *New York Herald* urged Rochester's citizens to throw the *North Star*'s printing press into Lake Ontario. Under Douglass's leadership, the paper came out weekly until 1860, addressing problems facing blacks around the country and offering a forum for Douglass to debate his fellow black activists.

Archive Photos/Getty Images

major role in initiating immigrants into American society. During the nineteenth century, Swedish- and Norwegian-language papers informed various immigrant communities in the Midwest. The early twentieth century gave rise to papers written in German, Yiddish, Russian, and Polish, assisting the massive influx of European immigrants.

Throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, several hundred foreign-language daily and nondaily presses published papers in at least forty different languages in the United States. Many are financially healthy today, supported by classified ads, local businesses, and increased ad revenue from long-distance phone companies and Internet services, which see the ethnic press as an ideal place to reach those customers most likely to need international communication services.[22] While the financial crisis took its toll and some ethnic newspapers failed, loyal readers allowed such papers to fare better overall than the mainstream press.[23]

Most of these weekly and monthly newspapers serve some of the same functions for their constituencies—minorities and immigrants, as well as disabled veterans, retired workers, gay and lesbian communities, and the homeless—that the "majority" papers do. These papers, however, are often published outside the social mainstream. Consequently, they provide viewpoints that are different from the mostly middle- and upper-class establishment attitudes that have shaped the media throughout much of America's history. As noted by the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism, ethnic newspapers and media "cover stories about the activities of those ethnic groups in the United States that are largely ignored by the mainstream press, they provide ethnic angles to news that actually is covered more widely, and they report on events and issues taking place back in the home countries from which those populations or their family members emigrated. These outlets have also traditionally been leaders in their communities."[24]

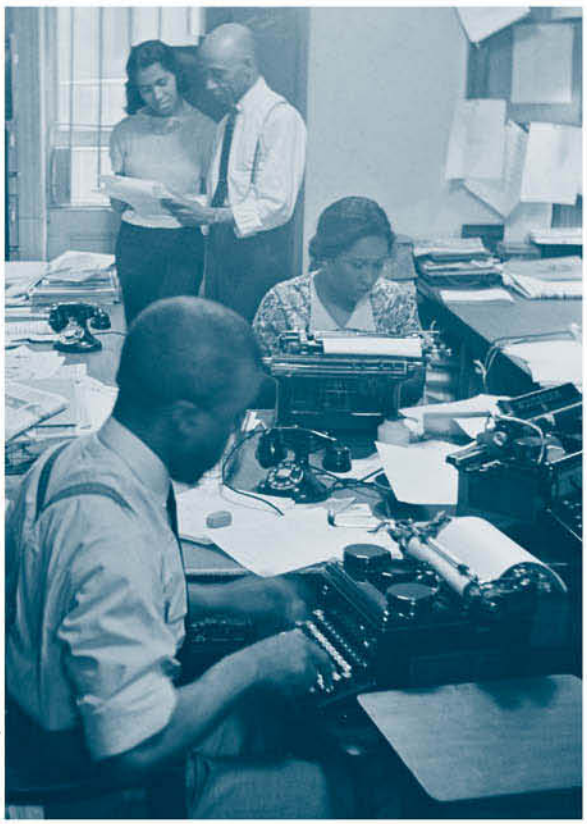
African American Newspapers

Between 1827 and the end of the Civil War in 1865, forty newspapers directed at black readers and opposed to slavery struggled for survival. These papers faced not only higher rates of illiteracy among potential readers but also hostility from white society and the majority press of the day. The first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, operated from 1827 to 1829 and opposed the racism of many New York newspapers. In addition, it offered a public voice for antislavery societies. Other notable papers included the *Alienated American* (1852–1856) and the *New Orleans Daily Creole*, which began its short life in 1856 as the first black-owned daily in the South. The most influential oppositional newspaper was Frederick Douglass's *North Star*, a weekly antislavery newspaper in Rochester, New York, which was published from 1847 to 1860 and reached a circulation of three thousand. Douglass, a former slave, wrote essays on slavery and on a variety of national and international topics.

Since 1827, 5,500 newspapers have been edited or started by African Americans.[25] These papers, with an average life span of nine years, have taken stands against race baiting, lynching, and the Ku Klux Klan. They also promoted racial pride long before the Civil Rights movement. The most widely circulated black-owned paper was Robert C. Vann's weekly *Pittsburgh Courier*, founded in 1910. Its circulation peaked at 350,000 in 1947—the year professional baseball was integrated by Jackie Robinson, thanks in part to relentless editorials in the *Courier* that denounced the color barrier in pro sports. As they have throughout their history, these papers offer oppositional viewpoints to the mainstream press and record the daily activities of black communities by listing weddings, births, deaths, graduations, meetings, and church functions. Today, the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) reports that there are roughly two hundred African American newspapers, including Baltimore's *Afro-American*, New York's *Amsterdam News*, and the *Chicago Defender*, which celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 2005.[26] None of these publish daily editions any longer, and most are weeklies.

The circulation rates of most black papers dropped sharply after the 1960s. The combined circulation of the local and national editions of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, for instance, dropped from 202,080 in 1944 to 20,000 in 1966, when it was reorganized as the *New Pittsburgh Courier*. Several factors contributed to these declines. First, television and black radio stations tapped into the limited pool of money that businesses allocated for advertising. Second, some advertisers, to avoid controversy, withdrew their support when the black press started giving favorable coverage to the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. Third, the loss of industrial urban jobs in the 1970s and 1980s not only diminished readership but also hurt small neighborhood businesses, which could no longer afford to advertise in both the mainstream and the black press. Finally, after the enactment of Civil Rights and affirmative action laws, mainstream papers raided black papers, seeking to integrate their newsrooms with African American journalists. Black papers could seldom match the offers from large white-owned dailies.

While a more integrated mainstream press initially hurt black papers—an ironic effect of the Civil Rights laws—by 2011 that trend had reversed a bit, as some black reporters and editors returned to black press newsrooms.[27] Overall, however, the number of African Americans in newsrooms is declining—between 2006 and 2013, African American representation fell from 5.5 to 4.7 percent. The ASNE reported that in 1998, about 3,000 African Americans worked as journalists at daily newspapers, but that by 2013, that number had fallen to fewer than 1,800.



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AFRICAN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS
This 1936 scene reveals the newsroom of Harlem's *Amsterdam News*, one of the nation's leading African American newspapers. Ironically, the Civil Rights movement and affirmative action policies since the 1960s served to drain talented reporters from the black press by encouraging them to work for larger, mainstream newspapers.

According to the ASNE's 2013 census, of the 38,000 reporters and editors at daily newspapers, "about 4,700 or 12.37 percent [were] racial minorities; the percentage of minority employees has consistently hovered between 12 and 13 percent for more than a decade." Among the ASNE's main goals, however, "is to have the percentage of minorities working in newsrooms nationwide reflect the percentage of the nation's population by 2025." In 2013, minorities made up about 37 percent of the U.S. population, and the U.S. Census Bureau has reported that the number will increase to more than 42 percent by 2025.[28]

Spanish-Language Newspapers

Bilingual and Spanish-language newspapers have served a variety of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Hispanic readerships since 1808, when *El Misisipi* was founded in New Orleans. Throughout the 1800s, Texas had more than 150 Spanish-language papers.[29] Los Angeles' *La Opinión*, founded in 1926, is now the nation's largest Spanish-language daily. Other prominent publications are in Miami (La Voz and *Diario Las Americas*), Houston (*La Información*), Chicago (*El Mañana Daily News* and *La Raza*), and New York *(El Diario–La Prensa*). By 2011, about eight hundred Spanish-language papers operated in the United States, most of them weekly and nondaily papers, although since 2004, no new Hispanic papers have been founded.[30] Until the late 1960s, mainstream newspapers virtually ignored Hispanic issues and culture. But with the influx of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban immigrants throughout the 1980s and 1990s, many mainstream papers began to feature weekly Spanish-language supplements. The first was the *Miami Herald*'s "El Nuevo Herald," introduced in 1976. Other mainstream papers also joined in, but many had folded their Spanish-language supplements by the mid-1990s. In 1995, the *Los Angeles Times* discontinued its supplement, "Nuestro Tiempo," and the *Miami Herald* trimmed budgets and staff for "El Nuevo Herald." Spanish-language radio and television had beaten newspapers to these potential customers and advertisers. As the U.S.

世界日報
WORLD JOURNAL
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唐家山洩洪加速 大水漫北川
油價飆漲 沙國召開峰會
陳德夫
Dr. Thomas T. Chen M.D., F.A.C.C., C.E.N.C.
核子心臟醫學影像中心

Courtesy of the World Journal

THE *WORLD JOURNAL* is a national daily paper that targets Chinese immigrants by focusing on news from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other Southeast Asian communities.

Hispanic population reached 17 percent in 2013, Hispanic journalists accounted for only about 4 percent of the newsroom workforce at U.S. daily newspapers.[31]

Asian American Newspapers

In the 1980s, hundreds of small papers emerged to serve immigrants from Pakistan, Laos, Cambodia, and China. While people of Asian descent made up only about 5.3 percent of the U.S. population in 2013, this percentage is expected to rise to 9 percent by 2050.[32] Today, fifty small U.S. papers are printed in Vietnamese. Ethnic papers like these help readers both adjust to foreign surroundings and retain ties to their traditional heritage. In addition, these papers often cover major stories downplayed in the mainstream press. For example, in the aftermath of 9/11, airport security teams detained thousands of Middle Eastern–looking men. The *Weekly Bangla Patrika*—a Long Island, New York, paper—reported on the one hundred people the Bangladeshi community lost in the 9/11 attacks and on how it feels to be innocent yet targeted by ethnic profiling.[33]

A growth area in newspapers is Chinese publications. Even amid a poor economy, a new Chinese newspaper, *News for Chinese*, started in 2008. The Chinese-language paper began as a free monthly distributed in the San Francisco area. In early 2009, it began publishing twice a week. By 2014, the *World Journal*, the largest U.S.-based Chinese-language paper, was publishing editions in seven U.S. and Canadian cities: New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Dallas, Vancouver, and Toronto.[34] In 2013, Asian American journalists accounted for 3 percent of newsroom jobs in the United States.[35]

Native American Newspapers

An activist Native American press has provided oppositional voices to mainstream American media since 1828, when the *Cherokee Phoenix* appeared in Georgia. Another prominent early paper was the *Cherokee Rose Bud*, founded in 1848 by tribal women in the Oklahoma territory. The Native American Press Association has documented more than 350 Native American papers, most of them printed in English but a few in tribal languages. Currently, two national papers are the *Native American Times*, which offers perspectives on "sovereign rights, civil rights, and government-to-government relationships with the federal government," and *Indian Country Today*, owned by the Oneida Nation in New York. In 2013, Native American journalists accounted for 0.37 percent of newsroom jobs in the United States—or about 140 reporters and editors.

To counter the neglect of Native American culture's viewpoints by the mainstream press, Native American newspapers have helped educate various tribes about their heritage and have helped build community solidarity. These papers have also reported on both the problems and the progress among tribes that have opened casinos and gambling resorts. Overall, these smaller papers provide a forum for debates on tribal conflicts and concerns, and they often signal the mainstream press on issues—such as gambling or hunting and fishing rights—that have particular significance for the larger culture.

The Underground Press

The mid to late 1960s saw an explosion of alternative newspapers. Labeled the **underground press** at the time, these papers questioned mainstream political policies and conventional values, often voicing radical opinions. Generally running on shoestring budgets, they were

also erratic in meeting publication schedules. Springing up on college campuses and in major cities, underground papers were inspired by the writings of socialists and intellectuals from the 1930s and 1940s and by a new wave of thinkers and artists. Particularly inspirational were poets and writers (such as Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, LeRoi Jones, and Eldridge Cleaver) and "protest" musicians (including Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger, and Joan Baez). In criticizing social institutions, alternative papers questioned the official reports distributed by public relations agents, government spokespeople, and the conventional press (see "Case Study: Alternative Journalism: Dorothy Day and I. F. Stone" on page 292).

During the 1960s, underground papers played a unique role in documenting social tension by including the voices of students, women, African Americans, Native Americans, gay men and lesbians, and others whose opinions were often excluded from the mainstream press. The first and largest underground paper, the *Village Voice*, was founded in Greenwich Village in 1955. It is still distributed free, surviving through advertising, though its staff has been cut heavily in recent years. But circulation figures for free alternative weeklies are often difficult to pin down. While the Pew Research Center reported the *Village Voice* circulation at 144,000 in 2013, the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies (AAN) listed the paper's circulation at 80,000 in both 2013 and 2014.[36]

Among campus underground papers, the *Berkeley Barb* was the most influential, developing amid the free-speech movement in the mid-1960s. Despite their irreverent tone, many underground papers turned a spotlight on racial and gender inequities and occasionally goaded mainstream journalism to examine social issues. Like the black press, though, many early underground papers folded after the 1960s. Given their radical outlook, it was difficult for them to appeal to advertisers. In addition, as with the black press, mainstream papers raided alternatives and expanded their own coverage of culture by hiring the underground's best writers. Still, today more than 130 papers, reaching 25 million readers, are members of the AAN.

Newspaper Operations

Today, a weekly paper might employ only two or three people, while a major metro daily might have a staff of more than one thousand, including workers in the newsroom and online operations, and in departments for circulation (distributing the newspaper), advertising (selling ad space), and mechanical operations (assembling and printing the paper). In either situation, however, most newspapers distinguish business operations from editorial or news functions. Journalists' and readers' praise or criticism usually rests on the quality of a paper's news and editorial components, but business and advertising concerns today dictate whether papers will survive.

Most major daily papers would like to devote one-half to two-thirds of their pages to advertisements. Newspapers carry everything from full-page spreads for department stores to shrinking classified ads, which consumers can purchase for a few dollars to advertise used cars or old furniture (although many Web sites now do this for free). In most cases, ads are positioned in the paper first. The **newshole**—space not taken up by ads—accounts for the remaining 35 to 50 percent of the content of daily newspapers, including front-page news. The newshole and physical size of many newspapers had shrunk substantially by 2010.

News and Editorial Responsibilities

The chain of command at most larger papers starts with the publisher and owner at the top and then moves, on the news and editorial side, to the editor in chief and managing editor, who are in charge of the daily news-gathering and writing processes. Under the main editors, assistant editors have traditionally run different news divisions, including features, sports, photos, local news, state news, and wire service reports that contain major national and international news. Increasingly, many editorial positions are being eliminated or condensed to the job of

CASE STUDY

Alternative Journalism: Dorothy Day and I. F. Stone

Over the years, a number of unconventional reporters have struggled against the status quo to find a place for unheard voices and alternative ways to practice their craft. For example, Ida Wells fearlessly investigated violence against blacks for the *Memphis Free Speech* in the late nineteenth century. Newspaper lore offers a rich history of alternative journalists and their publications, such as Dorothy Day's *Catholic Worker* and *I. F. Stone's Weekly.*

In 1933, Dorothy Day (1897–1980) cofounded a radical religious organization with a monthly newspaper, the *Catholic Worker*, that opposed war and supported social reforms. Like many young intellectual writers during World War I, Day was a pacifist; she also joined the Socialist Party. Quitting college at age eighteen to work as an activist reporter for socialist newspapers, Day participated in the ongoing suffrage movement to give women the right to vote. Throughout the 1930s, her Catholic Worker organization invested in thirty hospices for the poor and homeless, providing food and shelter for five thousand people a day. This legacy endures today, with the organization continuing to fund soup kitchens and homeless shelters throughout the country.

For more than eighty years, the *Worker* has consistently advocated personal activism to further social justice, opposing anti-Semitism, Japanese American internment camps during World War II, nuclear weapons, the Korean War, military drafts, and the communist witch-hunts of the 1950s. The *Worker*'s circulation peaked in 1938 at 190,000, then fell dramatically during World War II, when Day's pacifism was at odds with much of America. Today, the *Catholic Worker* has a circulation of about 30,000.

I. F. Stone (1907–1989) shared Dorothy Day's passion for social activism. He also started early, publishing his own monthly paper at the age of fourteen and becoming a full-time reporter by age twenty. He worked as a Washington political writer for the *Nation* in the early 1940s and later for the *New York Daily Compass*. Throughout his career, Stone challenged the conventions and privileges of both politics and journalism. In 1941, for example, he resigned from the National Press Club when it refused to serve his guest, the nation's first African American federal judge. In the early 1950s, he actively opposed Joseph McCarthy's rabid campaign to rid government and the media of alleged communists.

When the *Daily Compass* failed in 1952, the radical Stone was unable to find a newspaper job and decided to create his own newsletter, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, which he published for nineteen years. Practicing interpretive and investigative reporting, Stone became as adept as any major journalist at tracking down government records to discover contradictions, inaccuracies, and lies. Over the years, Stone questioned decisions by the Supreme Court, investigated the substandard living conditions of many African Americans, and criticized political corruption. He guided the *Weekly* to a circulation that reached seventy thousand during the 1960s, when he probed American investments of money and military might in Vietnam.

I. F. Stone and Dorothy Day embodied a spirit of independent reporting that has been threatened by first the rise of chain ownership, then the decline in readership. Stone, who believed that alternative ideas were crucial to maintaining a healthy democracy, once wrote that "there must be free play for so-called 'subversive' ideas—every idea 'subverts' the old to make way for the new. To shut off 'subversion' is to shut off peaceful progress and to invite revolution and war."[1]

AP Images (top)

© Bettmann/Corbis (bottom)

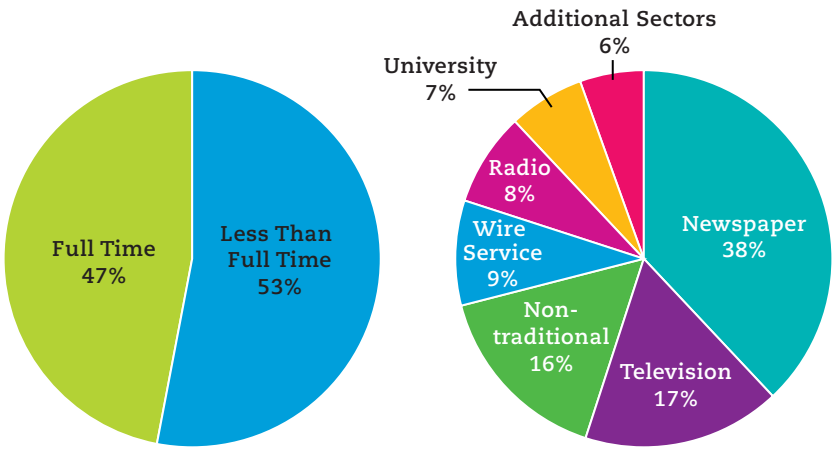


FIGURE 8.1

WHO REPORTS FROM U.S. STATEHOUSES? (PERCENTAGE OF ALL STATEHOUSE REPORTERS)

Note: The "less than full-time" category includes reporters who work during session only, as well as other staff, such as interns and videographers. "Additional sectors" represent the following: professional publications, multiplatform media companies, and "other," which includes freelancers, magazines, and alternative weeklies. Figures may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding.

Data from: Pew Research, "America's Shifting Statehouse Press Corp: Fewer Print Reporters Assigned to State Capitals," July 10, 2014, www.journalism.org/2014/07/10/americas-shifting-statehouse-press/.

a single editor, whose chief responsibility is often ensuring that stories are posted first online (to give them the immediacy that radio and TV news have always had), then updated, and then prepared for the print edition.

Reporters work for editors. *General assignment reporters* handle all sorts of stories that might emerge—or "break"—in a given day. *Specialty reporters* are assigned to particular beats (police, courts, schools, local and national government) or topics (education, religion, health, environment, technology). On large dailies, *bureau reporters* also file reports from other major cities. Large daily papers feature columnists and critics who cover various aspects of culture, such as politics, books, television, movies, and food. While papers used to employ a separate staff for their online operations, the current trend is to have traditional reporters file both online and print versions of their stories—accompanied by images or video they are responsible for gathering.

Recent consolidation and cutbacks have led to layoffs and the closing of bureaus outside a paper's city limits. For example, in 1985, more than 600 newspapers had reporters stationed in Washington, D.C.; in 2013, that number was under 250. The *Los Angeles Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Baltimore Sun*—all owned now by Tribune Publishing—closed their independent bureaus in 2009, choosing instead to share reports.[37] In terms of state capital reporting, a 2014 Pew research study showed that the profession "lost a total of 164 full-time statehouse reporters—a decline of 35%—between 2003 and 2014."[38] That was slightly higher than the 30 percent decline of overall newspaper staffing during roughly the same period, according to ASNE census data.

POLITICAL CARTOONS are often syndicated features in newspapers and reflect the issues of the day.

By RJ Matson/politicalcartoons.com

The downside of these money-saving measures in our nation's capital and in various U.S. state capitals is that far fewer versions of stories are being produced, and readers must often rely on a single version of a news report. According to the ASNE, the workforce in daily U.S. newsrooms declined by 11,000 jobs in 2008 and 2009.[39] A small turnaround occurred in 2010 with 100 new jobs created overall, driven by the increase of 220 jobs in "freestanding digital news organizations."[40] But ASNE reported that from 2011 to 2012, the total number of newsroom jobs fell by 3,600, from 41,600 to 38,000.[41]

Wire Services and Feature Syndication

Major daily papers might have one hundred or so local reporters and writers, but they still cannot cover the world or produce enough material to fill up the newshole each day. Newspapers rely on wire services and syndicated feature services to supplement local coverage. A few major dailies, such as the *New York Times*, run their own wire services, selling their stories to other papers to reprint. Other agencies, such as the Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI), have hundreds of staffers stationed throughout major U.S. cities and world capitals. They submit stories and photos each day for distribution to newspapers across the country. Some U.S. papers also subscribe to foreign wire services, such as Agence France-Presse in Paris or Reuters in London.

Daily papers generally pay monthly fees for access to all wire stories. Although they use only a fraction of what is available over the wires, editors monitor wire services each day for important stories and ideas for local angles. Wire services have greatly expanded the reach and scope of news, as local editors depend on wire firms when they select statewide, national, or international reports for reprinting.

In addition, traditional **feature syndicates**, such as United Features (now known as Universal Uclick) and Tribune Media Services (now known as Gracenote), operated historically as commercial outlets that contracted with newspapers to provide work from the nation's best political writers, editorial cartoonists, comic-strip artists, and self-help columnists. These companies served as brokers, distributing horoscopes and crossword puzzles as well as the political columns and comic strips that appealed to a wide audience. When a paper bid on and acquired the rights to a cartoonist or columnist, it signed exclusivity agreements with a syndicate to ensure that it was the only paper in the region to carry, say, Clarence Page, Maureen Dowd, Leonard Pitts, Connie Schultz, George Will, or cartoonist Mike Peters. Feature syndicates, like wire services, wielded great influence in determining which writers and cartoonists gained national prominence.

Newspaper Ownership: Chains Lose Their Grip

Edward Wyllis Scripps founded the first **newspaper chain**—a company that owns several papers throughout the country—in the 1890s. By the 1920s, there were about thirty chains in the United States, each owning an average of five papers. The emergence of chains paralleled the major business trend during the twentieth century: the movement toward oligopolies, in which a handful of corporations control each industry.

By the 1980s, more than 130 chains owned an average of nine papers each, with the 12 largest chains accounting for 40 percent of total circulation in the United States. By 2001, the top ten chains controlled more than one-half of the nation's total daily newspaper circulation. Gannett, for example, the nation's largest chain, owns over eighty daily papers (and hundreds of nondailies worldwide), ranging from small suburban papers to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, the Nashville *Tennessean*, and *USA Today*.

Around 2005, consolidation in newspaper ownership leveled off because the decline in newspaper circulation and ad sales panicked investors, leading to drops in the stock value of newspapers. Many newspaper chains responded by significantly reducing their newsroom staffs and selling off individual papers.

For an example of this cost cutting, consider actions at the *Los Angeles Times* (then owned by the Chicago-based Tribune Company chain). Continuing demands from the corporate offices for cost reductions led to the resignations of editors and publishers. Cuts also caused the departures of some of the most talented staff members, including six Pulitzer Prize winners. In 2007, Chicago real estate developer Sam Zell bought the Tribune Company for $8 billion and made it private, insulating it for a time from market demands for high profit margins. However, by 2008, the company faced declining ad revenue and a tough economy

and was forced to file for bankruptcy protection, which it received until the end of 2012, when it emerged from bankruptcy. While it continues to operate—as of 2014 as separate TV and newspaper companies—Tribune's history indicates the sorts of troubles once highly profitable major newspapers face.

About the same time, large chains started to break up, selling individual newspapers to private equity firms and big banks (like Bank of America and JPMorgan Chase) that deal in distressed and overleveraged companies with too much debt. For example, in 2006, Knight Ridder—then the nation's second-leading chain—was sold for $4.5 billion to the McClatchy Company. McClatchy then broke up the chain by selling off twelve of its thirty-two papers, including the *San Jose Mercury News* and Philadelphia Newspapers (which included the *Philadelphia Inquirer*). McClatchy also sold its leading newspaper, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, to a private equity company for $530 million, less than half of what it had paid to buy it eight years earlier.

On a more promising note, in 2012, billionaire philanthropist Warren Buffett, CEO of the investment firm Berkshire Hathaway, spent $344 million and bought more than sixty newspapers (the company planned to retain about thirty). A newspaper junkie and former paperboy, Buffett has owned the *Buffalo News* in New York since 1977 and has run it profitably. In 2011, he also bought his hometown paper, the *Omaha World-Herald*, for $200 million. Buffett has argued that many smaller and regional newspapers will thrive if they have a strong sense of their local communities and do a good job of mixing their print and digital products. The *New York Times* reported that Buffett planned to buy more papers—"three years after telling shareholders that he would not buy a newspaper at any price."[42] In 2013, Buffett's BH Media Group bought the *Tulsa World* in Oklahoma and the *Roanoke Times* in Virginia. By 2014, Buffett retained ownership of twenty-nine small and midsize daily newspapers.

While Warren Buffett concentrated on purchasing smaller regional papers, ownership of one of the nation's three national newspapers also changed hands. Back in 2007, the *Wall Street Journal*, held by the Bancroft family for more than one hundred years, accepted a bid of nearly $5.8 billion from News Corp. head Rupert Murdoch (News Corp. also owns the *New York Post* and many papers in the United Kingdom and Australia). At the time, critics raised serious concerns about takeovers of newspapers by large entertainment conglomerates (Murdoch's company at the time also owned TV stations, a network, cable channels, and a movie studio). As small subsidiaries in large media empires, newspapers are increasingly treated as just another product line that is expected to perform in the same way that a movie or TV program does. But in 2012, News Corp. decided to split its news and entertainment divisions, leading some critics to hope that Murdoch's news operations would no longer be subject to the same high-profit expectations of Hollywood movies and sitcoms.

As chains lose their grip, there are concerns about who will own papers in the future and the effect the papers' owners will have on content and press freedoms. Recent purchases by private equity groups are alarming, since these companies are usually more interested in turning a profit than supporting journalism. However, ideas exist for how to avoid this fate. For example, more support could be rallied for small independent owners, who could then make decisions based on what's best for the paper—not just what's best for the quarterly report. (For more on how newspapers and owners are trying new business models, see "New Models for Journalism" on pages 301–302.)

Joint Operating Agreements Combat Declining Competition

Although the amount of regulation preventing newspaper monopolies has decreased, the government continues to monitor the declining number of newspapers in various American cities as well as mergers in cities where competition among papers might be endangered. In the mid-1920s, about five hundred American cities had two or more newspapers with separate owners. However, by 2010, fewer than fifteen cities had independent, competing papers.

In 1970, Congress passed the Newspaper Preservation Act, which enabled failing papers to continue operating through a **joint operating agreement (JOA)**. Under a JOA, two competing papers keep separate news divisions while merging business and production operations for a period of years. Since the act's passage, twenty-eight cities have adopted JOAs. By 2003, sixteen of those JOAs had been terminated. By 2014, just six JOAs remained in place—in Charleston, West Virginia; Detroit; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Las Vegas; Salt Lake City; and York, Pennsylvania. Although JOAs and mergers have monopolistic tendencies, they have sometimes been the only way to maintain competition between newspapers.

For example, Detroit was one of the most competitive newspaper cities in the nation until 1989. The *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press*, then owned by Gannett and Knight Ridder, respectively, both ranked among the ten most widely circulated papers in the country and sold their weekday editions for just fifteen cents a copy. Faced with declining revenue and increased costs, the papers' managers asked for and received a JOA in 1989. But problems continued. Then, in 1995, a prolonged and bitter strike by several unions sharply reduced circulation, as the strikers formed a union-backed paper to compete against the existing newspapers. Many readers dropped their subscriptions to the *News* and the *Free Press* to support the strikers. Before the strike (and the rise of the Internet), Gannett and Knight Ridder had both reported profit margins of well over 15 percent on all their newspaper holdings.[43] By 2010, Knight Ridder was out of the newspaper chain business, and neither Detroit paper ranked in the Top 20. In addition, the *News* and the *Free Press* became the first major papers to stop daily home delivery for part of the week, instead directing readers to the Web or to brief newsstand editions.

Challenges Facing Newspapers Today

Publishers and journalists today face worrisome issues, such as the decline in newspaper readership and the failure of many papers to attract younger readers. However, other problems persist as newspapers continue to converge with the Internet and grapple with the future of digital news.

Readership Declines in the United States

The decline in daily newspaper readership actually began during the Great Depression with the rise of radio. Between 1931 and 1939, six hundred newspapers ceased operation. Another circulation crisis occurred from the late 1960s through the 1970s with the rise in network television viewing and greater competition from suburban weeklies. In addition, with an increasing number of women working full-time outside the home, newspapers could no longer consistently count on one of their core readership groups.

Throughout the first decade of the twenty-first century, U.S. newspaper circulation dropped again, this time by more than 25 percent.[44] In the face of such steep circulation and readership declines, however, overall audiences did start growing again thanks to online readers, and Pew's *State of the News Media 2013* report saw reasons for optimism:

Companies have started to experiment in a big way with a variety of new revenue streams and major organizational changes. Some of the bright opportunities—such as offering social marketing services to local businesses—are ventures too new to be measured yet industry-wide. They show signs of stabilizing revenue.

Digital pay plans are being adopted at 450 of the country's 1,380 dailies and appear to be working not just at The New York Times *but also at small and mid-sized papers. Twinned with print subscription and single-copy price increases, the digital paywall movement has circulation revenues holding steady or rising. Together with the other new revenue streams, these added circulation revenues are rebalancing the industry's portfolio from its historic over-dependence on advertising.*[45]

Remarkably, while the United States continues to experience declines in newspaper readership and advertising dollars, many other nations—where Internet news is still emerging—have experienced increases. For example, the World Association of Newspapers (WAN) reported that between 2003 and 2009, there was an 8.8 percent growth in newspaper readership worldwide, mostly concentrated in Asia, Africa, and South America.[46] In 2013, WAN reported that between 2008 and 2013, "newspaper circulation dropped by 13 per cent in North America but rose 9.8 per cent in Asia," while ad revenue "declined by 42.1 per cent in North America but rose by 6.2 per cent in Asia."[47] In 2014, WAN reported that around 2.7 billion people worldwide read newspapers in print and about 770 million read them in digital forms. While digital ad sales continue to grow for newspapers worldwide, this still represents a small percentage of print news revenue. According to WAN, "Globally, 93 per cent of all newspaper revenues continue to come from print."[48]

Going Local: How Small and Campus Papers Retain Readers

Despite the doomsday headlines and predictions about the future of newspapers, it is important to note, as Pew's *State of the News Media 2010* report observed, that the problems of the newspaper business "are not uniform across the industry." In fact, according to the report, "Small dailies and community weeklies, with the exception of some that are badly positioned or badly managed," still do better than many "big-city papers."[49] That report back in 2010 also suggested that smaller papers in smaller communities remain "the dominant source for local information and the place for local merchants to advertise."[50]

Smaller newspapers continue to do better today for several reasons. First, small towns and cities often don't have local TV stations, big-city magazines, or numerous radio stations competing against newspapers for ad space. This means that smaller papers are more likely to retain their revenue from local advertisers. Second, whether they are tiny weekly papers serving small towns or campus newspapers serving university towns, such papers have a loyal and steady base of readers who cannot get information on their small communities from any other source. In fact, many college newspaper editors report that the most popular feature in their papers is the police report: It serves as a kind of local gossip, listing the names of students busted over the weekend for underage drinking or public intoxication.

Finally, because smaller newspapers tend to be more consensus-oriented than conflict-driven in their approach to news, these papers usually do not see the big dips in ad revenue that may occur when editors tackle complex or controversial topics that are divisive. For example, when a major regional newspaper does an investigative series on local auto dealers for poor service or shady business practices, those dealers—for a while—can cancel advertising that the paper sorely needs. While local papers fill in the gaps left by large mainstream papers and other news media sources, they still face some of the same challenges as large papers and must continue to adapt to retain readers and advertisers.

Blogs Challenge Newspapers' Authority Online

The rise of blogs in the late 1990s brought amateurs into the realm of professional journalism. It was an awkward meeting. As National Press Club president Doug Harbrecht said

to conservative blogger Matt Drudge in 1998 while introducing him to the press club's members, "There aren't many in this hallowed room who consider you a journalist. Real journalists . . . pride themselves on getting it first and right; they get to the bottom of the story, they bend over backwards to get the other side. Journalism means being painstakingly thorough, even-handed, and fair."[51] Harbrecht's suggestion, of course, was that untrained bloggers weren't as scrupulous as professionally trained journalists. In the following decade, though, as blogs like *Daily Kos*, the *Huffington Post*, *The Dish: Biased and Balanced* (http://dish.andrewsullivan.com), and *Talking Points Memo* gained credibility and a large readership, traditional journalism slowly began to try blogging, allowing some reporters to write a blog in addition to their regular newspaper, television, or radio work. Some newspapers, such as the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, even hired journalists to blog exclusively for their Web sites.

By 2005, the wary relationship between journalism and blogging began to change. Blogging became less a journalistic sideline and more a viable main feature. Established journalists left major news organizations to begin new careers in the blogosphere. For example, in 2007, top journalists John Harris and Jim VandeHei left the *Washington Post* to launch *Politico*, a national blog (and, secondarily, a local newspaper) about Capitol Hill politics. Another breakthrough moment occurred when the *Talking Points Memo* blog, headed by Joshua Micah Marshall, won a George Polk Award for legal reporting in 2008. Explaining his view of blogging, Marshall has said, "I think of us as journalists; the medium we work in is blogging. We have kind of broken free of the model of discrete articles that have a beginning and end. Instead, there are an ongoing series of dispatches."[52] Increasingly, because of qualified journalists moving online, Pew reports that sites that started out as opinionated blogs have grown into legitimate news venues:

Digital players have exploded onto the news scene, bringing technological know-how and new money and luring top talent. BuzzFeed, once scoffed at for content viewed as "click bait," now has a news staff of 170, including top names like Pulitzer Prize–winner Mark Schoofs, and is the kind of place that ProPublica's Paul Steiger says he would want to work at if he were young again. Mashable now has a news staff of 70 and enticed former New York Times *assistant managing editor Jim Roberts to become its chief content officer. And in January of this year [2014], Ezra Klein left the* Washington Post *for Vox Media, which will become the new home for his explanatory journalism concept. Many of these companies are already successful digital brands—built around an innate understanding of technology—and are using revenues from other parts of the operation to get the news operations off the ground.*[53]

What distinguishes the best online news from so many opinion blogs still out there is the reliance on old-fashioned journalism—calling on reporters to interview people as sources, to look at documents, and to find evidence to support the story, whether it is in print or online.

Convergence: Newspapers Struggle in the Move to Digital

Because of their local monopoly status, many newspapers were slower than other media to confront the challenges of the Internet. But faced with competition from the 24/7 news cycle on cable,

LaunchPad
macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

Community Voices: Weekly Newspapers
Journalists discuss the role of local newspapers in their communities.
Discussion: In a democratic society, why might having many community voices in the news media be a good thing?

NEWSPAPER WEB SITES provide papers with a great way to reach thousands, if not millions, of potential readers. But with readers used to getting online news for free, most sites lose revenue. Would you pay for online news? Would it make a difference if the paper were national or local?

Capecodonline.com

newspapers responded by developing online versions of their papers. While some observers think newspapers are on the verge of extinction as the digital age eclipses the print era, the industry is no dinosaur. In fact, the history of communication demonstrates that older mass media have always adapted; so far, books, newspapers, and magazines have adjusted to the radio, television, and movie industries. And with nearly fifteen hundred North American daily papers going online in 2010, newspapers are solving one of the industry's major economic headaches: the cost of newsprint. After salaries, paper is the industry's largest expense, typically accounting for more than 25 percent of a newspaper's total cost.

Online newspapers are truly taking advantage of the flexibility the Internet offers. Because space is not an issue online, newspapers can post stories and readers' letters that they aren't able to print in the paper edition. They can also run longer stories with more in-depth coverage, as well as offer immediate updates to breaking news. Also, most stories appear online before they appear in print; they can be posted at any time and updated several times a day.

Among the valuable resources that online newspapers offer are hyperlinks to Web sites that relate to stories and that link news reports to an archive of related articles. Free of charge or for a modest fee, a reader can search the newspaper's database from home and investigate the entire sequence and history of an ongoing story, such as a trial, over the course of several months. Taking advantage of the Internet's multimedia capabilities, online newspapers offer readers the ability to stream audio and video files—everything from presidential news conferences to local sports highlights to original video footage from a storm disaster. Today's online newspapers offer readers a dynamic, rather than a static, resource.

However, these advances have yet to pay off. Online ads in the United States accounted for about 13 percent of a newspaper's advertising in 2010—up about 3 percent from 2009. So

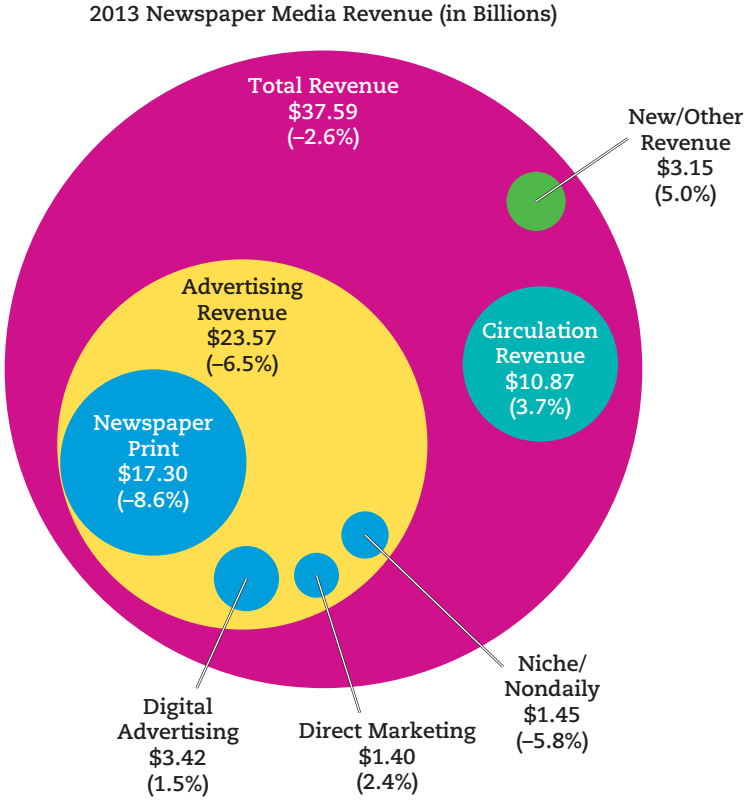


FIGURE 8.2

NEWSPAPER MEDIA REVENUE, 2013

Data from: Newspaper Association of America, www.naa.org/Trends-and-Numbers/Newspaper-Revenue/Newspaper-Media-Industry-Revenue-Profile-2013.aspx.

Andrew Harrer/Bloomberg via Getty Images

PAYWALL
The *New York Times* began charging readers for access to all online content in early 2011, via either a print subscription or a stand-alone online subscription. Recognizing the fact that readers today are gravitating toward reading the news on their smartphones or tablets, all the plans offered by the *Times* include some form of mobile access. Still, in order to mitigate the decrease in online traffic and to alleviate resistance from those who feel as if they shouldn't have to pay for online content, the *Times* in 2014 allowed readers free access to ten articles a month, as well as free access to articles via a search link or a link posted on a social networking site.

newspapers, even in decline, are still heavily dependent on print ads. But this trend does not seem likely to sustain papers for long. Ad revenue for newspaper print ads in 2009 declined 25 to 35 percent at many newspapers.[54] To jump-start online revenue streams, more than four hundred daily newspapers collaborated with Yahoo! (the number-one portal to newspapers online) in 2006 to begin an advertising venture that aimed to increase papers' online revenue by 10 to 20 percent. By summer 2010, with the addition of the large Gannett chain, Yahoo! had nearly nine hundred papers in the ad partnership. During an eighteen-month period in 2009–10, the Yahoo! consortium sold over thirty thousand online ad campaigns in local markets, with most revenue shared 50/50 between Yahoo! and its partner papers.[55]

By 2014, online ad sales for newspapers accounted for about 17 percent of U.S. newspapers' advertising revenue, suggesting that online sales on average had risen just 1 percent a year since 2010. The Newspaper Association of America reported that print ad sales in 2013 had declined another 8.6 percent, which represented a loss of $1.6 billion. In terms of digital advertising—the revenue stream that could provide the foundation for a new business model for newspapers—sales were up just 1.5 percent in 2013. As the Nieman Journalism Lab noted: "In 2014, American newspapers still [got] 83 percent of their advertising revenue from print."[56]

One of the business mistakes that most newspaper executives made near the beginning of the Internet age was giving away online content for free. Whereas their print versions always had two revenue streams—ads and subscriptions—newspaper executives weren't convinced that online revenue would amount to much, so they used their online version as an advertisement for the printed paper. Since those early years, most newspapers are now trying to establish a **paywall**—charging a fee for online access to news content—but customers used to getting online content for free have shunned most online subscriptions. One paper that did charge early for online content was the *Wall Street Journal*, which pioneered one of the few successful paywalls in the digital era. In fact, the *Journal*, helped by the public's interest in the economic crisis and 400,000 paid subscriptions to its online service, replaced *USA Today* as the nation's most widely circulated newspaper in 2009. In early 2011, a University of Missouri study found that 46 percent of papers with circulations under 25,000 said they charged for some online content, while only 24 percent of papers with more than 25,000 in circulation charged for content.[57]

An interesting case in the paywall experiments is the *New York Times*. In 2005, the paper began charging online readers for access to its editorials and columns, but the rest of the site was free. This system lasted only until 2007. But starting in March 2011, the paper added a paywall—a metered system that was mostly aimed at getting the *New York Times*' most loyal online readers, rather than the casual online reader, to pay for online access. Under this paywall system, print subscribers would continue to get free Web access. Online-only subscribers could opt for one of three plans: $15 per month for Web and smartphone access, $20 per month for Web and tablet access, or $35 per month for an "all-you-can-eat" plan that would allow access to all the *Times* platforms. In its first few weeks of operation, the paper gained more than 100,000 new subscribers and lost only about 15 percent of traffic from the days of free Web access—a more positive scenario than the 50 percent loss in online traffic some observers had predicted. And in March 2014, the *Times* reported 760,000 paid subscribers to all its various digital options.[58]

In recent years, over 150 newspapers, including many small ones, launched various paywalls, many of them based on the *New York Times*' metered model, trying to reverse

years of giving away their print content online for free. Larger metro dailies, including the *Boston Globe*, *Dallas Morning News*, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, and *Los Angeles Times*, have also started their own paywalls and metered models. But in 2014, the Nieman Journalism Lab reported on a number of studies and a report on Gannett's experiments with its various paywalls and concluded, "When you announce a paywall, you get a one-time boost from people who are willing to pay. But it plateaus. And maybe some of those subscribers eventually drop off. It's not a growth model that does anything like replace the ongoing decline in print advertising revenue—which continues to decline somewhere in the high single digits every year."[59]

New Models for Journalism

In response to the challenges newspapers face, a number of journalists, economists, and citizens are calling for new business models—with more potential than paywalls—for combating newspapers' decline. One avenue is developing new business ventures, such as the online-only papers begun by former print reporters. Started by former *Washington Post* reporters in 2007, *Politico* is a successful example. Another idea is for wealthy universities like Harvard and Yale to buy and support papers, thereby better insulating their public service and watchdog operations from the high profit expectations of the marketplace. Another possibility might be to get Internet companies involved. Amazon founder Jeff Bezos's purchase of the *Washington Post* in 2013 is one example. Earlier, Google—worried that a decline in the quality of journalism meant fewer sites on which to post ads and earn online revenue—pledged $5 million to news foundations and companies to encourage innovation in digital journalism. Wealthy Internet companies like Microsoft and Google could expand into the news business and start producing content for both online and print papers. In fact, in March 2010, Yahoo! began hiring reporters to increase the presence of its online news site. The company hired reporters from *Politico*, *BusinessWeek*, the *New York Observer*, the *Washington Post*, and *Talking Points Memo*, among others.

Reprinted with permission from *Politico*

POLITICO quickly became a reputable place for Washington insiders as well as the general population to go for political news and reporting, allowing the organization to thrive at a time when other papers were struggling. As editor in chief John Harris states on the site, *Politico* aims to be more than just a place for politics; it also "hope[s] to add to the conversation about what's next for journalism." What do you think its success means for the future of the news media?

Additional ideas are coming from universities (where journalism school enrollments are actually increasing). For example, the dean of Columbia University's Journalism School (started once upon a time with money bequeathed by nineteenth-century newspaper mogul Joseph Pulitzer) commissioned a study from Leonard Downie, former executive editor of the *Washington Post*, and Michael Schudson, Columbia journalism professor and media scholar. Their report, "The Reconstruction of American Journalism," focused on lost circulation, advertising revenue, and news jobs, and aimed to create a strategy for reporting that would hold public and government officials accountable.[60] After all, citizens in democracies require basic access to reports, data, and documentation in order to be well informed. Here is an overview of their recommendations, some of which have already been implemented:

- News organizations "substantially devoted to reporting on public affairs" should be allowed to operate as nonprofit entities in order to take in tax-deductible contributions while still collecting ad and subscription revenues. For example, the Poynter Institute owns and operates the *Tampa Bay Times* (formerly the *St. Petersburg Times*), Florida's largest newspaper. As a nonprofit, the *Times* is protected from the unrealistic 16 to 20 percent profit margins that publicly held newspapers had been expected to earn in the 1980s and 1990s.
- Public radio and TV, through federal reforms in the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, should reorient their focus to "significant local news reporting in every community served by public stations and their Web sites."
- Operating their own news services or supporting regional news organizations, public and private universities "should become ongoing sources of local, state, specialized subject and accountability news reporting as part of their educational mission."
- A national Fund for Local News should be created with money the Federal Communications Commission collects from "telecom users, television and radio broadcast licensees, or Internet service providers."
- News services, nonprofit organizations, and government agencies should use the Internet to "increase the accessibility and usefulness of public information collected by federal, state, and local governments."

As the journalism industry continues to reinvent itself and tries new avenues to ensure its future, not every "great" idea will work out. Some of the immediate backlash to Downie and Schudson's report raised questions about the government becoming involved with traditionally independent news media. What is important, however, is that newspapers continue to experiment with new ideas and business models so that they can adapt and even thrive in the Internet age. (For more on the challenges facing journalism, see Chapter 14.)

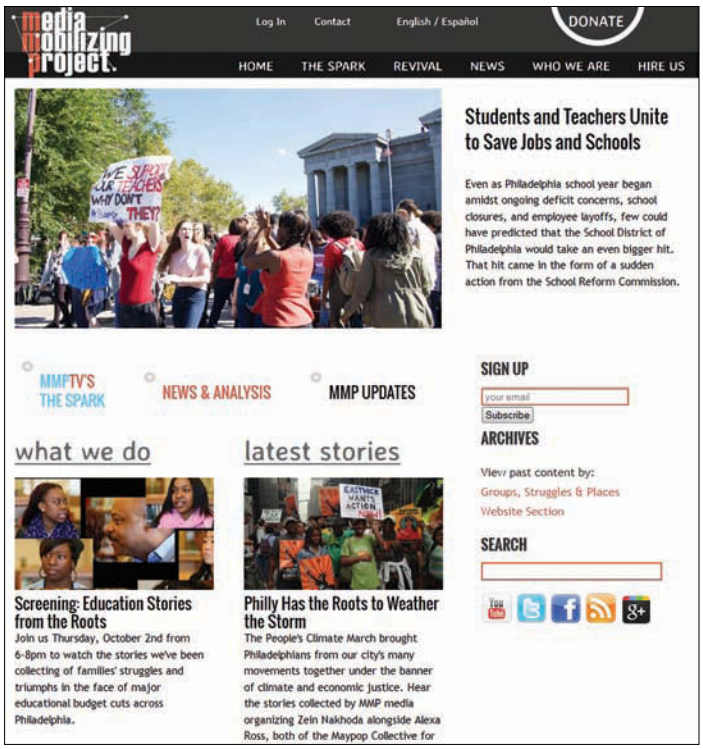
Alternative Voices

The combination of the online news surge and traditional newsroom cutbacks has led to a phenomenon known as **citizen journalism**, or *citizen media* (or *community journalism* for those projects in which the participants might not be citizens). As a grassroots movement, citizen journalism refers to people—activist amateurs and concerned citizens, not professional journalists—who use the Internet and blogs to disseminate news and information. In fact, with steep declines in newsroom staffs, many professional news media organizations—like CNN's iReport and many regional newspapers—are increasingly trying to corral citizen journalists as an inexpensive way to make up for the journalists lost to newsroom downsizing.

Back in 2008, one study reported that more than one thousand community-based Web sites were in operation, posting citizen stories about local government, police, and city development.[61] By 2013, as many as fifteen hundred such sites were running. Some sites simply

aggregate video footage from YouTube, mostly from natural disasters and crises, such as the Boston Marathon terrorist bombing in 2013. These disaster and crisis videos represent by far the biggest contribution to news by amateurs. According to the Pew Research Center, more than 40 percent of the "most watched news videos" over a fifteen-month period in 2011 and 2012 "came directly from citizens."[62]

Beyond the citizen model, another Pew study in 2013 identified 170 specific nonprofit news organizations "with minimal staffs and modest budgets," ranging "from the nationally known [like the investigative site ProPublica] to the hyperlocal," that are trying to compensate for the loss of close to 20,000 commercial newsroom jobs over the last decade.[63] In 2014, Pew studied 438 of these newer digital sites: "Of the 402 outlets that identified a business model, slightly more than half (204) are nonprofits compared with 196 that are commercial entities. In recent years, the nonprofit model has attracted a significant amount of foundation funding for news gathering." In its *State of the News Media 2014* report, Pew "estimated that roughly $150 million in philanthropy now goes to journalism annually. Some of that is used as seed money for digital nonprofit news organizations: 61% of the nonprofit news organizations surveyed by Pew Research began with a large start-up grant." Pew noted that the "goal for these organizations is ultimately finding a sustainable business model less reliant on big giving."[64]



Courtesy of Media Mobilizing

MEDIA MOBILIZING PROJECT (www.mediamobilizing.org) is a community-based organization in Philadelphia that helps nonprofit and grassroots organizations create and distribute news pieces about their causes and stories. Such organizations are key to getting out messages that matter deeply to communities but are often ignored by the mainstream media, such as documentation about the wealth disparity at the heart of the Occupy Wall Street movement in 2011 and 2012.

Most journalists and many citizens want to see more professional models of journalism develop in the digital age so that people can decrease their reliance on unedited video footage and untrained amateurs as key sources for news. While many community-based sites and ordinary citizen reporters do not have the resources to provide the kind of regional news coverage that local newspapers once provided, there is still a lot of hope for community journalism moving forward. Some new digital sites have adopted what could be called a "pro-am" model for journalism, in which amateurs are trained by professionals. This practice is already followed at many universities, where students are trained by former and current journalists and then collaborate on print, broadcast, and online news projects with local news media.

Newspapers and Democracy

Of all mass media, newspapers have played the leading role in sustaining democracy and championing freedom. Over the years, newspapers have fought heroic battles in places that had little tolerance for differing points of view. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), from 1992 through mid-2015, 1,132 reporters from around the world were killed while doing their jobs. In 2015, CPJ reported that since 1992, the five deadliest countries for journalists have been Iraq (167 killed), Syria (82 killed), the Philippines (77 killed), Algeria (60 killed), and Russia

(56 killed). Of those killed, 13 percent died while "performing a dangerous assignment," 20 percent were killed in cross fire or combat, and 66 percent were murdered.[65] In the first half of 2015, 30 journalists and media workers were killed, including 8 in France (the *Charlie Hebdo* magazine murders in Paris), 5 in South Sudan, 4 in Yemen, and 3 each in Syria and Bangladesh.

Many journalist deaths in the twenty-first century reported by CPJ came from the war in Iraq. From 2003 to 2011, 225 reporters, media workers, and support staff died in Iraq. For comparison, 63 reporters were killed while covering the Vietnam War, 17 died covering the Korean War, and 69 were killed during World War II.[66] Our nation and many others remain dependent on journalists who are willing to do this very dangerous reporting in order to keep us informed about what is going on around the world.

In addition to the physical danger, newsroom cutbacks, and the closing of foreign bureaus, a number of smaller concerns remain as we consider the future of newspapers. For instance, some charge that newspapers have become so formulaic in their design and reporting styles that they may actually discourage new approaches to telling stories and reporting news. Another criticism is that in many one-newspaper cities, only issues and events of interest to middle- and upper-middle-class readers are covered, resulting in the underreporting of the experiences and events that affect poorer and working-class citizens. In addition, given the rise of newspaper chains, the likelihood of including new opinions, ideas, and information in mainstream daily papers may be diminishing. Moreover, chain ownership tends to discourage watchdog journalism and the crusading traditions of newspapers. Like other business managers, many news executives have preferred not to offend investors or outrage potential advertisers by running too many investigative reports—especially business probes. This may be most evident in the fact that reporters have generally not reported adequately on the business and ownership arrangements in their own industry.

Finally, as print journalism shifts to digital culture, the greatest challenge is the upheaval of print journalism's business model. Most economists say that newspapers need new business models, but some observers think that local papers, ones that are not part of big overleveraged chains, will survive on the basis of local ads and coupons or "big sale" inserts. Increasingly, independent online firms will help bolster national reporting through special projects. In 2009, the Associated Press wire service initiated an experiment to distribute investigative reports from several nonprofit groups—including the Center for Public Integrity, the Center for Investigative Reporting, and ProPublica—to its fifteen hundred members as a news source for struggling papers that have cut back on staff. Also in 2009, the news aggregator *Huffington Post* hired a team of reporters to cover the economic crisis. Back in 2011, AOL (which purchased the *Huffington Post* for $315 million) had more than thirteen hundred reporters—most of them for Patch, a hyperlocal news initiative with over eight hundred separate editorial units serving small to midsize towns and cities across the United States. The Patch experiment aimed to restore local news coverage to areas that had been neglected due to newsroom cutbacks.[67] But by 2014, AOL had not made money, so it cut these local sites from nine hundred to six hundred and entered into a new joint venture controlled by Hale Global.[68] Then in mid-2015, Verizon agreed to buy AOL and the *Huffington Post* for $4.4 billion.

Among the success stories in digital journalism, ProPublica has published more than a hundred investigative stories a year, often teaming up with traditional newspapers or public radio stations from around the country. It then offers these reports to traditional news outlets for free. In 2010, one story won a Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting. Regional examples of this kind of public service news include the *Voice of San Diego* and *MinnPost*, both nonprofit online news ventures that feature news about the San Diego and the Twin Cities areas, respectively. Many of these news services have tried to provide reports for news outlets that have downsized and no longer have the reporting resources to do certain kinds of major investigations.

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Newspaper Industry

Mark Jurkowitz, Pew Research Journalism Project

At a time when print newsrooms continue to shed jobs, thousands of journalists are now working in the growing world of native digital news—at small nonprofits like *Charlottesville Tomorrow*, big commercial sites like the *Huffington Post*, and other content outlets, like BuzzFeed, that have moved into original news reporting. In a significant shift in the editorial ecosystem, most of these jobs have been created in the past half dozen years, and many have materialized within the last year alone [2014].

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Reporters, correspondents, and broadcast news analysts are expected to face strong competition for jobs [from 2012 to 2022], because of both the number of workers who are interested in entering the field and the projected employment declines of the occupations. Those with experience in the field—experience often gained through internships or by working for school newspapers, television stations, or radio stations—should have the best job prospects.

Multimedia journalism experience, including shooting and editing pieces, should also improve job prospects. Because stations are increasingly publishing content on multiple media platforms, particularly on the Web, employers may prefer applicants who have experience in Web site design and coding.

In addition, opportunities will likely be better in small local newspapers or television and radio stations.

Cubreporters.org

All of the gloomy reports about newspaper circulation rapidly dropping, network news ratings declining, and reporters being laid off might lead you to believe that journalism itself is dying. But journalism is alive and well. It is just that the way reporters do their job is changing.

As print journalism loses readers and advertisers to digital culture, what will become of newspapers, which do most of the nation's primary journalistic work? What role will they play in national elections and the 2016 presidential race? Will more and more people rely on TV ads, Twitter, Facebook, and ever newer social media for the political and policy information that an informed citizenry needs? In many instances, these newer Web sites deliver their readers to newspaper sites where actual reporting and documentation is still being done. But will their readers be able to distinguish an opinionated, partisan blog from actual evidence-based reporting?

John Carroll presided over thirteen Pulitzer Prize–winning reports at the *Los Angeles Times* as editor from 2000 to 2005, but he left the paper to protest deep corporate cuts to the newsroom. He has lamented the future of newspapers and their unique role: "Newspapers are doing the reporting in this country. Google and Yahoo! and those people aren't putting reporters on the street in any numbers at all. Blogs can't afford it. Network television is taking reporters off the street. Commercial radio is almost nonexistent. And newspapers are the last ones standing, and newspapers are threatened. And reporting is absolutely an essential thing for democratic self-government. Who's going to do it? Who's going to pay for the news? If newspapers fall by the wayside, what will we know?"[69] In the end, there will be no return to any "golden age" of newspapers. The Internet is transforming journalism and relocating where we get our news; the print era is passing the news baton to the digital age.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the role that media play in a democracy. The newspaper industry has always played a strong role in our democracy by reporting news and investigating stories. Even in the Internet age, newspapers remain our primary source for content. How will the industry's current financial struggles affect our ability to demand and access reliable news?

With the coming of radio and television, newspapers in the twentieth century surrendered their title as the mass medium shared by the largest audience. However, to this day, newspapers remain the single most important source of news for the nation, even in the age of the Internet. Although today's readers may cite search engines like Google as the primary places they search for news, sites like Google are really directories and aggregators that guide readers to news stories—most often to online newspaper sites. This means that newspaper organizations are still the primary institutions doing the work of gathering and reporting the news. Even with all the newsroom cutbacks across the United States, newspapers remain the only journalistic organization in most towns and cities that still employs a significant staff to report news and tell the community's stories.

Newspapers link people to what matters in their communities, their nation, and their world. Few other journalistic institutions serve society as well. But with smaller news resources and the industry no longer able to sustain high profit margins, what will become of newspapers? Are digital news sites serving readers in their communities as well as newspapers once did? Who will gather the information needed to sustain a democracy, to serve as the watchdog over our key institutions, to document the comings and goings of everyday life? And perhaps more important, who will act on behalf of the people who don't have the news media's access to authorities or the ability to influence them?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

partisan press, 273
penny papers, 274
human-interest stories, 274
wire services, 275
yellow journalism, 276
investigative journalism, 276
objective journalism, 279
inverted-pyramid style, 279
interpretive journalism, 280
literary journalism, 281
consensus-oriented journalism, 285
conflict-oriented journalism, 285
underground press, 290
newshole, 291
feature syndicates, 294
newspaper chain, 294
joint operating agreement (JOA), 296
paywall, 300
citizen journalism, 302

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

The Evolution of American Newspapers

1. What are the limitations of a press that serves only partisan interests? Why did the earliest papers appeal mainly to more privileged readers?
2. How did newspapers emerge as a mass medium during the penny press era? How did content changes make this happen?
3. What are the two main features of yellow journalism? How have Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst contributed to newspaper history?

Competing Models of Modern Print Journalism

4. Why did objective journalism develop? What are its characteristics? What are its strengths and limitations?
5. Why did interpretive forms of journalism develop in the modern era? What are the limits of objectivity?
6. How would you define *literary journalism*? Why did it emerge in such an intense way in the 1960s? How did literary journalism provide a critique of so-called objective news?

The Business and Ownership of Newspapers

7. What is the difference between consensus- and conflict-oriented newspapers?
8. What role have ethnic, minority, and oppositional newspapers played in the United States?
9. Define *wire service* and *syndication*.
10. Why did newspaper chains become an economic trend in the twentieth century?
11. What is the impact of a joint operating agreement (JOA) on the business and editorial divisions of competing newspapers?

Challenges Facing Newspapers Today

12. What are the major reasons for the decline in U.S. newspaper circulation figures? How do these figures compare with circulations in other nations?
13. What major challenges does new technology pose to the newspaper industry?
14. With traditional ownership in jeopardy today, what are some other possible business models for running a newspaper?
15. What is the current state of citizen journalism?
16. What challenges do new online news sites face?

Newspapers and Democracy

17. What is a newspaper's role in a democracy?
18. What makes newspaper journalism different from the journalism of other mass media?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. What kinds of stories, topics, or issues are not being covered well by mainstream papers?
2. Why do you think people aren't reading U.S. daily newspapers as frequently as they once did? Why is newspaper readership going up in other countries?
3. Discuss whether newspaper chains are ultimately good or bad for the future of journalism.
4. Do newspapers today play a vigorous role as watchdogs of our powerful institutions? Why or why not? What impact will the downsizing and closing of newspapers have on this watchdog role?
5. Will tablets, or some other format, eventually replace the printed newspaper? Explain your response.

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  This video traces the history of media's role in democracy from newspapers and television to the Internet.

9

Magazines in the Age of Specialization

311
The Early History of Magazines

315
The Development of Modern American Magazines

325
The Domination of Specialization

332
The Organization and Economics of Magazines

336
Magazines in a Democratic Society

Cosmopolitan didn't always have cover photos of women with plunging necklines, or cover lines like "67 New Sex Tricks" and "The Sexiest Things to Do after Sex." As the magazine itself says, "The story of how a '60s babe named Helen Gurley Brown (you've probably heard of her) transformed an antiquated general-interest mag called *Cosmopolitan* into the must-read for young, sexy single chicks is pretty damn amazing."[1]

In fact, *Cosmopolitan* had at least four format changes before Helen Gurley Brown came along. The magazine was launched in 1886 as an illustrated monthly for the modern family (meaning it was targeted at married women), with articles on cooking, child care, household decoration, and occasionally fashion, featuring illustrated images of women in the hats and high collars of late-Victorian fashion.[2]

But the magazine was thin on content and almost folded. *Cosmopolitan* was saved in 1889, when journalist and entrepreneur John Brisben Walker gave it a second chance as an illustrated magazine of literature and insightful reporting.

JOANNA COLES, editor of *Cosmopolitan* magazine.
Robert Caplin/The New York Times/Redux

The magazine featured writers like Edith Wharton, Rudyard Kipling, and Theodore Dreiser and serialized entire books, including H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds.* And Walker, seeing the success of contemporary newspapers in New York, was not above stunt reporting. When Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* sent reporter Nellie Bly to travel the world in less than eighty days in 1889 (challenging the premise of Jules Verne's 1873 novel, *Around the World in Eighty Days*), Walker sent reporter Elizabeth Bisland around the world in the opposite direction for a more literary travel account.[3] Walker's leadership turned *Cosmopolitan* into a respected magazine with increased circulation and a strong advertising base.

Walker sold *Cosmopolitan* at a profit to William Randolph Hearst (Pulitzer's main competitor) in 1905. Under Hearst, *Cosmopolitan* had its third rebirth—this time as a muckraking magazine. As magazine historians explain, Hearst was a U.S. representative who "had his eye on the presidency and planned to use his newspapers and the recently bought *Cosmopolitan* to stir up further discontent over the trusts and big business."[4] *Cosmopolitan*'s first big muckraking series, David Graham Phillips's "The Treason of the Senate" in 1906, didn't help Hearst's political career, but it did boost the circulation of the magazine by 50 percent and was reprinted in Hearst newspapers for even more exposure.

The Advertising Archives

But by 1912, the progressive political movement that had given impetus to muckraking journalism was waning. *Cosmopolitan*, in its fourth incarnation, became a version of its former self—an illustrated literary monthly targeted to women, with short stories and serialized novels by such popular writers as Damon Runyon, Sinclair Lewis, and Faith Baldwin.

Cosmopolitan had great success as an upscale literary magazine, but by the early 1960s, the format had become outdated, and readership and advertising had declined. At this point, the magazine had its most radical makeover. In 1962, Helen Gurley Brown, one of the country's top advertising copywriters, was recently married (at age forty) and wrote the best-selling book *Sex and the Single Girl*. When she proposed a magazine modeled on the book's vision of strong, sexually liberated women, the Hearst Corporation hired her in 1965 as editor in chief to reinvent *Cosmopolitan*. The new *Cosmopolitan* helped spark a sexual revolution and was marketed to the "Cosmo Girl": women aged eighteen to thirty-four with an interest in love, sex, fashion, and their careers.

Brown maintained a pink corner office in the Hearst Tower in New York until her death in 2012, but her vision of *Cosmo* continues today. It's the top women's fashion magazine—surpassing competitors like *Glamour*, *Marie Claire*, and *Vogue*—and has wide global influence, with sixty-one international editions. Although its present format is far from its origins, *Cosmopolitan* endures based on successful reinventions for over 129 years.

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SINCE THE 1740s, magazines have played a key role in our social and cultural lives, becoming America's earliest national mass medium. They created some of the first spaces for discussing the broad issues of the age, including public education, the abolition of slavery, women's suffrage, literacy, and the Civil War.

In the nineteenth century, magazines became an educational forum for women, who were barred from higher education and from the nation's political life. At the turn of the twentieth century, magazines' probing reports paved the way for investigative journalism, while their use of engraving and photography provided a hint of the visual culture to come. Economically, magazines brought advertised products into households, hastening the rise of a consumer society.

Today, more than twenty thousand commercial, alternative, and noncommercial magazines are published in the United States annually. Like newspapers, radio, movies, and television, magazines reflect and construct portraits of American life. They are catalogues for daily events and experiences, but they also show us the latest products, fostering our consumer culture. We read magazines to learn something about our community, our nation, our world, and ourselves.

In this chapter, we will:

- Investigate the history of the magazine industry, highlighting the colonial and early American eras, the arrival of national magazines, and the development of photojournalism
- Focus on the age of muckraking and the rise of general-interest and consumer magazines in the modern American era
- Look at the decline of mass market magazines, the impact of TV and the Internet, and how magazines have specialized in order to survive in a fragmented and converged market
- Investigate the organization and economics of magazines and their function in a democracy

As you think about the evolution of magazine culture, consider your own experiences. When did you first start reading magazines, and what magazines were they? What sort of magazines do you read today—popular mainstream magazines like *Cosmo* or *Sports Illustrated*, or niche publications that target very specific subcultures? How do you think printed magazines can best adapt to the age of the Internet? For more questions to help you think through the role of magazines in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

The Early History of Magazines

The first magazines appeared in seventeenth-century France in the form of bookseller catalogues and notices that book publishers inserted in newspapers. In fact, the word *magazine* derives from the French term *magasin*, meaning "storehouse." The earliest magazines were "storehouses" of writing and reports taken mostly from newspapers. Today, the word **magazine** broadly refers to collections of articles, stories, and advertisements appearing in nondaily (such as weekly or monthly) periodicals that are published in the smaller tabloid style rather than the larger broadsheet newspaper style.

The First Magazines

The first political magazine, called the *Review*, appeared in London in 1704. Edited by political activist and novelist Daniel Defoe (author of *Robinson Crusoe*), the *Review* was printed

Library of Congress

COLONIAL MAGAZINES
The first issue of Benjamin Franklin's *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* appeared in January 1741. Although it lasted only six months, Franklin found success in other publications, like his annual *Poor Richard's Almanac*, which started in 1732 and lasted twenty-five years.

sporadically until 1713. Like the *Nation*, the *National Review*, and the *Progressive* in the United States today, early European magazines were channels for political commentary and argument. These periodicals looked like newspapers of the time, but they appeared less frequently and were oriented toward broad domestic and political commentary rather than recent news.

Regularly published magazines or pamphlets, such as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, also appeared in England around this time. They offered poetry, politics, and philosophy for London's elite, and they served readerships of a few thousand. The first publication to use the term *magazine* was *Gentleman's Magazine*, which appeared in London in 1731 and consisted of reprinted articles from newspapers, books, and political pamphlets. Later, the magazine began publishing original work by such writers as Defoe, Samuel Johnson, and Alexander Pope.

Magazines in Colonial America

Without a substantial middle class, widespread literacy, or advanced printing technology, magazines developed slowly in colonial America. Like the partisan newspapers of the time, these magazines served politicians, the educated, and the merchant classes. Paid circulations were low—between one hundred and fifteen hundred copies. However, early magazines did serve the more widespread purpose of documenting a new nation coming to terms with issues of taxation, state versus federal power, Indian treaties, public education, and the end of colonialism. George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and John Hancock all wrote for early magazines, and Paul Revere worked as a magazine illustrator for a time.

The first colonial magazines appeared in Philadelphia in 1741, about fifty years after the first newspapers. Andrew Bradford started it all with *American Magazine, or A Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies*. Three days later, Benjamin Franklin's *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* appeared. Bradford's magazine lasted only three monthly issues, due to circulation and postal obstacles that Franklin, who had replaced Bradford as Philadelphia's postmaster, put in its way. For instance, Franklin mailed his magazine without paying the high

Magazines in the Age of Specialization

National Magazines
The *Saturday Evening Post* is launched in 1821, becoming the first major magazine to appeal directly to women. It becomes the longest-running magazine in U.S. history (p. 314).

Postal Act of 1879
Both postal rates and rail transportation costs plummet, allowing magazine distribution to thrive (p. 315).

1700 • 1750 • 1800 • 1850

Colonial Magazines
First appearing in Philadelphia in 1741, these generally unsuccessful magazines reprint material from local newspapers (pp. 312–313).

Engravings and Illustrations
By the mid-1850s, drawings, woodcuts, and other forms of illustration begin to fill the pages of magazines (pp. 314–315).

The Advertising Archives (top); Margaret Bourke-White//Time Life Pictures/Getty Images (bottom)

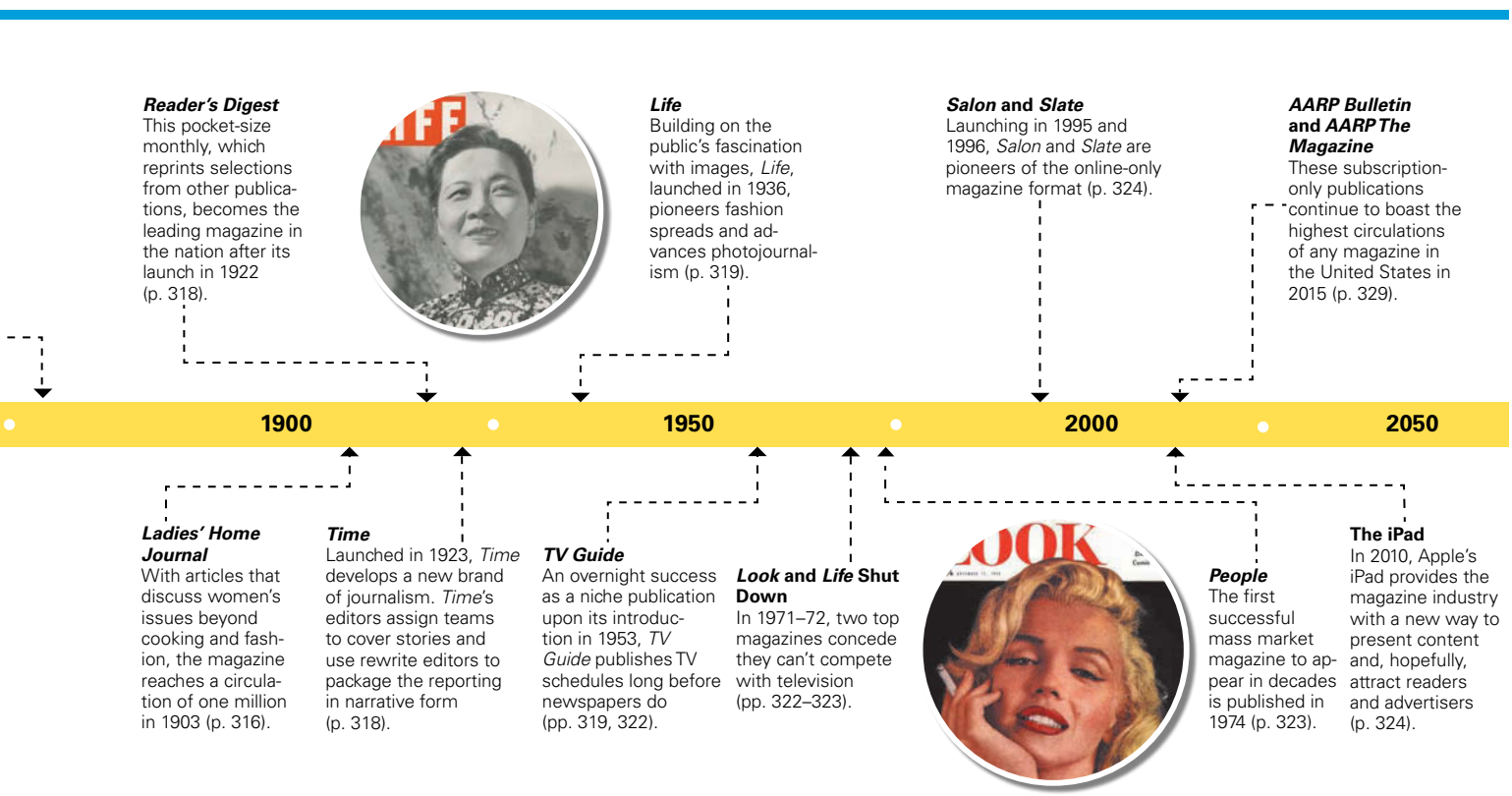
postal rates that he subsequently charged others. Franklin's magazine primarily duplicated what was already available in local papers. After six months it, too, stopped publication.

Nonetheless, following the Philadelphia experiments, magazines began to emerge in the other colonies, beginning in Boston in the 1740s. The most successful magazines simply reprinted articles from leading London periodicals, keeping readers abreast of European events. These magazines included New York's *Independent Reflector* and the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, edited by activist Thomas Paine, which helped rally the colonies against British rule. By 1776, about a hundred colonial magazines had appeared and disappeared. Although historians consider them dull and uninspired for the most part, these magazines helped launch a new medium that caught on after the American Revolution.

U.S. Magazines in the Nineteenth Century

After the revolution, the growth of the magazine industry in the newly independent United States remained slow. Delivery costs remained high, and some postal carriers refused to carry magazines because of their weight. Only twelve magazines operated in 1800. By 1825, about a hundred magazines existed, although about another five hundred had failed between 1800 and 1825. Nevertheless, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, most communities had their own weekly magazines. These magazines featured essays on local issues, government activities, and political intrigue, as well as material reprinted from other sources. They sold some advertising but were usually in precarious financial straits because of their small circulations.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the idea of specialized magazines devoted to certain categories of readers developed. Many early magazines were overtly religious and boasted the largest readerships of the day. The Methodist *Christian Journal and Advocate*, for example, claimed twenty-five thousand subscribers by 1826. Literary magazines also emerged at this time. The *North American Review*, for instance, established the work of important writers



The LIFE Premium Collection/Getty Images (top); The Advertising Archives (bottom)

Northwind Picture Archives

COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS first became popular in the fashion sections of women's magazines in the mid-nineteenth century. The color for this fashion image from *Godey's Lady's Book* was added to the illustration by hand.

such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Mark Twain. In addition to religious and literary magazines, specialty magazines that addressed various professions, lifestyles, and topics also appeared, including the *American Farmer*, the *American Journal of Education*, the *American Law Journal*, *Medical Repository*, and the *American Journal of Science*. Such specialization spawned the modern trend of reaching readers who share a profession, a set of beliefs, cultural tastes, or a social identity.

The nineteenth century also saw the birth of the first general-interest magazine aimed at a national audience. In 1821, two young Philadelphia printers, Charles Alexander and Samuel Coate Atkinson, launched the *Saturday Evening Post*, which became the longest-running magazine in U.S. history. Like most magazines of the day, the early *Post* included a few original essays but "borrowed" many pieces from other sources. Eventually, however, the *Post* grew to incorporate news, poetry, essays, play reviews, and more. The *Post* published the writings of such prominent popular authors as Nathaniel Hawthorne and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Although the *Post* was a general-interest magazine, it also was the first major magazine to appeal directly to women, via its "Lady's Friend" column, which addressed women's issues.

National, Women's, and Illustrated Magazines

With increases in literacy and public education, the development of faster printing technologies, and improvements in mail delivery (due to rail transportation), a market was created for more national magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post*. Whereas in 1825 one hundred magazines struggled for survival, by 1850 nearly six hundred magazines were being published regularly. (Thousands of others lasted less than a year.) Significant national magazines of the era included *Graham's Magazine* (1840–1858), one of the most influential and entertaining magazines in the country; *Knickerbocker* (1833–1864), which published essays and literary works by Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and Nathaniel Hawthorne (preceding such national cultural magazines as the *New Yorker* and *Harper's*); the *Nation* (1865–present), which pioneered the national political magazine format; and *Youth's Companion* (1826–1929), one of the first successful national magazines for younger readers.

Besides the move to national circulation, other important developments in the magazine industry were under way. In 1828, Sarah Josepha Hale started the first magazine directed exclusively to a female audience: the *Ladies' Magazine*. In addition to carrying general-interest articles, the magazine advocated for women's education, work, and property rights. After nine years and marginal success, Hale merged her magazine with its main rival, *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830–1898), which she edited for the next forty years. By 1850, *Godey's*, known for its colorful fashion illustrations in addition to its advocacy, achieved a circulation of 40,000 copies—at the time, the biggest distribution ever for a U.S. magazine. By 1860, circulation swelled to 150,000. Hale's magazine played a central role in educating working- and middle-class women, who were denied access to higher education throughout the nineteenth century.

The other major development in magazine publishing during the mid-nineteenth century was the arrival of illustration. Like the first newspapers, early magazines were totally dependent on the printed word. By the mid-1850s, drawings, engravings, woodcuts, and other forms of illustration had become a major feature of magazines. During this time, *Godey's Lady's Book* employed up to 150 women to color-tint its magazine illustrations and stencil drawings by

© Bettmann/Corbis

CIVIL WAR PHOTOGRAPHY Famed portrait photographer Mathew Brady commissioned many photographers to help him document the Civil War. (Although all the resulting photos were credited "Photograph by Brady," he did not take them all.) This effort allowed people at home to see and understand the true carnage of the war. Photo critics now acknowledge that some of Brady's photos were posed or reenactments.

hand. Meanwhile, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, founded in 1850, offered extensive woodcut illustrations with each issue. During the Civil War, many readers relied on *Harper's* for its elaborate battlefield sketches. Publications like *Harper's* married visual language to the printed word, helping transform magazines into a mass medium. Bringing photographs into magazines took a bit longer. Mathew Brady and his colleagues, whose thirty-five hundred photos documented the Civil War, helped popularize photography by the 1860s. But it was not until the 1890s that magazines and newspapers possessed the technology to reproduce photos in print media.

The Development of Modern American Magazines

In 1870, about twelve hundred magazines were produced in the United States; by 1890, that number had reached forty-five hundred; and by 1905, more than six thousand magazines existed (see Figure 9.1 on page 316). Part of this surge in titles and readership was facilitated by the Postal Act of 1879, which assigned magazines lower postage rates and put them on an equal footing with newspapers delivered by mail, reducing distribution costs. Meanwhile, faster presses and advances in mass-production printing, conveyor systems, and assembly lines reduced production costs and made large-circulation national magazines possible.[5]

The combination of reduced distribution and production costs enabled publishers to slash magazine prices. As prices dropped from thirty-five cents to fifteen cents and then to ten cents, the working class was gradually able to purchase national publications. By 1905, there were about twenty-five national magazines, available from coast to coast and serving millions

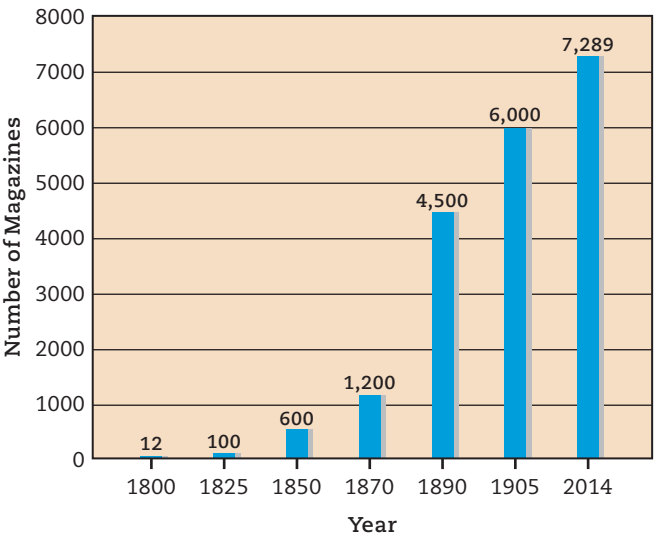


FIGURE 9.1

THE GROWTH OF MAGAZINES PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES

Data from: Association of Magazine Media, 2015 Magazine Media Factbook, *www.magazine.org/sites/default/files/2015MagazineMediaFactbook.pdf*

of readers.[6] As jobs and the population began shifting from farms and small towns to urban areas, magazines helped readers imagine themselves as part of a nation rather than as individuals with only local or regional identities. In addition, the dramatic growth of drugstores and dime stores, supermarkets, and department stores offered new venues and shelf space for selling consumer goods, including magazines.

As magazine circulation began to skyrocket, advertising revenue soared. The economics behind the rise of advertising was simple: A magazine publisher could dramatically expand circulation by dropping the price of an issue below the actual production cost for a single copy. The publisher recouped the loss through ad revenue, guaranteeing large readerships to advertisers who were willing to pay to reach more readers. The number of ad pages in national magazines proliferated. *Harper's*, for instance, devoted only seven pages to ads in the mid-1880s, nearly fifty pages in 1890, and more than ninety pages in 1900.[7]

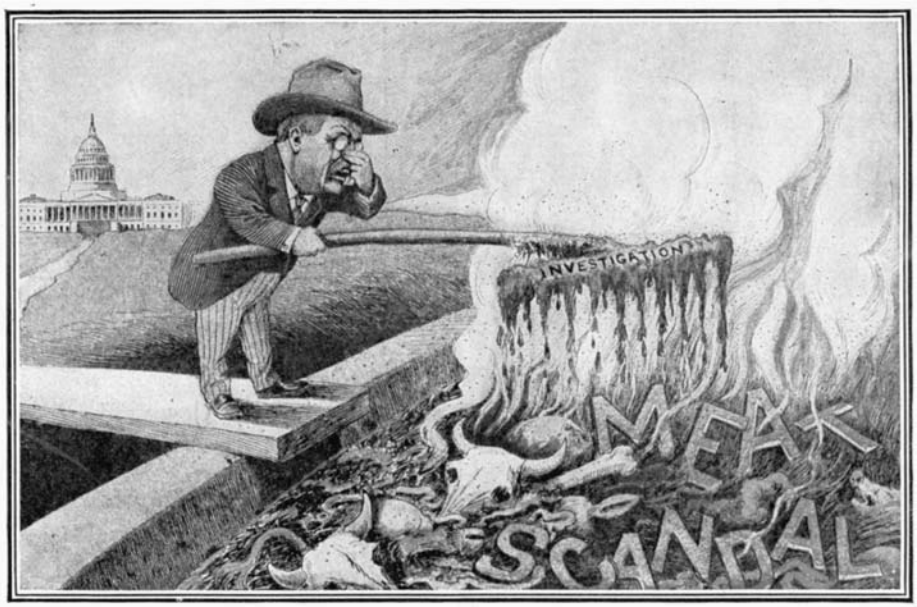
By the turn of the century, advertisers increasingly used national magazines to capture consumers' attention and build a national marketplace. One magazine that took advantage of these changes was *Ladies' Home Journal*, begun in 1883 by Cyrus Curtis. The women's magazine began publishing more than the usual homemaking tips, including also popular fiction, sheet music, and—most important, perhaps—the latest consumer ads. The magazine's broadened scope was a reflection of the editors' and advertisers' realization that women consumers constituted a growing and lucrative market. *Ladies' Home Journal* reached a circulation of over 500,000 by the early 1890s—the highest circulation of any magazine in the country. In 1903, it became the first magazine to reach a circulation of one million.

Social Reform and the Muckrakers

Better distribution and lower costs had attracted readers, but to maintain sales, magazines had to change content as well. Whereas printing the fiction and essays of the best writers of the day was one way to maintain circulation, many magazines also engaged in one aspect of *yellow journalism*—crusading for social reform on behalf of the public good. In the 1890s, for example, *Ladies' Home Journal* (*LHJ*) and its editor, Edward Bok, led the fight against unregulated patent medicines (which often contained nearly 50 percent alcohol), while other magazines joined the fight against phony medicines, poor living and working conditions, and unsanitary practices in various food industries.

The rise in magazine circulation coincided with rapid social change in America. While hundreds of thousands of Americans moved from the country to the city in search of industrial jobs, millions of new immigrants also poured in. Thus the nation that journalists had long written about had grown increasingly complex by the turn of the century. Many newspaper reporters became dissatisfied with the simplistic and conventional style of newspaper journalism and turned to magazines, where they were able to write at greater length and in greater depth about broader issues. They wrote about such topics as corruption in big business and government, urban problems faced by immigrants, labor conflicts, and race relations.

In 1902, *McClure's Magazine* (1893–1933) touched off an investigative era in magazine reporting with a series of probing stories, including Ida Tarbell's "The History of the Standard Oil Company," which took on John D. Rockefeller's oil monopoly, and Lincoln Steffens's "Shame of the Cities," which tackled urban problems. In 1906, *Cosmopolitan* joined the fray with a series called "The Treason of the Senate," and *Collier's* magazine (1888–1957) developed "The Great American Fraud" series, focusing on patent medicines (whose ads accounted for 30 percent of the profits made by the American press by the 1890s). Much of this new reporting



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A NAUSEATING JOB, BUT IT MUST BE DONE
(President Roosevelt takes hold of the investigating muck-rake himself in the packing-house scandal.)
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

style was critical of American institutions. Angry with so much negative reporting, in 1906 President Theodore Roosevelt dubbed these investigative reporters **muckrakers**, because they were willing to crawl through society's muck to uncover a story. Muckraking was a label that Roosevelt used with disdain, but it was worn with pride by reporters such as Ray Stannard Baker, Frank Norris, and Lincoln Steffens.

Influenced by Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*—a fictional account of Chicago's meatpacking industry—and by the muckraking reports of *Collier's* and *LHJ*, in 1906 Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act. Other reforms stemming from muckraking journalism and the politics of the era include antitrust laws for increased government oversight of business, a fair and progressive income tax, and the direct election of U.S. senators.

IDA TARBELL (1857–1944) is best known for her work "The History of the Standard Oil Company," which appeared as a nineteen-part series in *McClure's Magazine* between November 1902 and October 1904. Tarbell once remarked on why she dedicated years of her life to investigating the company: "They had never played fair, and that ruined their greatness for me." For muckrakers and investigative journalists like Tarbell, exposing such corruption was a driving force behind their work.

The Rise of General-Interest Magazines

The heyday of the muckraking era lasted into the mid-1910s, when America was drawn into World War I. After the war and through the 1950s, **general-interest magazines** were the most prominent publications, offering occasional investigative articles but also covering a wide variety of topics aimed at a broad national audience. A key aspect of these magazines was **photojournalism**—the use of photos to document the rhythms of daily life (see "Case Study: The Evolution of Photojournalism" on pages 320–321).

(Left and right) The Granger Collection

High-quality photos gave general-interest magazines a visual advantage over radio, which was the most popular medium of the day. In 1920, about fifty-five magazines fit the general-interest category; by 1946, more than one hundred such magazines competed with radio networks for the national audience.

Saturday Evening Post

Although it had been around since 1821, the *Saturday Evening Post* concluded the nineteenth century as only a modest success, with a circulation of about ten thousand. In 1897, Cyrus Curtis, who had already made *Ladies' Home Journal* the nation's top magazine, bought the *Post* and remade it into the first widely popular general-interest magazine. Curtis's strategy for reinvigorating the magazine included printing popular fiction and romanticizing American virtues through words and pictures (a *Post* tradition best depicted in the three-hundred-plus cover illustrations by Norman Rockwell). Curtis also featured articles that celebrated the business boom of the 1920s. This reversed the journalistic direction of the muckraking era, in which business corruption was often the focus. By the 1920s, the *Post* had reached two million in circulation, the first magazine to hit that mark.

***LIFE* MAGAZINE** published iconic photos during its original 1883–1972 run. Following nearly a century as a weekly, it has since been published as a monthly, an occasional commemorative publication, a newspaper supplement, and an online archive.

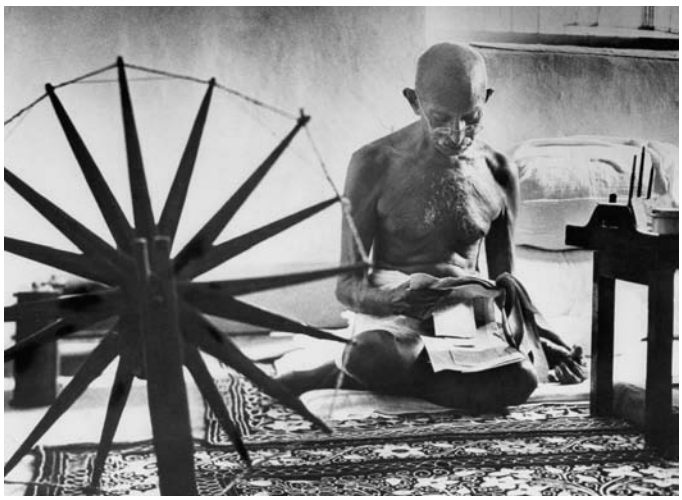
Reader's Digest

The most widely circulated general-interest magazine during this period was *Reader's Digest*. Started in a Greenwich Village basement in 1922 by Dewitt Wallace and Lila Acheson Wallace, *Reader's Digest* championed one of the earliest functions of magazines: printing condensed versions of selected articles from other magazines. In the magazine's early years, the Wallaces refused to accept ads and sold the *Digest* only through subscriptions. With its inexpensive production costs, low price, and popular pocket-size format, the magazine's circulation climbed to over one million during the Great Depression, and by 1946, it was the nation's most popular magazine. By the mid-1980s, it was the most popular magazine in the world, with a circulation of 20 million in America and 10 to 12 million abroad. However, by 2014 it was recovering from bankruptcy, and its circulation base had dropped to about 4.2 million, less than a quarter of its circulation thirty years earlier.

The LIFE Premium Collection/Getty Images

Time

During the general-interest era, national newsmagazines such as *Time* were also major commercial successes. Begun in 1923 by Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, *Time* developed a magazine brand of interpretive journalism, assigning reporter-researcher teams to cover stories, after which a rewrite editor would put the article in narrative form with an interpretive point of view. *Time* had a circulation of 200,000 by 1930, increasing to more than 3 million by the mid-1960s. *Time*'s success encouraged prominent imitators, including *Newsweek* (established in 1933); *U.S. News & World Report* (1948); and, more recently, *The Week* (2001). By 2014, economic decline, competition from the Web, and a shrinking number of readers and advertisers took their toll on the three top newsweeklies. *Time*'s circulation stagnated at 3.2 million, while *U.S. News* became a monthly magazine in 2008 and switched to an all-digital format in 2010 (and is now most famous for its "America's Best Colleges" reports). *Newsweek*'s circulation peaked in 1991 with 3.3 million readers. As its circulation and revenue sank, it was sold in 2010 for just $1



(Left and right) Margaret Bourke-White/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE (1904–1971) was a photojournalist of many "firsts": first female photographer for *Life* magazine, first Western photographer allowed into the Soviet Union, first to shoot the cover photo for *Life*, and first female war correspondent. Bourke-White (*near left*) was well known for her photos of WWII—including concentration camps—but also for her documentation of the India-Pakistan partition, including a photo of Gandhi at his spinning wheel (*far left*).

and the assumption of its debt. After an unsuccessful foray as a digital-only publication, *Newsweek* relaunched as a print publication in 2014 under new ownership and with an uncertain future.

Life

Despite the commercial success of *Reader's Digest* and *Time* in the twentieth century, the magazines that really symbolized the general-interest genre during this era were the oversized pictorial weeklies *Look* and *Life*. More than any other magazine of its day, *Life* developed an effective strategy for competing with popular radio by advancing photojournalism. Launched as a weekly by Henry Luce in 1936, *Life* appealed to the public's fascination with images (invigorated by the movie industry), radio journalism, and advertising and fashion photography. By the end of the 1930s, *Life* had a **pass-along readership**—the total number of people who come into contact with a single copy of a magazine—of more than seventeen million, rivaling the ratings of popular national radio programs.

Life's first editor, Wilson Hicks—formerly a picture editor for the Associated Press—built a staff of renowned photographer-reporters who chronicled the world's ordinary and extraordinary events from the late 1930s through the 1960s. Among *Life*'s most famous photojournalists were Margaret Bourke-White, the first female war correspondent to fly combat missions during World War II, and Gordon Parks, who later became Hollywood's first African American director of major feature films. Today, *Life*'s photographic archive is hosted online by Google (images.google.com/hosted/life).

The Fall of General-Interest Magazines

The decline of weekly general-interest magazines, which had dominated the industry for thirty years, began in the 1950s. By 1957, both *Collier's* (founded in 1888) and *Woman's Home Companion* (founded in 1873) had folded. Each magazine had a national circulation of more than four million the year it died. No magazine with this kind of circulation had ever shut down before. Together, the two publications brought in advertising revenues of more than $26 million in 1956. Although some critics blamed poor management, both magazines were victims of changing consumer tastes, rising postal costs, falling ad revenues, and, perhaps most important, television, which began usurping the role of magazines as the preferred family medium.

TV Guide Is Born

While other magazines were just beginning to make sense of the impact of television on their readers, *TV Guide* appeared in 1953. Taking its cue from the pocket-size format of *Reader's*

CASE STUDY

The Evolution of Photojournalism

by Christopher R. Harris

What we now recognize as photojournalism started with the assignment of photographer Roger Fenton, of the *Sunday Times of London*, to document the Crimean War in 1856. However, technical limitations did not allow direct reproduction of photodocumentary images in the publications of the day. Woodcut artists had to interpret the photographic images as black-and-white-toned woodblocks that could be reproduced by the presses of the period. Images interpreted by artists therefore lost the inherent qualities of photographic visual documentation: an on-site visual representation of facts for those who weren't present.

Woodcuts remained the basic method of press reproduction until 1880, when *New York Daily Graphic* photographer Stephen Horgan invented half-tone reproduction using a dot-pattern screen. This screen enabled metallic plates to directly represent photographic images in the printing process; now periodicals could bring exciting visual reportage to their pages.

In the mid-1890s, Jimmy Hare became the first photographer recognized as a photojournalist in the United States. Taken for *Collier's Weekly*, Hare's photoreportage on the sinking of the battleship *Maine* in 1898 near Havana, Cuba, established his reputation as a newsman traveling the world to bring back images of news events. Hare's images fed into growing popular support for Cuban independence from Spain and eventual U.S. involvement in the Spanish-American War.

In 1888, George Eastman brought photography to the working and middle classes when he introduced the first flexible-film camera from Kodak, his company in Rochester, New York. Gone were the bulky equipment and fragile photographic plates of the past. Now families and journalists could more easily and affordably document gatherings and events.

JACOB RIIS
The Tramp, c. 1890. Riis, who emigrated from Denmark in 1870, lived in poverty in New York for several years before becoming a photojournalist. He spent much of his later life chronicling the lives of the poor in New York City.
The Museum of the City of New York/ Art Resource, N.Y.

As photography became easier and more widespread, photojournalism began to take on an increasingly important social role. At the turn of the century, the documentary photography of Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine captured the harsh living and working conditions of the nation's many child laborers, including crowded ghettos and unsafe mills and factories. Reaction to these shockingly honest photographs resulted in public outcry and new laws against the exploitation of children. Photographs also brought the horrors of World War I to people far from the battlefields.

In 1923, visionaries Henry Luce and Briton Hadden published *Time*, the first modern photographic newsweekly; *Life* and *Fortune* soon followed. From coverage of the Roaring Twenties to the Great Depression, these magazines used images that changed the way people viewed the world.

Life, with its spacious 10-by-13-inch format and large photographs, became one of the most influential magazines in America, printing what are now classic images from World War II and the Korean War. Often, *Life* offered images that were unavailable anywhere else: Margaret Bourke-White's photographic proof of the unspeakably horrific concentration camps; W. Eugene Smith's gentle portraits of the humanitarian Albert Schweitzer in Africa; David Duncan's gritty images of the faces of U.S. troops fighting in Korea.

Television photojournalism made its quantum leap into the public mind as it documented the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963. In televised images that were broadcast and

rebroadcast, the public witnessed the actual assassination and the confusing aftermath, including live coverage of the murder of alleged assassin Lee Harvey Oswald and of President Kennedy's funeral procession. Photojournalism also provided visual documentation of the turbulent 1960s, including aggressive photographic coverage of the Vietnam War—its protesters and supporters. Pulitzer Prize–winning photographer Eddie Adams shook the emotions of the American public with his photographs of a South Vietnamese general's summary execution of a suspected Vietcong terrorist. Closer to home, shocking images of the Civil Rights movement culminated in pictures of Birmingham police and police dogs attacking Civil Rights protesters.

In the 1970s, new computer technologies emerged and were embraced by print and television media worldwide. By the late 1980s, computers could transform images into digital form and easily manipulate them with sophisticated software programs. Today, a reporter can take a picture and within minutes send it to news offices in Tokyo, Berlin, and New York; moments later, the image can be used in a late-breaking TV story or sent directly to that organization's Twitter followers. Such digital technology has revolutionized photojournalism, perhaps even more than the advent of roll film did in the late nineteenth century. Today's photojournalists post entire interactive photo slideshows alongside stories, sometimes adding audio explaining their artistic and journalistic process. Their photographs live on through online news archives and through photojournalism blogs, such as the Lens of the *New York Times*, where photojournalists are able to gain recognition for their work and find new audiences.

However, there is a dark side to all this digital technology. Because of the absence of physical film, there is a loss of proof, or veracity, of the authenticity of images. Original film has qualities that make it easy to determine whether it has been tampered with. Digital images, by contrast, can be easily altered, and such alteration can be very difficult to detect.

Camille LePage/AFP/Getty Images

CAMILLE LEPAGE, a twenty-six-year-old French photojournalist, was killed in May 2014 while covering the chaotic civil war in the Central African Republic, which reignited in 2012. Her photos exposed the everyday life of civilians and soldiers in the Central African Republic and South Sudan, from refugees and the gravely injured in hospitals to African fashion-show models trying to maintain some sense of normalcy. Her work appeared in news media around the world, including the *New York Times*, the *Guardian*, *Le Monde*, and Al Jazeera.

An egregious example of image-tampering involved the Ralph Lauren fashion model Filippa Hamilton. She appeared in a drastically Photoshopped advertisement that showed her hips as being thinner than her head—like a Bratz doll. The ad, published only in Japan, received intense criticism when the picture went viral. The 5'10", 120-pound model was subsequently dropped by the fashion label because, as Hamilton explained, "they said I was overweight and I couldn't fit in their clothes anymore."[1] In today's age of Photoshop, it is common practice to make thin female models look even thinner and make male models look unnaturally muscled. "Every picture has been worked on, some twenty, thirty rounds," Ken Harris, a fashion magazine photo-retoucher said; "going between the retoucher, the client, and the agency . . . [photos] are retouched to death."[2] And since there is no disclaimer saying these images have been retouched, it can be hard for viewers to know the truth.

Photojournalists and news sources are confronted today with unprecedented concerns over truth-telling. In the past, trust in documentary photojournalism rested solely on the verifiability of images ("what you see is what you get"). This is no longer the case. Just as we must evaluate the words we read, now we must also take a more critical eye to the images we view.

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TABLE 9.1

THE TOP 10 MAGAZINES (RANKED BY PAID U.S. CIRCULATION AND SINGLE-COPY SALES, 1972 VERSUS 2014)

Data from: Alliance for Audited Media, www.auditedmedia.com/news/blog/2014/august/top-25-us-consumer-magazines-for-june-2014.aspx

1972			2014		
Rank	Publication	Circulation	Rank	Publication	Circulation
1	*Reader's Digest*	17,825,661	1	*AARP The Magazine*	22,837,736
2	*TV Guide*	16,410,858	2	*AARP Bulletin*	22,183,316
3	*Woman's Day*	8,191,731	3	*Better Homes and Gardens*	7,639,661
4	*Better Homes and Gardens*	7,996,050	4	*Game Informer*	7,099,452
5	*Family Circle*	7,889,587	5	*Good Housekeeping*	4,315,330
6	*McCall's*	7,516,960	6	*Family Circle*	4,015,728
7	*National Geographic*	7,260,179	7	*National Geographic*	3,572,348
8	*Ladies' Home Journal*	7,014,251	8	*People*	3,510,533
9	*Playboy*	6,400,573	9	*Reader's Digest*	3,393,573
10	*Good Housekeeping*	5,801,446	10	*Woman's Day*	3,288,335

Digest and the supermarket sales strategy used by women's magazines, *TV Guide*—started by Walter Annenberg's Triangle Publications—soon rivaled the success of *Reader's Digest* by addressing the nation's growing fascination with television by publishing TV listings. The first issue sold a record 1.5 million copies in ten urban markets. Because many newspapers were not yet listing TV programs, by 1962 the magazine became the first weekly to reach a circulation of 8 million, with its seventy regional editions tailoring its listings to TV channels in specific areas of the country. (See Table 9.1 for the circulation figures of the Top 10 U.S. magazines.)

TV Guide's story illustrates a number of key trends that affected magazines beginning in the 1950s. First, *TV Guide* highlighted America's new interest in specialized magazines. Second, it demonstrated the growing sales power of the nation's checkout lines, which also sustained the high circulation rates of women's magazines and supermarket tabloids. Third, *TV Guide* underscored the fact that magazines were facing the same challenge as other mass media in the 1950s: the growing power of television. *TV Guide* would rank among the nation's most popular magazines in the twentieth century.

In 1988, media baron Rupert Murdoch acquired Triangle Publications for $3 billion. Murdoch's News Corp. owned the new Fox network, and buying the then influential *TV Guide* ensured that the fledgling network would have its programs listed. In 2005, after years of declining circulation (TV schedules in local newspapers had increasingly undermined its regional editions), *TV Guide* became a full-size entertainment magazine, dropping its smaller digest format and its 140 regional editions. In 2008, *TV Guide*, once the most widely distributed magazine, was sold to a private venture capital firm for $1—less than the cost of a single issue. The TV Guide Network and TVGuide.com—both deemed more valuable assets—were sold to the film company Lionsgate Entertainment for $255 million in 2009. As *TV Guide* fell out of favor, *Game Informer*—a magazine about digital games—became a top title, as it chronicled the rise of another mass media industry.

Saturday Evening Post, Life, and *Look* Expire

Although *Reader's Digest* and women's supermarket magazines were not greatly affected by television, other general-interest magazines were. The *Saturday Evening Post* folded in 1969, *Look* in 1971, and *Life* in 1972. At the time, all three magazines were rated in the Top 10 in terms of paid circulation, and each had a readership that exceeded six million per issue. (A look at today's top-selling magazines—see Table 9.1—indicates just how large a readership this was.) Why did these magazines fold? First, to maintain these high circulation figures, their publishers were selling the magazines for far less than the cost of production. For example, a subscription to *Life* cost a consumer twelve cents an issue, yet it cost the publisher more than forty cents per copy to make and mail.

Second, the national advertising revenue pie that helped make up the cost differences for *Life* and *Look* now had to be shared with network television—and magazines' slices were getting smaller. *Life*'s high pass-along readership meant that it had a larger audience than many prime-time TV shows. But it cost more to have a single full-page ad in *Life* than it did to buy a minute of ad time during evening television. National advertisers were often forced to choose between the two, and in the late 1960s and early 1970s, television seemed a better buy to advertisers looking for the biggest audience.

Third, dramatic increases in postal rates had a particularly negative effect on oversized publications (those larger than the 8-by-10.5-inch standard). In the 1970s, postal rates increased by more than 400 percent for these magazines. The *Post* and *Life* cut their circulations drastically to save money. The *Post* went from producing 6.8 million to 3 million copies per issue; *Life*, which lost $30 million between 1968 and 1972, cut circulation from 8.5 million to 7 million. The economic rationale here was that limiting the number of copies would reduce production and postal costs, enabling the magazines to lower their ad rates to compete with network television. But in fact, with decreased circulation, these magazines became less attractive to advertisers trying to reach the largest general audience.

The general-interest magazines that survived the competition for national ad dollars tended to be women's magazines, such as *Good Housekeeping*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Family Circle*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Woman's Day*. These publications had smaller formats and depended primarily on supermarket sales rather than on expensive mail-delivered subscriptions (like *Life* and *Look*). However, the most popular magazines, *TV Guide* and *Reader's Digest*, benefited not only from supermarket sales but also from their larger circulations (twice that of *Life*), their pocket size, and their small photo budgets. The failure of the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Look*, and *Life* as oversized general-audience weeklies ushered in a new era of specialization.

The Advertising Archives

THE RISE AND FALL OF *LOOK*
With large pages, beautiful photographs, and compelling stories on celebrities like Marilyn Monroe, *Look* entertained millions of readers from 1937 to 1971, emphasizing photojournalism to compete with radio. By the late 1960s, however, TV lured away national advertisers, postal rates increased, and production costs rose, forcing *Look* to fold despite a readership of more than eight million.

People Puts Life Back into Magazines

In March 1974, Time Inc. launched *People*, the first successful mass market magazine to appear in decades. With an abundance of celebrity profiles and human-interest stories, *People* showed a profit in two years and reached a circulation of more than two million within five years. *People* now ranks first in revenue from advertising and circulation sales—more than $1.5 billion a year—and ranks eighth in the United States in terms of circulation (see Table 9.1).

The success of *People* is instructive, particularly because only two years earlier television had helped kill *Life* by draining away national ad dollars. Instead of using a bulky oversized format and relying on subscriptions, *People* downsized and generated most of its circulation revenue from newsstand and supermarket sales. For content, it took its cue from our culture's fascination with celebrities. Supported by plenty of photos, its short articles are about one-third the length of the articles in a typical newsmagazine.

Although *People* has not achieved the broad popularity that *Life* once commanded, it does seem to defy the contemporary trend of specialized magazines aimed at narrow but well-defined audiences, such as *Tennis World*, *Game Informer*, and *Hispanic Business*. One argument suggests

Joe Amon/The Denver Post via Getty Images

REGIONAL MAGAZINES maintain a healthy readership in some areas, with sometimes award-winning coverage of local events, issues, and personalities. But even locally, there can be stiff competition: *Denver Magazine*, whose offices are pictured here, was closed and absorbed by rival *5280* in 2011.

that *People* is not, in fact, a mass market magazine but a specialized publication targeting people with particular cultural interests: a fascination with music, TV, and movie stars. If *People* is viewed as a specialty magazine, its financial success makes much more sense. It also helps explain the host of magazines that try to emulate it, including *Us Weekly*, *Entertainment Weekly*, *In Touch Weekly*, *Star*, and *OK! People* has even spawned its own spin-offs, including *People en Español* and *People StyleWatch*; the latter is a low-cost fashion magazine that began in 2007 and features celebrity styles at discount prices.

Convergence: Magazines Confront the Digital Age

Although the Internet was initially viewed as the death knell of print magazines, the industry now embraces it. The Internet has become the place where print magazines like *Time* and *Entertainment Weekly* can extend their reach, where some magazines like *FHM* and *PCWorld* can survive when their print version ends, or where online magazines like *Salon*, *Slate*, and *Wonderwall* can exist exclusively.

Magazines Move Online

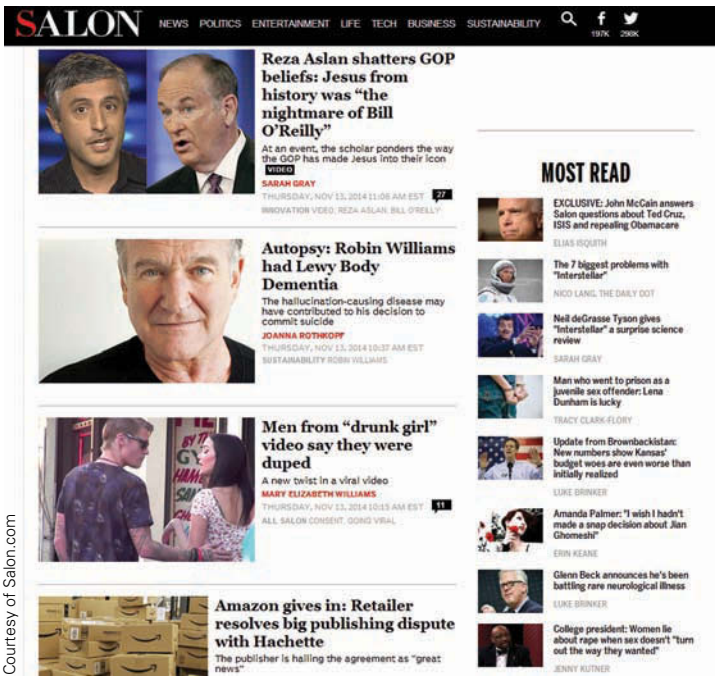
Given the costs of paper, printing, and postage, creating magazine companion Web sites is a popular method for expanding the reach of consumer magazines. For example, *Wired* magazine has a print circulation of about 853,000. Online, Wired.com gets an average of 19 million unique visitors per month. Mobile magazine apps have become even more popular. Between 2010 and 2012, the number of U.S. consumer magazine iPad apps grew from 98 to 2,234.[8]

The Web and app formats give magazines unlimited space, which is at a premium in their printed versions, and the opportunity to do things that print can't do. Many online magazines now include blogs, original video and audio podcasts, social networks, games, virtual fitting rooms, and 3-D "augmented reality" (or AR) components that could never work in print. For example, PopularMechanics.com has added interactive 3-D models for do-it-yourself projects, so that a reader can go over plans to make an Adirondack chair, examining joints and parts from every angle. GQ.com has featured 3-D athletes in Calvin Klein underwear, and automotive magazines are using AR to bring car models to life. Additionally, many digital magazines (including *Lucky*, *Seventeen*, *GQ*, *Teen Vogue*, *Brides*, *Popular Science*, and *Maxim*) offer mobile-specific scanning apps that enable 3-D involvement on every page, not just those pages with a QR code (the square scannable bar codes that link to video and Web pages). Although QR codes are still a primary part of the mobile activation experience, they are more associated with promotions and coupons, whereas augmented reality is a vehicle for a stronger branding experience.

Paperless: Magazines Embrace Digital Content

Webzines such as *Salon* and *Slate*, which are magazines that appear exclusively online, were pioneers in making the Web a legitimate site for breaking news and discussing culture and politics. *Salon* was founded in 1995 by five former reporters from the *San Francisco Examiner* who wanted to break from the traditions of newspaper publishing and build "a different kind of newsroom" to create well-developed stories and commentary. *Salon* is a leading online magazine, claiming 17.6 million unique monthly visitors in 2015. Its main online competitor, *Slate*, founded in 1996 and now owned by the Graham Holdings Company, draws about 25 million unique monthly visitors.

Other online-only magazines have tried to reinvent the idea of a magazine, instead of just adapting the print product to the Web. For example, MSN's *Wonderwall* (www.wonderwall.com) uses a layout that is only possible in a digital magazine. Visitors are met by a vertical "wall" of more than sixty celebrity photographs, each linking to a story. *Lonny (*www.lonnymag.com), an interior design magazine, enables readers to flip through digital pages and then click through on items (such as pillows, chairs, or fabrics) for purchase. As magazines create apps for smartphones and touchscreen tablets, editorial content is even more tightly woven with advertising. Readers can now, for example, read *Entertainment Weekly*'s top music recommendations on their iPhone or iPad and then click through to buy a song or album on iTunes. *Entertainment Weekly*, owned by Time Inc., then gets a cut of the sale it generated for iTunes, and the reader gets music almost instantly.



Courtesy of Salon.com

SALON, launched in 1995, is now a leading Internet entertainment magazine. Though it was created by former newspaper staffers, its mixture of topics and article lengths, as well as its national scope, makes it more akin to a general-interest magazine.

The Domination of Specialization

The general trend away from mass market publications and toward specialty magazines coincided with radio's move to specialized formats in the 1950s. With the rise of television, magazines ultimately reacted the same way radio and movies did: They adapted. Radio developed formats for older and younger audiences, for rock fans and classical music fans. At the movies, filmmakers focused on more adult subject matter that was off-limits to television's image as a family medium. And magazines traded their mass audience for smaller, discrete audiences that could be guaranteed to advertisers. This specialization continues today as the magazine industry adapts to the Internet. At least six of the nation's top twenty-five magazines in circulation are now linked to membership in a specialized organization: *AARP The Magazine* and *AARP Bulletin* (for members of AARP), *Game Informer* (for a Pro membership card at GameStop stores), *AAA Living* (for members of the automobile organization, AAA), *American Rifleman* (one of four magazines for members of the National Rifle Association), and *American Legion Magazine* (for members of the American Legion veterans organization). Linking a magazine subscription to organizational membership helps ensure audience loyalty to the magazine in the face of the Internet's many competing media options.

Magazines are now divided by advertiser type: *consumer magazines* (*O: The Oprah Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan*), which carry a host of general consumer product ads; *business* or *trade magazines* (*Advertising Age*, *Progressive Grocer*), which include ads for products and services for various occupational groups; and *farm magazines* (*Dairy Herd Management*, *Dakota Farmer*), which contain ads for agricultural products and farming lifestyles. Grouping by advertiser type further distinguishes commercial magazines from noncommercial magazine-like periodicals. The noncommercial category includes everything from activist newsletters and scholarly

TRACKING TECHNOLOGY

Paper Still Dominates Magazines in the Digital Age

A funny thing happened on the way to print magazines becoming obsolete: Publishers are still printing them, and people are still reading them.

The Association of Magazine Media (formerly the Magazine Publishers of America) reported that the number of U.S. consumer print magazines actually increased from 2004 to 2014, from 7,188 titles to 7,289 titles. In 2014 alone, 231 new print periodical brands were launched, with many titles in the leading categories of special interest/lifestyle, metropolitan/regional/state, popular culture, and crafts/games/hobbies/models.[1]

Leading magazine researcher Dr. Samir Husni of the University of Mississippi School of Journalism (so much of an expert he has the trademarked name "Mr. Magazine") cheered the magazine launches in spring 2015 from established magazine publishers, including Meredith's *Parents Latina*, Rodale's *Organic Life*, National Geographic's *History*, and Smithsonian's *Journeys*. "Large-scale publishers . . . show no fear in the face of cynics who still decry the value of print in today's world," Husni said. "Print is on the rise; was there ever any doubt?"[2]

Still, some things have changed from when print was the only format for magazines. Single-issue purchases—the impulse buys made at a newsstand, bookstore, or grocery store checkout line—have been declining, down by 11.9 percent in the first half of 2014. The industry is banking on subscriptions to digital editions, but while digital editions have been increasing in popularity (to about 4 percent of total circulation by 2015), it hasn't been enough to make up the difference.[3] Magazine circulation is still driven by print subscriptions, which means the main "technology" of the medium remains the one that gave birth to it: paper.

Ironically, high-profile digital companies are increasingly becoming publishers of beautiful, glossy paper magazines. For example, Angie's List, the online subscription service for crowd-sourced local business reviews, has its own magazine, also called *Angie's List*. Airbnb, the private lodging service, has launched *Pineapple* magazine; Uber, the private car transportation service, publishes *Momentum* magazine; and Net-a-porter.com, the designer fashion site, produces *Porter* magazine.

Why would digital companies, with their entire business model fueled by apps and the Web, want to publish traditional print magazines? The magazine industry's own data might suggest an answer: because people really like magazines. According to the Association of Magazine Media, magazines are "more trusted, inspiring and influential than other media," including Web sites and ad-supported TV networks. The industry's research also concludes that magazines generate more positive emotions—happiness, confidence, excitement, and hopefulness—than other media, such as televisions, radios/other audio, computers, mobile devices, and tablets.[4] In a marketing study, respondents rated magazines much higher than Web sites and television on statements like "touches me deep down," "a way to learn about new products," "inspires me in my own life," "gets me to try new things," and "gives me something to talk about"—all things that magazine publishers, whether they are traditional publishers or new digital companies, hope to accomplish.[5]

The May/June 2015 premier issue of Rodale's Organic Life magazine, published by Rodale, Inc. Cover photo by Gentl & Hyers.

Uber Technologies, Inc.

journals to business newsletters created by companies for distribution to employees. Magazines such as *Ms.*, *Consumer Reports*, and *Cook's Illustrated*, which rely solely on subscription and newsstand sales, also accept no advertising and fit into the noncommercial periodical category.

In addition to grouping magazines by advertising style, we can categorize popular consumer magazine styles by the demographic characteristics of their target audience—such as gender, age, or ethnic group—or by an audience interest area, such as entertainment, sports, literature, or tabloids.

Men's and Women's Magazines

One way the magazine industry competed with television was to reach niche audiences that were not being served by the new medium, creating magazines focused on more adult subject matter. *Playboy*, started in 1953 by Hugh Hefner, was the first magazine to do this by undermining the conventional values of pre–World War II America and emphasizing previously taboo subject matter. Scraping together $7,000, Hefner published his first issue, which contained a nude calendar reprint of the actress Marilyn Monroe, along with male-focused articles that criticized alimony payments and gold-digging women. With the financial success of that first issue, which sold more than fifty thousand copies, Hefner was in business.

Playboy's circulation peaked in the 1960s at more than seven million, but it fell gradually throughout the 1970s as the magazine faced competition from imitators and video, as well as criticism for "packaging" and objectifying women for the enjoyment of men. From the 1980s to today, *Playboy* and similar publications continue to publish, but newer men's magazines have shifted their focus to include health (*Men's Health*) and lifestyle (*Details* and *Maxim*).

Women's magazines had long demonstrated that gender-based publications were highly marketable, but during the era of specialization, the magazine industry sought the enormous market of magazine-reading women even more aggressively. *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Woman's Day* focused on cultivating the image of women as homemakers and consumers. In the conservative 1950s and early 1960s, this formula proved to be enormously successful, but as the women's movement advanced in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, women's magazines grew more contemporary and sophisticated, incorporating content related to feminism (such as in Gloria Steinem's *Ms.* magazine, which first appeared in 1972), women's sexuality (such as in *Cosmopolitan*, which became a young women's magazine under the editorship of Helen Gurley Brown in the 1960s), and career and politics—topics previously geared primarily toward men. Even so, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Woman's Day* are all still in the Top 20 list of U.S. highest-circulation magazines (see Table 9.1).

Sports, Entertainment, and Leisure Magazines

In the age of specialization, magazine executives have developed multiple magazines for fans of soap operas, running, tennis, golf, hunting, quilting, antiquing, surfing, and video games, to name only a few. Within categories, magazines specialize further, targeting older or younger runners, men or women golfers, duck hunters or bird-watchers, and midwestern or southern antique collectors.

The most popular sports and leisure magazine is *Sports Illustrated*, which took its name from a failed 1935 publication. Launched in 1954 by Henry Luce's Time Inc., *Sports Illustrated* was initially aimed at well-educated middle-class men. It has become the most successful general sports magazine in history, covering everything from major-league sports and mountain climbing to foxhunting and snorkeling. Although frequently criticized for its immensely profitable but exploitative yearly swimsuit edition, *Sports Illustrated* has also done major investigative pieces—for example, on racketeering in boxing and on land conservation.

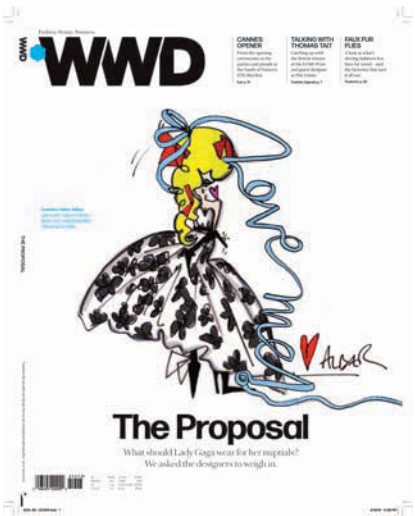
LaunchPad

macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

Magazine Specialization Today
Editors discuss motivations for magazine specialization and how the Internet is changing the industry.
Discussion: How have the types of magazines you read changed over the past ten years? Have their formats changed, too?

Courtesy of AARP. Photo © Kwaku Alston/Corbis Outline

Sports Illustrated/Getty Images



WWD © Fairchild Publishing, LLC

SPECIALIZED MAGAZINES target a wide range of interests, from mainstream sports to hobbies like making model airplanes. Some of the more successful specialized magazines include *AARP The Magazine, Sports Illustrated,* and *WWD Fashion.*

Its circulation held steady at three million in 2015. *Sports Illustrated* competes directly with *ESPN The Magazine* and indirectly with dozens of leisure and niche sports magazines like *Golf Digest*, *Outside*, and *Pro Football Weekly*.

Another popular magazine type that fits loosely into the leisure category includes magazines devoted to music—everything from hip-hop's the *Source* to country's *Country Weekly*. The all-time circulation champ in this category is *Rolling Stone*, begun in 1967 as an irreverent, left-wing political and cultural magazine by twenty-one-year-old Jann Wenner. Once considered an alternative magazine, *Rolling Stone* had paddled into the mainstream by 1982 with a circulation approaching 800,000; by 2015, it had a circulation of more than 1.4 million. Many fans of the early *Rolling Stone*, however, disappointed with its move to increase circulation and reflect mainstream consumer values, turned to less high-gloss alternatives, such as *Spin*, which is now a Web-only publication.

Founded in 1888 by Boston lawyer Gardiner Green Hubbard and his famous son-in-law, Alexander Graham Bell, *National Geographic* promoted "humanized geography" and helped pioneer color photography in 1910. It was also the first publication to publish both undersea and aerial color photographs. In addition, many of *National Geographic*'s nature and culture specials on television, which began in 1965, rank among the most popular programs in the history of public television. *National Geographic*'s popularity grew slowly and steadily throughout the twentieth century, reaching 1 million in circulation in 1935 and 10 million in the 1970s. In the late 1990s, its circulation of paid subscriptions slipped to under 9 million. Other media ventures (for example, a cable channel and atlases) provided new revenue as circulation for the magazine continued to slide, falling to 4 million in 2015 (but with 3 million in international distribution). Despite its falling circulation, *National Geographic* is often recognized as one of the country's best magazines for its reporting and photojournalism. Today, *National Geographic* competes with other travel and geography magazines, such as *Discover*, *Smithsonian*, *Travel & Leisure*, *Condé Nast Traveler*, and its own *National Geographic Traveler*.

Magazines for the Ages

In the age of specialization, magazines have further delineated readers along ever-narrowing age lines, appealing more and more to very young readers and older readers, groups often ignored by mainstream television.

The first children's magazines appeared in New England in the late eighteenth century. Ever since, magazines such as *Youth's Companion*, *Boy's Life* (the Boy Scouts' national publication since 1912), *Highlights for Children*, and *Ranger Rick* have successfully targeted preschool and elementary-school children. The ad-free and subscription-only *Highlights for Children* topped the children's magazine category in 2015, with a circulation of more than two million.

In the popular arena, the leading female teen magazines have shown substantial growth; the top magazine for thirteen- to nineteen-year-olds is *Seventeen*, with a circulation of two million in 2015. Several established magazines responded to the growing popularity of the teen market by introducing specialized editions, such as *Teen Vogue* and *Girl's Life.* (For a critical take on women's fashion magazines, see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Uncovering American Beauty" on page 330.)

Targeting young men in their twenties, *Maxim*, launched in 1997, was one of the fastest-growing magazines of the late 1990s. *Maxim*'s covers boast the magazine's obsession with "sex, sports, beer, gadgets, clothes, fitness," a content mix that helped it eclipse rivals like *GQ* and *Esquire*. Today, *Maxim*'s circulation has leveled off at about two million.

In targeting audiences by age, the most dramatic success has come from magazines aimed at readers over fifty, America's fastest-growing age segment. These publications have tried to meet the cultural interests of older Americans, who historically have not been prominently featured in mainstream consumer culture. The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) and its magazine, *AARP The Magazine*, were founded in 1958 by retired California teacher Ethel Percy Andrus. Subscriptions to the bimonthly *AARP The Magazine* and the monthly *AARP Bulletin* come free when someone joins AARP and pays the modest membership fee ($16 in 2015). By the early 1980s, *AARP The Magazine*'s circulation approached seven million. However, with AARP signing up thirty thousand new members each week by the late 1980s, both *AARP The Magazine* and the newsletter overtook *TV Guide* and *Reader's Digest* as the top circulated magazines. By 2015, both had circulations of over twenty-two million, far surpassing the circulations of all other magazines (see Table 9.1). Article topics in the magazine cover a range of lifestyle, travel, money, health, and entertainment issues, such as sex at age fifty-plus, secrets for spectacular vacations, and how poker can create a sharper mind.

Elite Magazines

Although long in existence, *elite magazines* grew in popularity during the age of specialization. Elite magazines are characterized by their combination of literature, criticism, humor, and journalism and by their appeal to highly educated audiences, often living in urban areas. Among the numerous elite publications that grew in stature during the twentieth century were the *Atlantic Monthly* (now the *Atlantic*), *Vanity Fair*, and *Harper's*.

However, the most widely circulated elite magazine is the *New Yorker*. Launched in 1925 by Harold Ross, the *New Yorker* became the first city magazine aimed at a national upscale audience. Over the years, the *New Yorker* has featured many of the twentieth century's most prominent biographers, writers, reporters, and humorists, including A. J. Liebling, Dorothy Parker, Lillian Ross, John Updike, E. B. White, and Garrison Keillor, as well as James Thurber's cartoons and Ogden Nash's poetry. It introduced some of the finest literary journalism of the twentieth century, devoting an entire issue to John Hersey's *Hiroshima* and serializing Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*. By the mid-1960s, the *New Yorker*'s circulation hovered around 500,000; by 2015, its print circulation stayed steady at over 1 million, and its digital circulation was healthy at more than 86,000 readers.

Minority-Targeted Magazines

Minority-targeted magazines, like newspapers, have existed since before the Civil War, including the African American antislavery magazines *Emancipator*, *Liberator*, and *Reformer*. One of

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

Uncovering American Beauty

How does the United States' leading fashion magazine define *beauty*? One way to explore this question is by critically analyzing the covers of *Cosmopolitan*.

1 DESCRIPTION. If you review a number of *Cosmopolitan* covers, you'll notice that they typically feature a body shot of a female model surrounded by blaring headlines often featuring the words *Hot* and *Sex* to usher a reader inside the magazine. The cover model is dressed provocatively and is positioned against a solid-color background. She looks confident. Everything about the cover is loud and brassy.

2 ANALYSIS. Looking at the covers over the last decade, and then the decade before it, what are some significant patterns? One thing you'll notice is that all of these models look incredibly alike, particularly when it comes to race: There is a disproportionate number of white cover models. But you'll notice that things are improving somewhat in this regard; *Cosmo* has used several Hispanic and African American cover models in recent years, but still they are few and far between. However, there is an even more consistent pattern regarding body type. Of cover model Hilary Duff, *Cosmo* said, "With long honey-colored locks, a smokin' bod, and killer confidence, Hilary's looking every bit the hot Hollywood starlet." In *Cosmo*-speak, "smokin' bod" means ultrathin (sometimes made even more so with digital modifications).

3 INTERPRETATION. What does this mean? Although *Cosmo* doesn't provide height and weight figures for its models, the magazine is probably selling an unhealthy body weight (in fact, photos can be digitally altered to make the models look even thinner). In its guidelines for the fashion industry, the Academy for Eating Disorders suggests "for women and men over the age of 18, adoption of a minimum body mass index threshold of 18.5 kg/m^2 (e.g., a female model who is 5'9" [1.75 m] must weigh more than 126 pounds [57.3 kg]), which recognizes that weight below this is considered underweight by the World Health Organization."[1]

4 EVALUATION. *Cosmopolitan* uses thin cover models as aspirational objects for its readers—that is, as women its readers would like to look like. Thus, these cover models become the image of what a "terrific" body is for its readers, who—by *Cosmopolitan*'s own account—are women age eighteen to twenty-four. *Cosmo* also notes that it's been the best-selling women's magazine in college bookstores for twenty-five years. But that target audience also happens to be the one most susceptible to body issues. As the Academy for Eating Disorders notes, "About one in 20 young women in the community has an eating disorder," which can include anorexia, bulimia, and binge eating.[2]

5 ENGAGEMENT. Contact *Cosmo*'s editor in chief, Joanna Coles, and request representation of healthy body types on the magazine's covers. You can contact her and the editorial department via e-mail (cosmo@hearst.com), telephone (212-649-3570), or U.S. mail: Joanna Coles, Editor, *Cosmopolitan*, 300 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019. Your voice can be effective: In 2012, a thirteen-year-old girl started a petition on change.org and successfully got *Seventeen* to respond to the way it Photoshops images of models.

the most influential early African American magazines, the *Crisis*, was founded by W. E. B. Du Bois in 1910 and is the official magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

In the modern age, the major magazine publisher for African Americans has been John H. Johnson, a former Chicago insurance salesman, who started *Negro Digest* in 1942 on $500 borrowed against his mother's furniture. By 1945, the *Digest* had a circulation of more than 100,000, and its profits enabled Johnson and a small group of editors to start *Ebony*, a picture-text magazine modeled on *Life* but serving black readers. The Johnson Publishing Company also successfully introduced *Jet*, a pocket-size supermarket magazine, in 1951. By 2015, *Ebony*'s circulation rose to 1.3 million. *Essence*, the first major magazine geared toward African American women, debuted in 1969, and by 2015, it had a circulation of over 1 million. *Jet*, trailing the other two African American market magazines, announced in 2014 that it would begin publishing in a digital-only format.

Other minority groups also have magazines aimed at their own interests. The *Advocate*, founded in 1967 as a twelve-page newsletter, was the first major magazine to address issues of interest to gay men and lesbians, and it has in ensuing years published some of the best journalism about antigay violence, policy issues affecting the LGBT community, and AIDS—topics often not well covered by the mainstream press. *Out* is the top gay style magazine. Both are owned by Here Media, which also owns Here TV and several LGBT Web sites.

With increases in the Hispanic population and immigration, magazines appealing to Spanish-speaking readers have developed rapidly since the 1980s. In 1983, the De Armas Spanish Magazine Network began distributing Spanish-language versions of mainstream American magazines, including *Cosmopolitan en Español*; *Harper's Bazaar en Español*; and *Ring*, the prominent boxing magazine. *Latina* magazine was founded in 1996, and is the most successful English-language publication for Hispanic women. The new magazines target the most upwardly mobile segments of the growing American Hispanic population, which numbered more than fifty-three million—about 17.4 percent of the U.S. population—by 2015. Today, *People en Español*, *Latina*, and *Vanidades* rank as the top three Hispanic magazines by ad revenue.

Although national magazines aimed at other minority groups were slow to arrive, there are magazines now that target virtually every race, culture, and ethnicity, including *Asian Week*, *Native Peoples*, and *Tikkun*.

Photograph by John Russo. Courtesy of Latina Media Ventures

LATINA, launched in 1996, has become the largest magazine targeted to Hispanic women in the United States. It counts a readership of three million bilingual, bicultural women and is also the top Hispanic magazine in advertising pages.

Supermarket Tabloids

With headlines like "Sex Secrets of a Russian Spy," "Extraterrestrials Follow the Teachings of Oprah Winfrey," and "Al-Qaeda Breeding Killer Mosquitoes," **supermarket tabloids** push the limits of both decency and credibility. Although they are published on newsprint, the Audit Bureau of Circulations, which checks newspaper and magazine circulation figures to determine advertising rates, counts weekly tabloids as magazines. Tabloid history can be traced to newspapers' use of graphics and pictorial layouts in the 1860s and 1870s, but the modern U.S. tabloid began with the founding of the *National Enquirer* by William Randolph Hearst in 1926. The *Enquirer* struggled until it was purchased in 1952 by Generoso Pope, who originally intended to use it to "fight for the rights of man" and "human decency and dignity."[9] In the interest of profit, though, Pope settled on the "gore formula" to transform the paper's anemic weekly circulation of seven thousand: "I noticed how auto accidents drew crowds and I decided that if it was blood that interested people, I'd give it to them."[10]

By the mid-1960s, the *Enquirer*'s circulation had jumped to over one million through the publication of bizarre human-interest stories, gruesome murder tales, violent accident accounts, unexplained-phenomena stories, and malicious celebrity gossip. By 1974, the magazine's weekly circulation had topped four million. Its popularity inspired the creation of other tabloids—like *Globe* (founded in 1954) and *Star* (founded by News Corp. in 1974)—and the adoption of a tabloid style by general-interest magazines such as *People* and *Us Weekly*. Today, tabloid magazine sales are down from their peak in the 1980s, but they continue to be popular. American Media in Boca Raton, Florida, owns several magazines, including two key supermarket tabloids: *Star* and *National Enquirer*.

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Narrowcasting in Magazines
Magazine editors explain the benefits and consequences of narrowcasting.
Discussion: Think of magazines that might be considered a good example of narrowcasting. What makes them a good example, and would you consider them successful? Why or why not?

The Organization and Economics of Magazines

Given the great diversity in magazine content and ownership, it is hard to offer a common profile of a successful magazine. However, large or small, online or in print, most magazines deal with the same basic functions: production, content, ads, and sales. In this section, we discuss how magazines operate, the ownership structure behind major magazines, and how smaller publications fulfill niche areas that even specialized magazines do not reach.

Magazine Departments and Duties

Unlike a broadcast station or a daily newspaper, a small newsletter or magazine can begin cheaply via computer-based **desktop publishing**, which enables an aspiring publisher-editor to write, design, lay out, and print or post online a modest publication. For larger operations, however, the work is divided into departments.

Editorial and Production

The lifeblood of a magazine is the *editorial department*, which produces its content, excluding advertisements. Like newspapers, most magazines have a chain of command that begins with a publisher and extends to the editor in chief, the managing editor, and a variety of subeditors. These subeditors oversee such editorial functions as photography, illustrations, reporting and writing, copyediting, layout, and print and multimedia design. Magazine writers generally include contributing staff writers, who are specialists in certain fields, and freelance writers: nonstaff professionals who are assigned to cover particular stories or a region of the country. Many magazines, especially those with small budgets, also rely on well-written unsolicited manuscripts to fill their pages. Most commercial magazines, however, reject more than 95 percent of unsolicited pieces.

Despite the rise of inexpensive desktop publishing, most large commercial magazines still operate several departments, which employ hundreds of people. The *production and technology department* maintains the computer and printing hardware necessary for mass market production. Because magazines are printed weekly, monthly, or bimonthly, it is not economically practical for most magazine publishers to maintain expensive print facilities. As with *USA Today*, many national magazines digitally transport magazine copy to various regional printing sites for the insertion of local ads and for faster distribution.

Advertising and Sales

The *advertising and sales department* of a magazine secures clients, arranges promotions, and places ads. Like radio stations, network television stations, and basic cable television stations, consumer magazines are heavily reliant on advertising revenue. The more successful the magazine, the more it can charge for advertisement space. Magazines provide their advertisers with rate cards, which indicate how much they charge for a certain amount of advertising space on a page. A top-rated consumer magazine like *People* might charge almost $340,000 for a full-page color ad and $108,700 for a third of a page black-and-white ad. However, in today's competitive world, most rate cards are not very meaningful: Almost all magazines offer 25 to 50 percent rate discounts to advertisers.[11] Although fashion and general-interest magazines carry a higher percentage of ads than do political or literary magazines, the average magazine contains about 45 percent ad copy and 55 percent editorial material, a figure that has remained fairly constant for the past decade.

The traditional display ad has been the staple of magazine advertising for more than a century. As magazines move to tablet editions, the options for ad formats have grown immensely. For example, Condé Nast magazines offer static display ads with a link for their editions on the iPad, Kindle Fire, Nexus 7, and Next Issue app. But they offer almost thirty other premium ad types, which can include audio, video, tap and reveal, and panoramic views. A single-issue Web-enabled ad in tablet editions of titles like *GQ*, *Wired*, *Vanity Fair*, the *New Yorker*, and *Vogue* costs $5,000. A premium ad with effects such as animation or a slide show costs $25,000, while a premium plus ad with effects like a virtual tour or full interactivity costs around $45,000. (The cost per ad is discounted with purchases of multiple issues.)

A few contemporary magazines, such as *Highlights for Children*, have decided not to carry ads and rely solely on subscriptions and newsstand sales instead. To protect the integrity of their various tests and product comparisons, *Consumer Reports* and *Cook's Illustrated* carry no advertising. To strengthen its editorial independence, *Ms.* magazine abandoned ads in 1990 after years of pressure from the food, cosmetics, and fashion industries to feature recipes and more complementary copy.

Some advertisers and companies have canceled ads when a magazine featured an unflattering or critical article about a company or an industry.[12] In some instances, this practice has put enormous pressure on editors not to offend advertisers. The cozy relationships between some advertisers and magazines have led to a dramatic decline in investigative reporting, once central to popular magazines during the muckraking era.

As television advertising siphoned off national ad revenues in the 1950s, publishers began introducing different editions of their magazines to attract advertisers. **Regional editions** are national magazines whose content is tailored to the interests of different geographic areas. For example, *Sports Illustrated* often prints five different regional versions of its College Football Preview and March Madness Preview editions, picturing regional stars on each of the five covers. In **split-run editions**, the editorial content remains the same, but the magazine includes a few pages of ads purchased by local or regional companies. Most editions of *Time* and *Sports Illustrated*, for example, contain a number of pages reserved for regional ads. **Demographic editions**, meanwhile, are editions of magazines targeted at particular groups of consumers. In this case, market researchers identify subscribers primarily by occupation, class, and zip code. *Time* magazine, for example, developed special editions of its magazine for top management, high-income zip-code areas, and ultrahigh-income professional/managerial households. Demographic editions guarantee advertisers a particular magazine audience, one that enables them to pay lower rates for their ads because the ads will be run in only a limited number of copies of the magazine. The magazine can then compete with advertising in regional television or cable markets and in newspaper supplements. Because of the flexibility of special editions, new sources of income opened up for national magazines. Ultimately, these marketing strategies permitted the massive growth of magazines in the face of predictions that television would cripple the magazine industry.

Circulation and Distribution

The *circulation and distribution department* of a magazine monitors single-copy and subscription sales. Toward the end of the general-interest magazine era in 1950, newsstand sales accounted for about 43 percent of magazine sales, and subscriptions constituted 57 percent. Since that time, subscriptions have risen to 91 percent of print magazine distribution and 75 percent of print magazine revenue. (Single copies are more expensive, so they generate more revenue.)[13] One tactic used by magazines' circulation departments to increase subscription sales is to encourage consumers to renew well in advance of their actual renewal dates. Magazines can thus invest and earn interest on early renewal money as a hedge against consumers who drop their subscriptions.

Other strategies include **evergreen subscriptions**—those that automatically renew on a credit card account unless subscribers request that the automatic renewal be stopped—and

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***TIME* ON THE IPAD**
Time, like many print publications, has an app with which users can purchase each weekly issue in digital form. The magazine also offers combination digital/print subscriptions.

controlled circulations, providing readers with a magazine at no charge by targeting captive audiences, such as airline passengers or association members. These magazines' financial support comes solely from advertising or corporate sponsorship.

The biggest strategy for reviving magazine sales is the migration to digital distribution (which also promises savings over the printing and physical distribution of glossy paper magazines). The number of magazines with iPad apps (which enable users to click on the app and launch the magazine) has grown rapidly. Although the iPad still reigns supreme in the world of tablets, other touchscreen color tablets, like the Amazon Kindle Fire, the Google Nexus 7, and the Samsung Galaxy Tab, have offered competition in the expanding market. Other models, such as the Next Issue app, offer unlimited access to 133 titles ($9.99 a month) or 143 titles ($14.99)—a Netflix-like plan for magazines.

Major Magazine Chains

In terms of ownership, the commercial magazine industry most closely resembles the cable television business, which patterned its specialized channels on the consumer magazine market (see Figure 9.2). Even though more than two hundred new commercial magazine titles appear each year—many of them independently owned—it is a struggle to survive in the competitive magazine marketplace.

Time Inc. is the largest U.S. magazine chain (by circulation), with twenty-three print titles in the United States—including *People*, *Time*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *InStyle*—and seventy international titles, plus forty-five Web sites.[14] In 2014, Time Inc. became an independent company, spun off from the media conglomerate Time Warner because of its weak financial performance. (It wasn't the first time Time Warner reduced its holdings; it spun off both Time Warner Cable and AOL in 2009.) Time Inc.'s fortunes reflect the difficult digital transition for the magazine industry: By 2014, its revenues had dropped to $370 million annually, compared to $1 billion in earnings less than ten years earlier.[15]

The Hearst Corporation, the leading magazine (and newspaper) chain early in the twentieth century, still remains a formidable publisher, with titles like *Cosmopolitan*, *Esquire*, *Elle*, and *O: The Oprah Magazine*. Long a force in upscale consumer magazines, Condé Nast is a division of Advance Publications, which operates the Newhouse newspaper chain. The Condé Nast group controls several key magazines, including *Vanity Fair*, *GQ*, and *Vogue*. The Meredith Corporation, based in Des Moines, Iowa, specializes in women's and home-related magazines (*Better Homes*

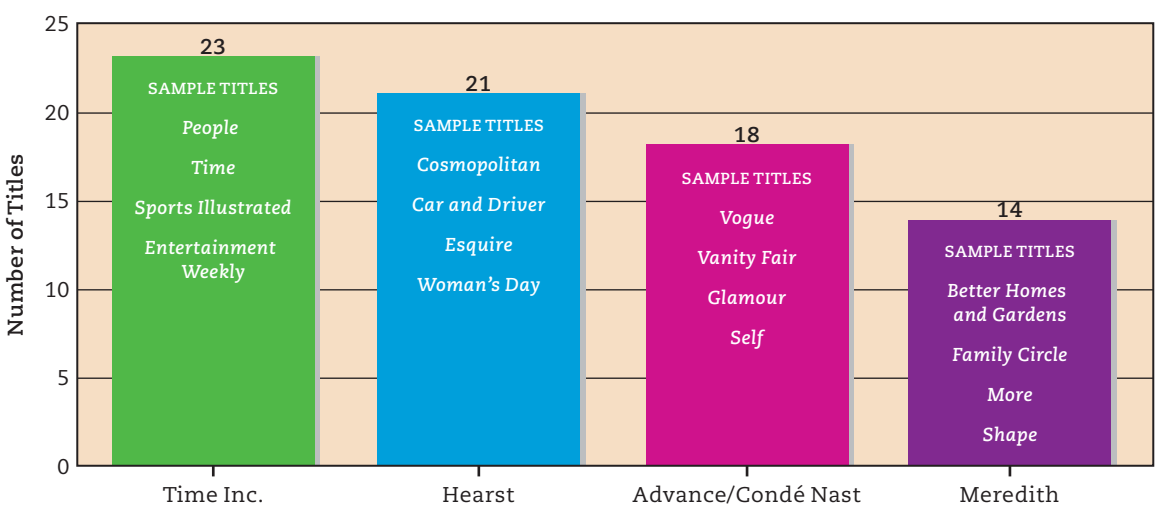


FIGURE 9.2
TOP U.S. CONSUMER MAGAZINE COMPANIES
Data from: Corporate reports of each publisher.

and Gardens, *Family Circle*). Other important commercial players include Rodale, a family-owned company that publishes health and wellness titles, such as *Prevention* and *Men's Health*.

In addition, a number of American magazines have carved out market niches worldwide. *Reader's Digest*, *Cosmopolitan*, *National Geographic*, and *Time*, for example, all produce international editions in several languages. In general, though, most American magazines are local, regional, or specialized and therefore less exportable than movies and television. Of the twenty thousand titles, only about two hundred magazines from the United States circulate routinely in the world market. Such magazines, however—like exported American TV shows and films—play a key role in determining the look of global culture.

Many major publishers, including Hearst, Meredith, Time Inc., and Rodale, generate additional revenue through custom publishing divisions, producing limited-distribution publications, sometimes called **magalogs**, which combine glossy magazine style with the sales pitch of retail catalogues. Magalogs are often used to market goods or services to customers or employees. For example, Rodale produces the biannual *Whole Foods Market Magazine* magalog, and Time produces the quarterly *My Ford*, distributed by the automobile company to buyers of its vehicles and also available digitally via the iTunes App Store.

Alternative Voices

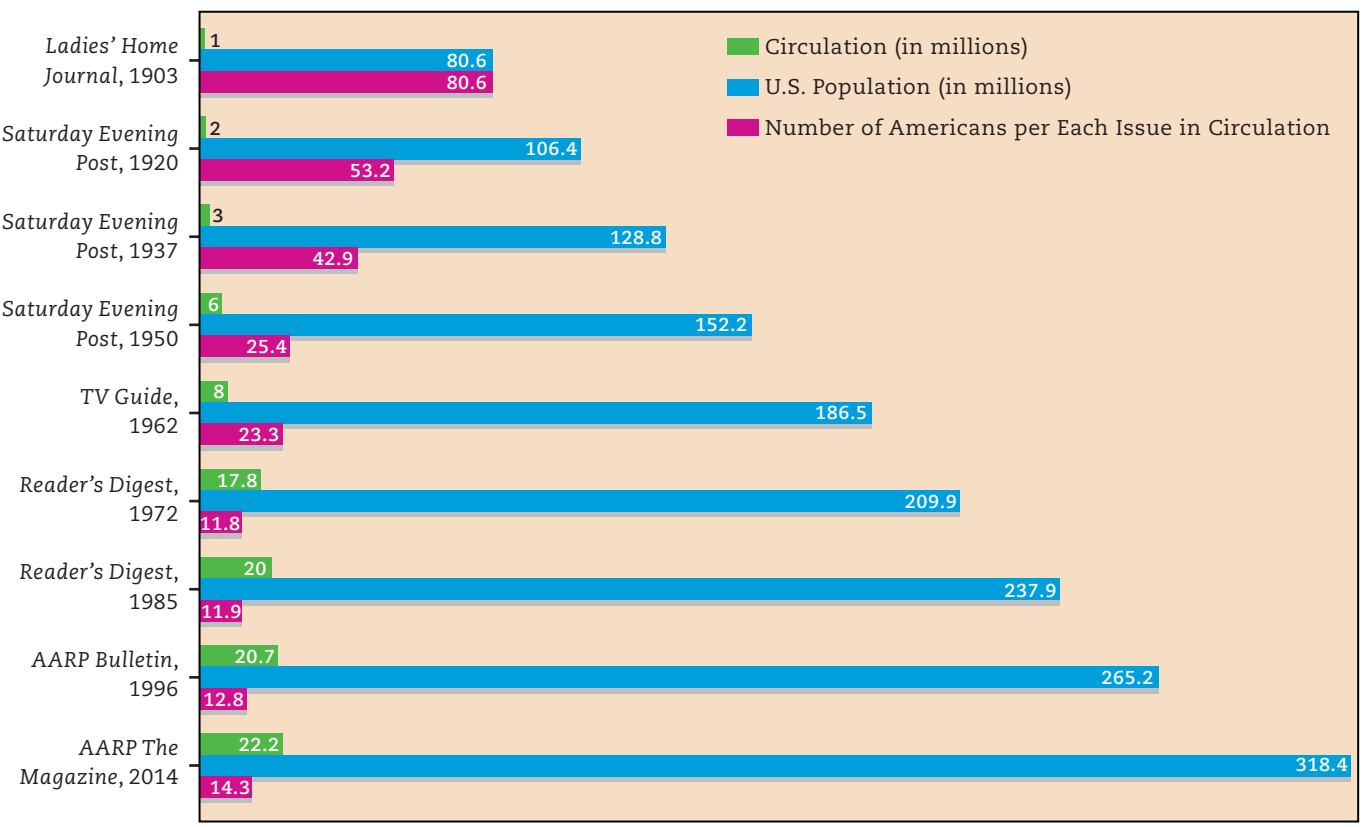
Only eighty-five of the twenty thousand American magazines have circulations that top a million (see Figure 9.3), so most alternative magazines struggle to satisfy small but loyal groups of readers. At any given time, there are over two thousand alternative magazines in circulation, with many failing and others starting up every month.

Alternative magazines have historically defined themselves in terms of politics—published by either the Left (the *Progressive*, *In These Times*, the *Nation*) or the Right (the *National*

FIGURE 9.3

THE CIRCULATION REACH OF LEADING AMERICAN MAGAZINES

U.S. population data from U.S. Census Bureau, www.census.gov.



Review, *American Spectator*, *Insight*). However, what constitutes an alternative magazine has broadened over time to include just about any publication considered outside the mainstream, ranging from environmental magazines to alternative lifestyle magazines to punk-zines—the magazine world's answer to punk rock. (**Zines**, pronounced "zeens," is a term used to describe self-published magazines.) *Utne Reader*, widely regarded as "the *Reader's Digest* of alternative magazines," has defined *alternative* as any sort of "thinking that doesn't reinvent the status quo, that broadens issues you might see on TV or in the daily paper."

Occasionally, alternative magazines have become marginally mainstream. For example, during the conservative Reagan era in the 1980s, William F. Buckley's *National Review* saw its circulation swell to more than 100,000—enormous by alternative standards. By 2015, the magazine continued to be the leading conservative publication, with a circulation of about 150,000. On the Left, *Mother Jones* (named after labor organizer Mary Harris Jones), which champions muckraking and investigative journalism, had a circulation of 215,200 in 2015.

Most alternative magazines, however, are content to swim outside the mainstream. These are the small magazines that typically include diverse political, cultural, religious, international, and environmental subject matter, such as *Against the Current*, *Y'all*, *Buddhadharma*, *Home Education Magazine*, *Jewish Currents*, *Small Farmer's Journal*, and *Humor Times*.

Magazines in a Democratic Society

ZINES, mini-magazines that are often self-published or homemade, can give a voice to marginalized populations or subcultures.

Like other mass media, magazines are a major part of the cluttered media landscape. To keep pace, the magazine industry has become fast-paced and high-risk. Of the seven hundred to one thousand new magazines that start up each year, fewer than two hundred will survive longer than a year.

Slim Lopez

As an industry, magazine publishing—like advertising and public relations—has played a central role in transforming the United States from a producer society to a consumer society. Since the 1950s, though, individual magazines have not had the powerful national voice they once possessed, uniting separate communities around important issues such as abolition and suffrage. Today, with so many specialized magazines appealing to distinct groups of consumers, magazines play a much-diminished role in creating a sense of national identity.

Contemporary commercial magazines provide essential information about politics, society, and culture, thus helping us think about ourselves as participants in a democracy. Unfortunately, however, these magazines have often identified their readers as consumers first and citizens second. With magazines growing increasingly dependent on advertising, and some of them (such as shopping magazines like *Lucky*) being primarily *about* the advertising, controversial

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Magazine Industry

Job Ad for *Slate* Magazine

We are looking for an energetic newshound with a passion for all things social to support us in growing our social media traffic. Do you have clear and snappy writing skills along with an innate understanding of how to get people to share things? Are you comfortable quickly whipping up sharable graphics in Photoshop? Have you ever made something go viral? Then you might be the right person for us. An active personal social media presence and one to two years' experience running institutional social media feeds are strong pluses.

Katherine Goldstein, Editor, *Vanity Fair*'s Web Site (Her Responsibilities Include Reading Magazine Job Applications)

Keep it short. I started putting word limits on cover letters because I couldn't stand, nor did I have the time to read, the epically long letters I'd receive. I'm going to give your letter maybe thirty seconds of my time. If you are interested in a job in journalism, you should be able to tell me about yourself and why I should hire you in less than two hundred words. I've never hired someone with a long-winded cover letter. Same goes for résumés. No one with fewer than four years of full-time work experience needs more than a page. Your summer lifeguarding job does not need five bullet points.

Gemma Askham, Deputy Feature Editor, *Glamour* Magazine U.K.

After a degree, a journalism postgrad, and three months' work experience, I ran out of money to work for free (and out of London-based relatives willing to let me squat in their spare room!). When my parents said, "When are you going to give up on being a writer and get a proper job?" I realised I had to get *any* magazine job. *Anywhere*. So I moved 150 miles to a tiny Midlands town to work—not on the dream women's glossy, but on two car magazines, *Planet 4x4* and *Total Off-Road*. And I'd urge anyone to start small.

Tehrene Firman, Web Editor, *J-14* Magazine

I make sure the Web site is updated with breaking celebrity news, conduct interviews with today's top stars, write up fun features, and update the magazine's social media accounts. . . . Get as much experience as you possibly can. Obviously your grades are important, but the people who will be hiring you are looking for writers who really know what they're doing. Write as much as you can, get editing experience, and if there aren't many options where you're from, don't let that stop you. I'm from an incredibly small town in Iowa and started my own online magazine to get experience. Your hard work won't go unnoticed. Trust me.

content sometimes has difficulty finding its way into print. More and more, magazines define their readers merely as viewers of displayed products and purchasers of material goods.

At the same time, magazines have arguably had more freedom than other media to encourage and participate in democratic debates. More magazine voices circulate in the marketplace than do broadcast or cable television channels. Moreover, many new magazines still play an important role in uniting dispersed groups of readers, often giving cultural minorities or newly arrived immigrants or alternative groups a sense of membership in a broader community. In addition, because magazines are distributed weekly, monthly, or bimonthly, they are less restricted by the deadline pressures experienced by newspaper publishers or radio and television broadcasters. Good magazines can usually offer more analysis of and insight into society than other media outlets can. In the midst of today's swirl of images, magazines and their advertisements certainly contribute to the commotion. But good magazines also maintain our connection to words, sustaining their vital role in an increasingly electronic and digital culture.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the commercial nature of mass media. The magazine industry is an unusual example of this. Big media corporations control some of the most popular magazines, and commercialism runs deep in many consumer magazines. At the same time, magazines are one of the most democratic mass media. How can that be?

There are more than twenty thousand magazine titles in the United States. But the largest and most profitable magazines are typically owned by some of the biggest media corporations. Advance Publications, for example, counts *GQ*, the *New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair*, and *Vogue* among its holdings. Even niche magazines that seem small are often controlled by chains. Supermarket tabloids like *Star* and the *National Enquirer* are owned by Florida-based American Media, which also publishes *Muscle & Fitness*, *Men's Fitness*, and *Flex*.

High-revenue magazines, especially those focusing on fashion, fitness, and lifestyle, can also shamelessly break down the firewall between the editorial and business departments. "Fluff" story copy serves as a promotional background for cosmetic, clothing, and gadget advertisements. Many titles in the new generation of online and tablet magazines further break down that firewall—with a single click on a story or image, readers are linked to an e-commerce site where they can purchase the item they clicked on. Digital retouching makes every model and celebrity thinner or more muscular, and always blemish-free. This altered view of their "perfection" becomes our ever-hopeful aspiration, spurring us to purchase the advertised products.

Yet the huge number of magazine titles—more than the number of radio stations, TV stations, cable networks, or yearly Hollywood releases—means that magazines span a huge range of activities and thought. Each magazine sustains a community—although some may think of readers more as consumers, others view them as citizens—and several hundred new launches each year bring new voices to the marketplace and search for their own community to serve.

So there is the glitzy, commercial world of the big magazine industry, with *Time*'s Person of the Year, the latest *Cosmo* girl, and the band on the cover of *Rolling Stone*. But many smaller magazines—like the *Georgia Review, Edutopia*, and *E—The Environmental Magazine*—account for the majority of magazine titles and the broad, democratic spectrum of communities that are their readers.

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

magazine, 311
muckrakers, 317
general-interest magazines, 317
photojournalism, 317
pass-along readership, 319
Webzines, 324
supermarket tabloids, 331
desktop publishing, 332
regional editions, 333
split-run editions, 333
demographic editions, 333
evergreen subscriptions, 333
magalogs, 335
zines, 336

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

The Early History of Magazines

1. Why did magazines develop later than newspapers in the American colonies?
2. Why did most of the earliest magazines have so much trouble staying financially solvent?
3. How did magazines become national in scope?

The Development of Modern American Magazines

4. How did magazines position women in the new consumer economy at the turn of the twentieth century?
5. What role did magazines play in social reform at the turn of the twentieth century?
6. When and why did general-interest magazines become so popular?
7. Why did some of the major general-interest magazines fail in the twentieth century?
8. What are the advantages of magazines' movement to digital formats?

The Domination of Specialization

9. What triggered the move toward magazine specialization?
10. What are the differences between regional and demographic editions?
11. What are the most useful ways to categorize the magazine industry? Why?

The Organization and Economics of Magazines

12. What are the four main departments at a typical consumer magazine?
13. How do digital editions of magazines change the format of magazine advertising?
14. What are some of the models for digital distribution of magazines?
15. What are the major magazine chains, and what is their impact on the mass media industry in general?

Magazines in a Democratic Society

16. How do magazines serve a democratic society?
17. How does advertising affect what gets published in the editorial side of magazines?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. What role did magazines play in America's political and social shift from being colonies of Great Britain to becoming an independent nation?
2. Why is the muckraking spirit—so important in popular magazines at the turn of the twentieth century—generally missing from magazines today?
3. If you were the marketing director of your favorite magazine, how would you increase circulation through the use of digital editions?
4. Think of stories, ideas, and images (illustrations and photos) that do not appear in mainstream magazines. Why do you think this is so? (Use the Internet, LexisNexis, or the library to compare your list with Project Censored, an annual list of the year's most underreported stories.)
5. Discuss whether your favorite magazines define you primarily as a consumer or as a citizen. Do you think magazines have a responsibility to educate their readers as both? What can they do to promote responsible citizenship?
6. Do you think touchscreen tablet editions will become the dominant format for magazines? Why or why not?

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#shaimarryNati

Gustavo Caballero/Getty Images for Allied-THA

10 Books and the Power of Print

344
The History of Books, from Papyrus to Paperbacks

348
Modern Publishing and the Book Industry

355
Trends and Issues in Book Publishing

361
The Organization and Ownership of the Book Industry

367
Books and the Future of Democracy

Consider these descriptions of three different events:

1. "Throngs of screaming teenage girls packed the . . . auditorium."
2. "Deafening screams filled the . . . hall."
3. "He walked on stage and the teenage girls in the crowd went wild. Shouts of, "I love you, John," were scattered through the high-pitched squeals that filled the room. Spilled tears dribbled out of some tweens' eyes . . ."[1]

Now guess what they describe: Movie star appearances? Blockbuster film premieres? A concert from the biggest band in the world? In fact, none of these answers are correct. The huge crowds of mostly teenage girls were there for *book authors*.

In a world where authors generally aren't visible celebrities, authors of young-adult (YA) books have become big attractions for live events. The descriptions refer to, in order, (1) a 2015 appearance by *Paper Towns* book author John Green (who, to be fair, did have two actors from the film version of the book with him, as well as the director, screenwriter, and composer); (2) a 2014 appearance by *Divergent* trilogy author Veronica Roth; and

(3) a 2014 solo appearance by John Green, just prior to the film version release of his book *The Fault in Our Stars*.

All of the author appearances were at BookCon, a fan event inspired by the annual comic conventions and trade shows around the world. BookCon was launched in 2014 to highlight "where storytelling and pop culture collide" as part of the otherwise staid BookExpo America, the largest book industry trade show in North America.[2]

As it turns out, storytelling and pop culture tend to collide frequently in the flourishing young-adult book segment of the publishing industry. Think of some of the biggest film franchises in recent years: *Harry Potter*, *Twilight*, *The Hunger Games*, and *Divergent*.

John Green's books aren't a series, but Hollywood has noticed that they connect with a lot of teens, particularly young women. *The Fault in Our Stars* and *Paper Towns* have both been made into successful films, and his first book, the award-winning *Looking for Alaska* (2005), is in production as a movie, too. Green has experienced a downside to having so many exuberant fans, particularly as movie studios buy the rights to his books and begin to make their own choices about casting. In a May 19, 2015, Twitter message (as *Looking for Alaska* was reported to be casting), he wrote, "I. Do. Not. Cast. Movie. Adaptations. Of. My. Books. I am not a casting director. Please stop threatening to kill me." Green followed with another tweet: "If I could cast the Looking for Alaska movie, @amyschumer would play every character, Nutty Professor–style. But I don't make the decisions."

As for what makes a book a "young-adult" book, YA author Seth Fishman argues, "YA really just means a teen protagonist. Oftentimes we see first person, or settings based on 'reality' (high school, death match arenas) but just as often we see abnormal (high school with vampires, death match arenas with vampires). In other words, just like adult books."[3]

Young-adult books are now leading the book industry's best-seller lists. Of the six print books to sell more than one million copies in the United States in 2014, four of them were young-adult books, led by *The Fault in Our Stars* and Veronica Roth's series installations: *Divergent*, *Insurgent*, and *Allegiant*.[4] The success of YA literature in the industry led one publishing company to recently form a new division to release classic YA books from the 1930s through the 1980s to new generations of readers.[5] There is a certain irony to young-adult books being the biggest sellers. As a writer for the *Huffington Post* noted, "Young people are often criticized for their supposed short attention span and general fickle-mindedness—and yet YA literature is one of the most buoyant segments in publishing."[6] Like all mass media, the book-publishing world is undergoing digital changes, but its ability to attract and obsess young audiences is a reminder that books can be as powerful as ever.

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

IN THE 1950s AND 1960s, cultural forecasters thought that the popularity of television might spell the demise of a healthy book industry, just as they thought television would replace the movie, sound recording, radio, newspaper, and magazine industries. Obviously, this did not happen. In 1950, more than 11,000 new book titles were introduced, and by 2013, publishers were producing over seventeen times that number—more than 192,000 titles per year (see Table 10.1). Despite the absorption of small publishing houses by big media corporations, thousands of publishers—mostly small independents—issue at least one title a year in the United States alone.

Our oldest mass medium is also still our most influential and diverse one. The portability and compactness of books make them the preferred medium in many situations (e.g., relaxing at the beach, resting in bed, traveling on buses or commuter trains), and books are still the main repository of history and everyday experience, passing along stories, knowledge, and wisdom from generation to generation.

In this chapter, we consider the long and significant relationship between books and culture. We will:

- Trace the history of books, from Egyptian papyrus to downloadable e-books
- Examine the development of the printing press and investigate the rise of the book industry, from early publishers in Europe and colonial America to the development of publishing houses in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries
- Review the various types of books and explore recent trends in the industry—including audio books, the convergence of books onto online platforms, and book digitization

Year	Number of Titles
1778	461
1798	1,808
1880	2,076
1890	4,559
1900	6,356
1910	13,470 (peak until after World War II)
1919	5,714 (low point as a result of World War I)
1930	10,027
1935	8,766 (Great Depression)
1940	11,328
1945	6,548 (World War II)
1950	11,022
1960	15,012
1970	36,071
1980	42,377
1990	46,473
1996*	68,175
2001	114,487
2004*	164,020
2010	186,344
2013	192,633

TABLE 10.1

ANNUAL NUMBERS OF NEW BOOK TITLES PUBLISHED, SELECTED YEARS

Data from: Figures through 1945 from John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, *4 vols. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972–81); figures after 1945 from various editions of* The Bowker Annual Library and Book Trade Almanac *(Information Today, Inc.) and Bowker press releases.*

**Changes in the* Almanac's *methodology in 1997 and for years 2004–07 resulted in additional publications being assigned ISBNs and included in the counts.*

- Consider the economic forces facing the book industry as a whole, from the growth of bookstore chains to pricing struggles in the digital age
- Explore how books play a pivotal role in our culture by influencing everything from educational curricula to popular movies

As you read through this chapter, think about the pivotal role books have played in your own life. What are your earliest recollections of reading? Is there a specific book that considerably influenced the way you think? How do you discover new books? Do you envision yourself reading more books on a phone or tablet in the future? Or do you prefer holding a paper copy and leafing through the pages? For more questions to help you understand the role of books in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

The History of Books, from Papyrus to Paperbacks

Before books, or writing in general, oral cultures passed on information and values through the wisdom and memories of a community's elders or tribal storytellers. Sometimes these rich traditions were lost. Print culture and the book, however, gave future generations different and often more enduring records of authors' words.

Ever since the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians began experimenting with alphabets some five thousand years ago, people have found ways to preserve their written symbols. These first alphabets mark the development stage for books. Initially, pictorial symbols and letters were drawn on wood strips or pressed with a stylus into clay tablets, and tied or stacked together

Books and the Power of Print

Papyrus
Made from plant reeds found along the Nile, papyrus is first used as paper and rolled into scrolls around 2400 BCE (p. 345).

Codex
The first protomodern book is produced in the fourth century CE by the Romans, who cut and sew sheets of parchment together and then bind them with thin pieces of wood covered with leather (p. 345).

Movable Type
By assigning a separate piece of wood or metal to each Chinese character, the Chinese by 1000 CE can arrange a page quickly, significantly speeding up printing time (p. 346).

Printing Press
In Germany, Johannes Gutenberg turns a wine press into a printing press, forming the prototype for mass production in 1453. Among the first books mass-produced is the Bible (p. 346).

Encyclopedias
In 1751, French scholars begin compiling articles in alphabetical order. The first encyclopedias consist of radical and opinionated writings that spur debates across Europe (p. 354).

2400 BCE • 1000 BCE • 350 CE • 1000 • 1400

The Earliest Books
The Chinese make booklike objects from strips of wood and bamboo around 1000 BCE (p. 345).

Illuminated Manuscripts
Featuring decorative, colorful designs on each page, these books are created by priests and monks throughout Europe around 600 CE (p. 346).

The First Colonial Book
In Cambridge, Massachusetts, Stephen Daye prints a collection of biblical psalms in 1640 (p. 347).

Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

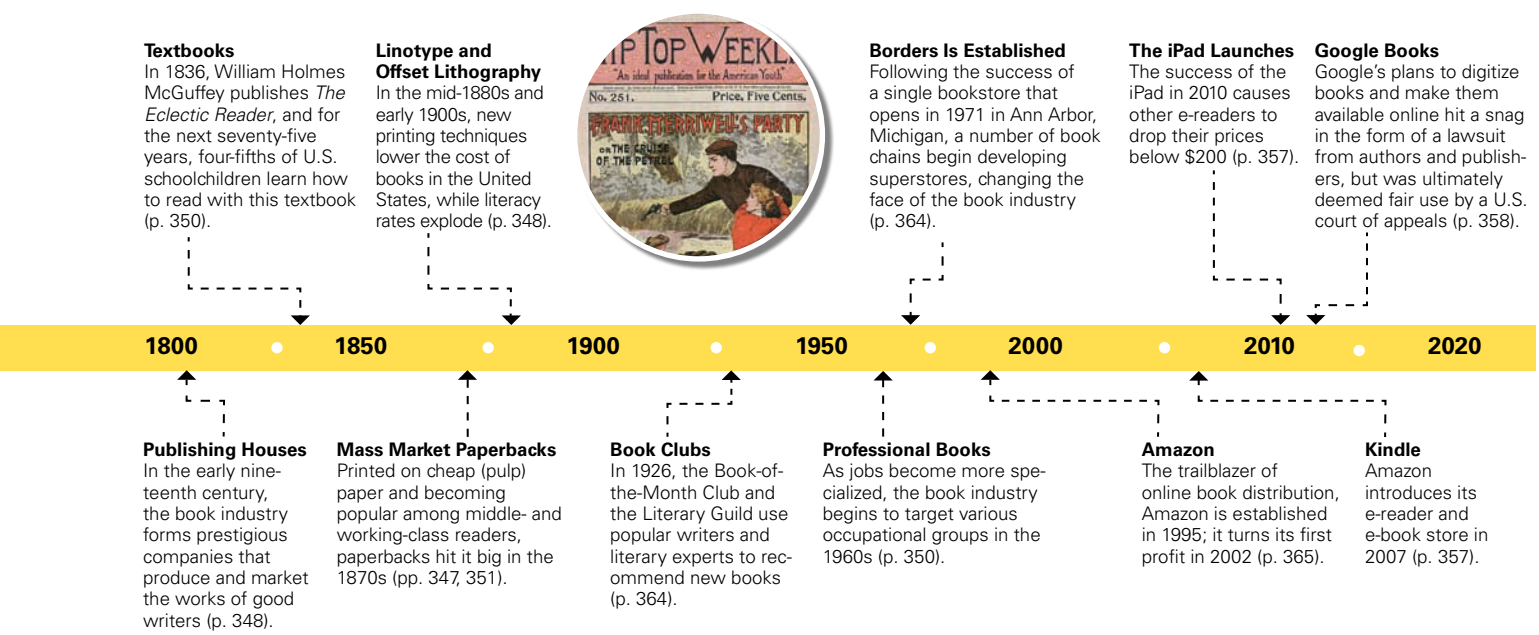
to form the first "books." As early as 2400 BCE, the Egyptians wrote on **papyrus** (from which the word *paper* is derived), made from plant reeds found along the Nile River. They rolled these writings into scrolls, much as builders do today with blueprints. This method was adopted by the Greeks in 650 BCE and by the Romans (who imported papyrus from Egypt) in 300 BCE. Gradually, **parchment**—treated animal skin—replaced papyrus in Europe. Parchment was stronger, smoother, more durable, and less expensive because it did not have to be imported from Egypt.

At about the same time the Egyptians started using papyrus, the Babylonians recorded business transactions, government records, favorite stories, and local history on small tablets of clay. Around 1000 BCE, the Chinese also began creating booklike objects, using strips of wood and bamboo tied together in bundles. Although the Chinese began making paper from cotton and linen around 105 CE, paper did not replace parchment in Europe until the thirteenth century because of questionable durability.

The first protomodern book was probably produced in the fourth century by the Romans, who created the **codex**, a type of book made of sheets of parchment and sewn together along the edge, then bound with thin pieces of wood and covered with leather. Whereas scrolls had to be wound, unwound, and rewound, a codex could be opened to any page, and its configuration allowed writing on both sides of a page.

The Development of Manuscript Culture

During the Middle Ages (400–1500 CE), the Christian clergy strongly influenced what is known as **manuscript culture**, a period in which books were painstakingly lettered, decorated, and bound by hand. This period also marks the entrepreneurial stage in the evolution of books. During this time, priests and monks advanced the art of bookmaking; in many ways, they may be considered the earliest professional editors. Known as *scribes*, they transcribed most of the existing philosophical tracts and religious texts of the period, especially versions of the Bible. Through tedious and painstaking work, scribes became the chief caretakers of recorded



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history and culture, promoting ideas they favored and censoring ideas that were out of line with contemporary Christian thought.

Many books from the Middle Ages were **illuminated manuscripts**. Often made for churches or wealthy clients, these books featured decorative, colorful designs and illustrations on each page. Their covers were made from leather, and some were embedded with precious gems or trimmed with gold and silver. During this period, scribes developed rules of punctuation, making distinctions between small and capital letters and placing space between words to make reading easier. (Older Roman writing used all capital letters, and the words ran together on a page, making reading a torturous experience.) Hundreds of illuminated manuscripts still survive today in the rare-book collections of museums and libraries.

The Innovations of Block Printing and Movable Type

While the work of the scribes in the Middle Ages led to advances in written language and the design of books, it did not lead to the mass proliferation of books, simply because each manuscript had to be painstakingly created one copy at a time. To make mechanically produced copies of pages, Chinese printers developed **block printing**—a technique in which sheets of paper were applied to blocks of inked wood with raised surfaces depicting hand-carved letters and illustrations—as early as the third century. This constituted the basic technique used in printing newspapers, magazines, and books throughout much of modern history. Although hand-carving each block, or "page," was time consuming, this printing breakthrough enabled multiple copies to be printed and then bound together. The oldest dated printed book still in existence is China's *Diamond Sutra* by Wang Chieh, from 868 CE. It consists of seven sheets pasted together and rolled up in a scroll. In 1295, explorer Marco Polo introduced these techniques to Europe after his excursion to China. The first block-printed books appeared in Europe during the fifteenth century, and demand for them began to grow among the literate middle-class populace emerging in large European cities.

The next step in printing was the radical development of movable type, first invented in China around the year 1000. Movable type featured individual characters made from reusable pieces of wood or metal, rather than entire hand-carved pages. Printers arranged the characters into various word combinations, greatly speeding up the time it took to create block pages. This process, also used in Korea as early as the thirteenth century, developed independently in Europe in the fifteenth century.

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS were handwritten by scribes and illustrated with colorful and decorative images and designs.

Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

The Gutenberg Revolution: The Invention of the Printing Press

A great leap forward in printing was developed by Johannes Gutenberg. In Germany, between 1453 and 1456, Gutenberg used the principles of movable type to develop a mechanical **printing press**, which he adapted from the design of wine presses. Gutenberg's staff of printers produced the first so-called modern books, including two hundred copies of a Latin Bible, twenty-one copies of which still exist. The Gutenberg Bible (as it's now known) required six presses, many printers, and several months to produce. It was printed on a fine calfskin-based parchment called **vellum**. The pages were hand-decorated, and the use of woodcuts made illustrations possible. Gutenberg and his printing assistants had not only found a way to make books a mass medium but also formed the prototype for all mass production.

Printing presses spread rapidly across Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* became the first English work to be printed in book form. Many early books were large, elaborate,

and expensive, taking months to illustrate and publish. They were usually purchased by aristocrats, royal families, religious leaders, and ruling politicians. Printers, however, gradually reduced the size of books and developed less expensive grades of paper, making books cheaper so that more people could afford them.

The social and cultural transformations ushered in by the spread of printing presses and books cannot be overestimated. As historian Elizabeth Eisenstein has noted, when people could learn for themselves by using maps, dictionaries, Bibles, and the writings of others, they could differentiate themselves as individuals; their social identities were no longer solely dependent on what their leaders told them or on the habits of their families, communities, or social class. The technology of printing presses permitted information and knowledge to spread outside local jurisdictions. Gradually, individuals had access to ideas far beyond their isolated experiences, and this permitted them to challenge the traditional wisdom and customs of their tribes and leaders.[7]

The Birth of Publishing in the United States

In colonial America, English locksmith Stephen Daye set up a print shop in the late 1630s in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1640, Daye and his son Matthew printed the first colonial book, *The Whole Booke of Psalms* (known today as *The Bay Psalm Book*), marking the beginning of book publishing in the colonies. This collection of biblical psalms quickly sold out its first printing of 1,750 copies, even though fewer than 3,500 families lived in the colonies at the time. By the mid-1760s, all thirteen colonies had printing shops.

In 1744, Benjamin Franklin, who had worked in printing shops, imported Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) from Britain, the first novel reprinted and sold in colonial America. Both *Pamela* and Richardson's second novel, *Clarissa; or, The History of a Young Lady* (1747), connected with the newly emerging and literate middle classes—especially women, who were just starting to gain a social identity as individuals apart from their fathers, husbands, and employers. Richardson's novels portrayed women in subordinate roles; however, they also depicted women triumphing over tragedy, so he is credited as one of the first popular writers to take the domestic life of women seriously.

By the early nineteenth century, the demand for books was growing. To meet this demand, the cost of producing books needed to be reduced. By the 1830s, machine-made paper replaced more expensive handmade varieties, cloth covers supplanted more expensive leather ones, and **paperback books** with cheaper paper covers (introduced from Europe) helped make books more accessible to the masses. Further reducing the cost of books, Erastus and Irwin Beadle introduced paperback **dime novels** (so called because they sold for five or ten cents) in 1860. Ann Stephens authored the first dime novel, *Malaeska: The Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, a reprint of a serialized story Stephens wrote in 1839 for the *Ladies' Companion* magazine.[8] By 1870, dime novels had sold seven million copies. By 1885, one-third of all books published in the United States were popular paperbacks and dime novels, sometimes identified as **pulp fiction**—a reference to the cheap, machine-made pulp paper they were printed on.

PULP FICTION
The weekly paperback series *Tip Top Weekly*, which was published between 1896 and 1912, featured stories of the most popular dime novel hero of the day, the fictional Yale football star and heroic adventurer Frank Merriwell. This issue, from 1901, follows Frank's exploits in the wilds of the Florida Everglades.

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In addition, the printing process became quicker and more mechanized. In the 1880s, the introduction of **linotype** machines enabled printers to save time by setting type mechanically using a typewriter-style keyboard, while the introduction of steam-powered and high-speed rotary presses permitted the production of more books at lower costs. In the early 1900s, the development of **offset lithography** allowed books to be printed from photographic plates rather than from metal casts, greatly reducing the cost of color and illustrations and accelerating book production. With these developments, books disseminated further, preserving culture and knowledge and supporting a vibrant publishing industry.

Modern Publishing and the Book Industry

Throughout the nineteenth century, the rapid spread of knowledge and literacy as well as the Industrial Revolution spurred the emergence of the middle class. Its demand for books promoted the development of the publishing industry, which capitalized on increased literacy and widespread compulsory education. Many early publishers were mostly interested in finding quality authors and publishing books of importance. But with the growth of advertising and the rise of a market economy in the latter half of the nineteenth century, publishing gradually became more competitive and more concerned with sales.

The Formation of Publishing Houses

The modern book industry developed gradually in the nineteenth century with the formation of the early "prestigious" publishing houses: companies that tried to identify and produce the works of good writers.[9] Among the oldest American houses established at the time (all are now part of major media conglomerates) were J. B. Lippincott (1792); Harper & Bros. (1817), which became Harper & Row in 1962 and HarperCollins in 1990; Houghton Mifflin (1832); Little, Brown (1837); G. P. Putnam (1838); Scribner's (1842); E. P. Dutton (1852); Rand McNally (1856); and Macmillan (1869).

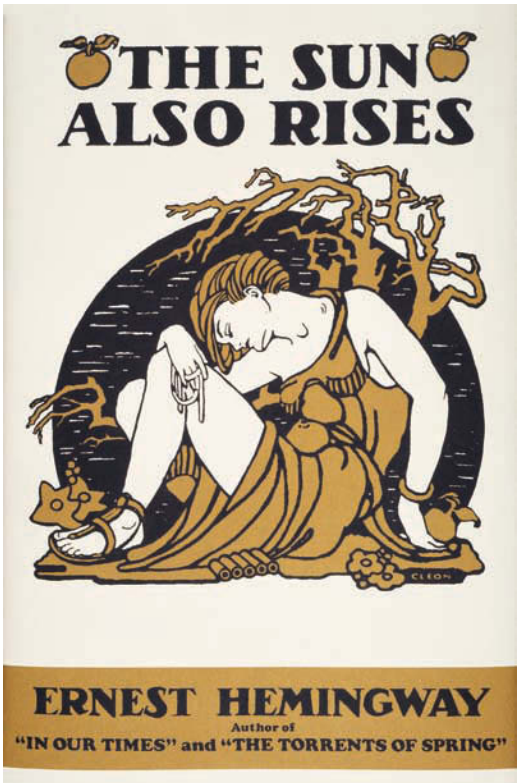
Between 1880 and 1920, as the center of social and economic life shifted from rural farm production to an industrialized urban culture, the demand for books grew. The book industry also helped assimilate European immigrants to the English language and American culture. In fact, 1910 marked a peak year in the number of new titles produced: 13,470, a record that would not be challenged until the 1950s. These changes marked the emergence of the next wave of publishing houses, as entrepreneurs began to better understand the marketing potential of books. These houses included Doubleday & McClure Company (1897), the McGraw-Hill Book Company (1909), Prentice-Hall (1913), Alfred A. Knopf (1915), Simon & Schuster (1924), and Random House (1925).

Despite the growth of the industry in the early twentieth century, book publishing sputtered from 1910 into the 1950s, as profits were adversely affected by the two world wars and the Great Depression. Radio and magazines fared better because they were generally less expensive and could more immediately cover topical issues during times of crisis. But after World War II, the book publishing industry bounced back.

Types of Books

The divisions of the modern book industry come from economic and structural categories developed both by publishers and by trade organizations, such as the Association of American

Publishers (AAP), the Book Industry Study Group (BISG), and the American Booksellers Association (ABA). The categories of book publishing that exist today include trade books (both adult and juvenile), professional books, elementary through high school (often called "el-hi") and college textbooks, mass market paperbacks, religious books, reference books, and university press books. (For sales figures for the book types, see Figure 10.1.)



The Granger Collection

SCRIBNER'S—known more for its magazines in the late nineteenth century than for its books—became the most prestigious literary house of the 1920s and 1930s, publishing F. Scott Fitzgerald (*The Great Gatsby*, 1925) and Ernest Hemingway (*The Sun Also Rises*, 1926).

Trade Books

One of the most lucrative parts of the industry, **trade books** include hardbound and paperback books aimed at general readers and sold at commercial retail outlets. The industry distinguishes among adult trade, juvenile trade, and comics and graphic novels. Adult trade books include hardbound and paperback fiction; current nonfiction and biographies; literary classics; books on hobbies, art, and travel; popular science, technology, and computer publications; self-help books; and cookbooks. (*Betty Crocker's Cookbook*, first published in 1950, has sold more than twenty-two million hardcover copies.)

Juvenile book categories range from preschool picture books to young-adult or young-reader books, such as Dr. Seuss books, the Lemony Snicket series, the Fear Street series, and the Harry Potter series. In fact, the Harry Potter series alone provided an enormous boost to the industry, helping create record-breaking first-press runs: 10.8 million for *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (2005), and 12 million for the final book in the series, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (2007).

Since 2003, the book industry has also been tracking sales of comics and *graphic novels* (long-form stories with frame-by-frame drawings and dialogue, bound like books). As with the similar Japanese *manga* books, graphic novels appeal to both youths and adults, as well as males and females. Will Eisner's *A Contract with God* (1978) is generally credited as the first graphic novel (and called itself so on its cover). Since that time, interest in graphic novels has grown, and in 2006, their sales surpassed those of comic books. Given their strong stories and visual nature, many comics and graphic novels, including *X-Men*, *The Dark Knight*, *Watchmen*, and

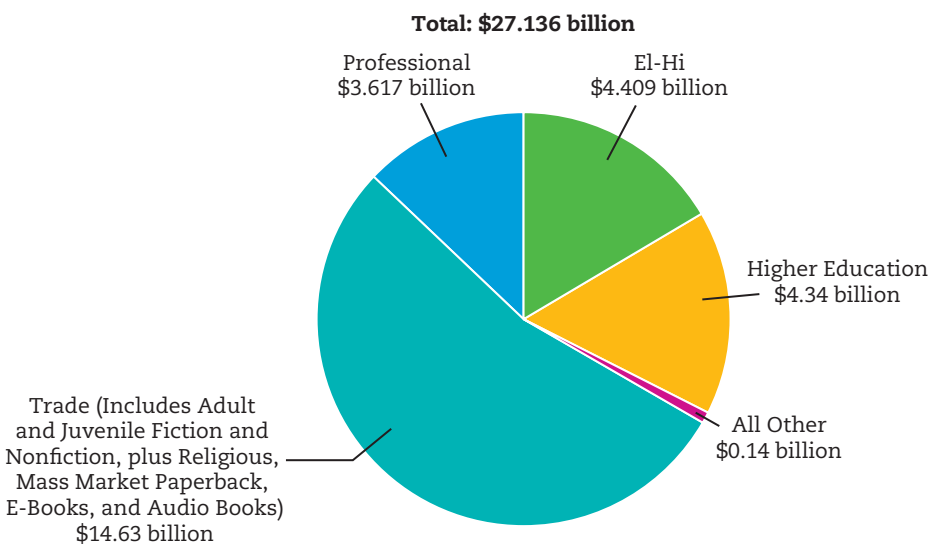


FIGURE 10.1

ESTIMATED U.S. BOOK REVENUE, 2013

Data from: Jim Milliot, "Book Sales Dipped in 2013," Publishers Weekly, June 27, 2014, www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/publisher-news/article/63131-book-sales-dipped-in-2013.html.

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WHEN THE TEXAS STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION voted to take its social studies curriculum in a more conservative direction in 2010, other states expressed concern that their textbooks would be affected by this controversial decision. However, publishers said they would not be creating a "one-size-fits-all" product, since customizing textbooks for different markets has become increasingly easier in recent years.

Captain America, have inspired movies. But graphic novels aren't only about warriors and superheroes. Maira Kalman's *Principles of Uncertainty* and Alison Bechdel's *Are You My Mother?* are both acclaimed graphic novels, but their characters are regular mortals in real settings (see "Case Study: Comic Books: Alternative Themes, but Superheroes Prevail" on pages 352–353).

Professional Books

The counterpart to professional trade magazines, **professional books** target various occupational groups and are not intended for the general consumer market. This area of publishing capitalizes on the growth of professional specialization that has characterized the job market, particularly since the 1960s. Traditionally, the industry has subdivided professional books into the areas of law, business, medicine, and technical-scientific works, with books in other professional areas accounting for a very small segment. These books are sold through mail order, the Internet, or sales representatives knowledgeable about the subject areas.

Textbooks

The most widely read secular book in U.S. history was *The Eclectic Reader*, an elementary-level reading textbook first written by William Holmes McGuffey, a Presbyterian minister and college professor. From 1836 to 1920, more than 100 million copies of this text were sold. Through stories, poems, and illustrations, *The Eclectic Reader* taught nineteenth-century schoolchildren to spell and read simultaneously—and to respect the nation's political and economic systems. Ever since the publication of the McGuffey reader (as it is often nicknamed), **textbooks** have served a nation intent on improving literacy rates and public education. Elementary school textbooks found a solid market niche in the nineteenth century, while college textbooks boomed in the 1950s, when the GI Bill enabled hundreds of thousands of working- and middle-class men returning from World War II to attend college. The demand for textbooks further accelerated in the 1960s, as opportunities for women and minorities expanded. Textbooks are divided into elementary through high school (el-hi) texts, college texts, and vocational texts.

In about half of the states, local school districts determine which el-hi textbooks are appropriate for their students. In the other half of the states, including Texas and California—the two largest states—statewide adoption policies determine which texts can be used. If individual schools choose to use books other than those mandated, they are not reimbursed by the state for their purchases. Many teachers and publishers have argued that such sweeping authority undermines the autonomy of individual schools and local school districts, which have varied educational needs and problems. In addition, many have complained that the statewide system in Texas and California enables these two states to determine the content of all el-hi textbooks sold in the nation because publishers are forced to appeal to the content demands of these states. However, the two states do not always agree on what should be covered. In 2010, the Texas State Board of Education adopted more conservative interpretations of social history in its curriculum, while the California State Board of Education called for more coverage of minorities' contributions in U.S. history. The disagreement pulled textbook publishers in opposite directions. The solution, which is becoming increasingly easier to implement, involves customizing electronic textbooks according to state standards.

Unlike el-hi texts, which are subsidized by various states and school districts, college texts are paid for by individual students (and parents) and are sold primarily through college bookstores. The increasing cost of textbooks, the markup on used books, and the profit margins of

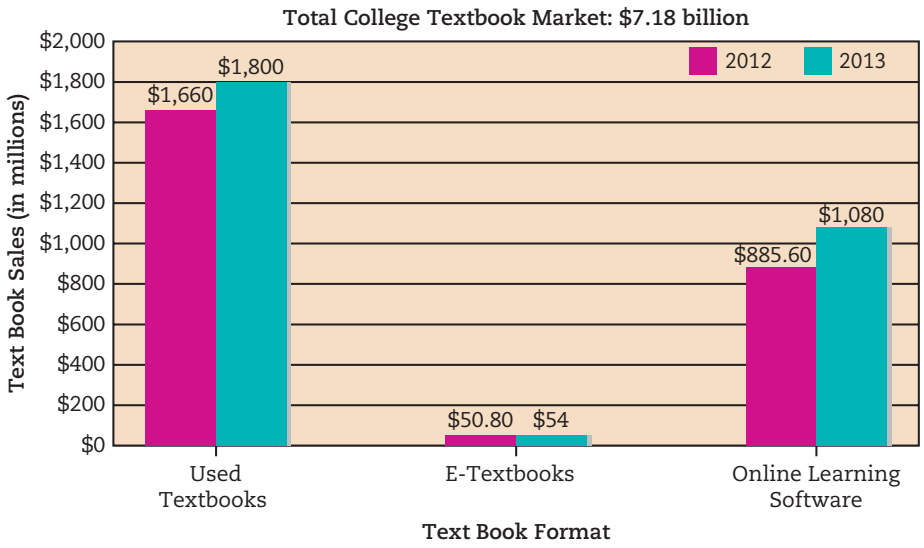

FIGURE 10.2

WHAT TEXTBOOK FORMATS STUDENTS ARE BUYING

While e-textbook sales are on the rise, online learning software is seeing the greatest growth in the textbook industry. E-textbook sales were up 6 percent between 2012 and 2013, used textbook sales were down 7 percent, but online learning platforms grew nearly 18 percent in the same period. While e-textbooks can have a similar look and feel to print textbooks, online learning platforms include the textbook content and can incorporate additional content from instructors and students. As a result, many publishers are shifting their focus from print textbooks and e-textbooks to software development to compete in this growing segment of the market.

Data from: Dian Schaffhauser, What's Next for E-Textbooks?, Campus Technology, December 3, 2014, http://publishers.org/sites/default/files/uploads/HigherEd/campustechnologyarticle12.2014.pdf.

local college bookstores (which in many cases face no on-campus competition) have caused disputes on most college campuses. A 2011–12 survey indicated that each college student spent an average of $420 annually on required course texts, including $296 on new textbooks and $124 on used ones.[10] (For more on textbook habits, see Figure 10.2.)

As an alternative, some enterprising students have developed Web sites to trade, resell, and rent textbooks. Other students have turned to online purchasing, either through e-commerce sites like Amazon, Barnes & Noble, and eBay or through college textbook sellers like eCampus.com and textbooks.com, or renting digital or physical books through companies like Chegg.

Mass Market Paperbacks

Unlike the larger-size trade paperbacks, which are sold mostly in bookstores, **mass market paperbacks** are sold on racks in drugstores, supermarkets, and airports as well as in bookstores. Contemporary mass market paperbacks are often the work of blockbuster authors such as Stephen King, Nora Roberts, Patricia Cornwell, and John Grisham and are typically released in the low-cost (under $10) format months after publication of the hardcover version. But mass market paperbacks have experienced declining sales in recent years and now account for less than 6 percent of the book market, as e-books have become the preferred format for low-cost, portable reading.

Paperbacks became popular in the 1870s, mostly with middle- and working-class readers. This phenomenon sparked fear and outrage among those in the professional and educated classes, many of whom thought that reading cheap westerns and crime novels might ruin civilization. Some of the earliest paperbacks ripped off foreign writers, who were unprotected by copyright law and did not receive royalties for the books they sold in the United States. This changed with the International Copyright Law of 1891, which mandated that any work by any author could not be reproduced without the author's permission.

The popularity of paperbacks hit a major peak in 1939 with the establishment of Pocket Books by Robert de Graff. Revolutionizing the paperback industry, Pocket Books lowered the standard book price of fifty or seventy-five cents to twenty-five cents. To accomplish this, de Graff cut bookstore discounts from 30 to 20 percent, the book distributor's share fell from 46 to 36 percent of the cover price, and author royalty rates went from 10 to 4 percent. In its first three weeks, Pocket Books sold 100,000 books in New York City alone. Among its first titles was *Wake Up and Live* by Dorothea Brande, a 1936 best-seller on self-improvement that ignited an early wave of self-help books. Pocket Books also published *The Murder of Roger Ackroyd* by Agatha Christie; *Enough Rope*, a collection of poems by Dorothy Parker; and *Five Great*

CASE STUDY

Comic Books: Alternative Themes, but Superheroes Prevail

by Mark C. Rogers

At the precarious edge of the book industry are comic books, which are sometimes called *graphic novels* or simply *comix*. Comics have long integrated print and visual culture, and they are perhaps the medium most open to independent producers—anyone with a pencil and access to a photocopier can produce mini-comics. Nevertheless, two companies—Marvel and DC—have dominated the commercial industry for more than thirty years, publishing the routine superhero stories that have been so marketable.

Comics are relatively young, first appearing in their present format in the 1920s in Japan and in the 1930s in the United States. They began as simple reprints of newspaper comic strips, but by the mid-1930s, most comic books featured original material. Comics have always been published in a variety of genres, but their signature contribution to American culture has been the superhero. In 1938, Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster created Superman for DC comics. Bob Kane's Batman character arrived the following year. In 1941, Marvel Comics introduced Captain America to fight Nazis, and except for a brief period in the 1950s, the superhero genre has dominated the history of comics.

After World War II, comic books moved away from superheroes and began experimenting with other genres, most notably crime and horror (e.g., *Tales from the Crypt*). With the end of the war, the reading public was ready for more moral ambiguity than was possible in the simple good-versus-evil world of the superhero. Comics became increasingly graphic and lurid as they tried to compete with other mass media, especially television and mass market paperbacks.

In the early 1950s, the popularity of crime and horror comics led to a moral panic about their effects on society. Fredric Wertham, a prominent psychiatrist, campaigned against them, claiming they led to juvenile delinquency. Wertham was joined by many religious and parent groups, and Senate hearings were held on the issue. In October 1954, the Comics Magazine Association of America adopted a code of acceptable conduct for publishers of comic books. One of the most restrictive examples of industry self-censorship in mass media history, the code kept the government from legislating its own code or restricting the sale of comic books to minors.

The code had both immediate and long-term effects on comics. In the short run, the number of comics sold in the United States declined sharply. Comic books lost many of their adult readers because the code confined comics' topics to those suitable for children. Consequently, comics have rarely been

Photo illustration by Mario Tama/Getty Images

taken seriously as a mass medium or as an art form; they remain stigmatized as the lowest of low culture—a sort of literature for the subliterate.

In the 1960s, Marvel and DC led the way as superhero comics regained their dominance. This period also gave rise to underground comics, which featured more explicit sexual, violent, and drug themes—for example, R. Crumb's *Mr. Natural* and Bill Griffith's *Zippy the Pinhead*. These alternative comics, like underground newspapers, originated in the 1960s counterculture and challenged the major institutions of the time. Instead of relying on newsstand sales, underground comics were sold through record stores, at alternative bookstores, and in a growing number of comic-book specialty shops.

In the 1970s, responding in part to the challenge of the underground form, "legitimate" comics began to increase the political content and relevance of their story lines. In 1974, a new method of distributing comics—direct sales—developed, catering to the increasing number of comic-book stores. This direct-sales method involved selling comics on a nonreturnable basis but with a higher discount than was available to newsstand distributors, who bought comics only on the condition that they could return unsold copies. The percentage of comics sold through specialty shops increased gradually, and by the early 1990s, more than 80 percent of all comics were sold through direct sales.

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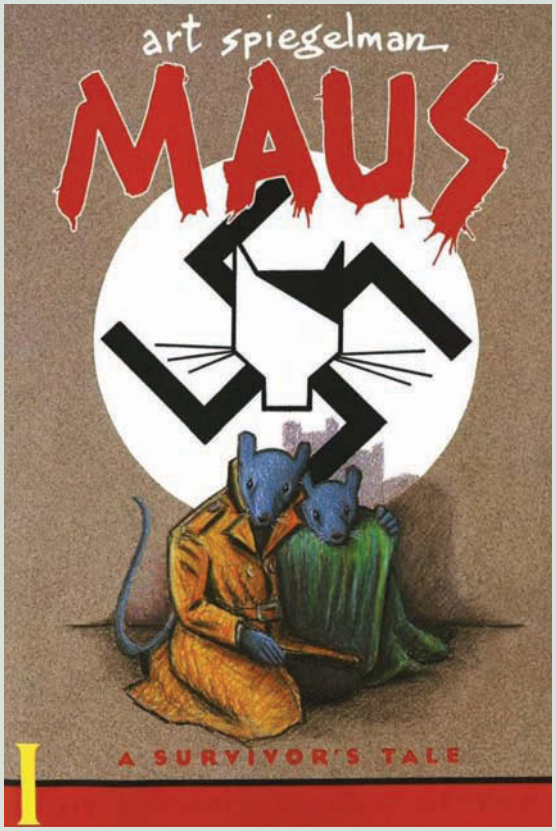
The shift from newsstand to direct sales enabled comics to once again approach adult themes and also created an explosion in the number of comics available and in the number of companies publishing comics. Comic books peaked in 1993, generating more than $850 million in sales. That year, the industry sold about 45 million comic books per month, but it then began a steady decline that led Marvel to declare bankruptcy in the late 1990s. After comic-book sales fell to $250 million in 2000 and Marvel reorganized, the industry rebounded. Today, the industry releases 70 to 80 million comics a year. Marvel and DC control more than 70 percent of comic-book sales, but challengers like Image, Dark Horse, and IDW plus another 150 small firms keep the industry vital by providing innovation and identifying new talent.



Book Cover, Copyright © 1986 by Art Spiegelman from MAUS I: A Survivor's Tale/My Father Bleeds History by Art Spiegelman. Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

Meanwhile, the two largest firms focus on the commercial synergies of particular characters or superheroes. DC, for example, is owned by Time Warner, which has used the DC characters, especially Superman and Batman, to build successful film and television properties through its Warner Brothers division. Marvel, which was bought by Disney in 2009, also got into the act with film versions of *The Avengers* made by their in-house studios and series like *X-Men* licensed to outside studios.

Comics, however, are again about more than just superheroes. In 1992, comics' flexibility was demonstrated in *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* by Art Spiegelman, cofounder and editor of *Raw* (an alternative magazine for comics and graphic art). The first comic-style book to win a Pulitzer Prize, Spiegelman's two-book fable merged print and visual styles to recount his complex relationship with his father, a Holocaust survivor.

Today, there are few divisions among traditional books and graphic novels. In 2012–13, Seven Stories Press released a three-volume book, *The Graphic Canon: The World's Great Literature as Comics and Visuals*. The acclaimed collection uses 130 illustrators to reinterpret nearly 190 classic texts, from the ancient *Epic of Gilgamesh*, to Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, to twentieth-century works like *Wild at Heart* by Barry Gifford.

As other writers and artists continue to adapt the form to both fictional and nonfictional stories, comics endure as part of popular and alternative culture.

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Tragedies by Shakespeare. Pocket Books' success spawned a series of imitators, including Dell, Fawcett, and Bantam Books.[11]

A major innovation of mass market paperback publishers was the **instant book**, a marketing strategy that involved publishing a topical book quickly after a major event occurred. Pocket Books produced the first instant book, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: A Memorial*, six days after FDR's death in 1945. Similar to made-for-TV movies and television programs that capitalize on contemporary events, instant books enabled the industry to better compete with newspapers and magazines. Such books, however, like their TV counterparts, have been accused of circulating shoddy writing, exploiting tragedies, and avoiding in-depth analysis and historical perspective. Instant books have also made government reports into best-sellers. In 1964, Bantam published *The Report of the Warren Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy*. After receiving the 385,000-word report on a Friday afternoon, Bantam staffers immediately began editing the Warren Report, and the book was produced within a week, ultimately selling over 1.6 million copies. Today, instant books continue to capitalize on contemporary events, including the inauguration of Barack Obama in 2009, the wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton in 2011, and Superstorm Sandy in 2012.

Religious Books

The best-selling book of all time is the Bible, in all its diverse versions. Over the years, the success of Bible sales has created a large industry for religious books. After World War II, sales of religious books soared. Historians attribute the sales boom to economic growth and a nation seeking peace and security while facing the threat of "godless communism" and the Soviet Union.[12] By the 1960s, though, the scene had changed dramatically. The impact of the Civil Rights struggle, the Vietnam War, the sexual revolution, and the youth rebellion against authority led to declines in formal church membership. Not surprisingly, sales of some types of religious books dropped as well. To compete, many religious-book publishers extended their offerings to include serious secular titles on such topics as war and peace, race, poverty, gender, and civic responsibility.

Throughout this period of change, the publication of fundamentalist and evangelical literature remained steady. It then expanded rapidly during the 1980s, when the Republican Party began making political overtures to conservative groups and prominent TV evangelists. After a record year in 2004 (twenty-one thousand new titles), there has been a slight decline in the religious-book category. However, it continues to be an important part of the book industry, especially during turbulent social times.

Reference Books

Another major division of the book industry—**reference books**—includes dictionaries, encyclopedias, atlases, almanacs, and a number of substantial volumes directly related to particular professions or trades, such as legal casebooks and medical manuals.

The two most common reference books are encyclopedias and dictionaries. The idea of developing encyclopedic writings to document the extent of human knowledge is attributed to the Greek philosopher Aristotle. The Roman citizen Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) wrote the oldest reference work still in existence, *Historia Naturalis*, detailing thousands of facts about animals, minerals, and plants. But it wasn't until the early eighteenth century that the compilers of encyclopedias began organizing articles in alphabetical order and relying on specialists to contribute essays in their areas of interest. Between 1751 and 1771, a group of French scholars produced the first multiple-volume set of encyclopedias.

The oldest English-language encyclopedia still in operation, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, was first published in Scotland in 1768. U.S. encyclopedias followed, including *Encyclopedia Americana* (1829), *The World Book Encyclopedia* (1917), and *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia* (1922). *Encyclopaedia*

Britannica produced its first U.S. edition in 1908. This best-selling encyclopedia's sales dwindled in the 1990s due to competition from electronic encyclopedias (like Microsoft's *Encarta*), and it went digital, too. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *The World Book Encyclopedia* (which still produces a printed set) are now the leading digital encyclopedias, although even they struggle today as young researchers increasingly rely on search engines such as Google or online resources like Wikipedia to find information (though many critics consider these sources inferior in quality).

Dictionaries have also accounted for a large portion of reference sales. The earliest dictionaries were produced by ancient scholars attempting to document specialized and rare words. During the manuscript period in the Middle Ages, however, European scribes and monks began creating glossaries and dictionaries to help people understand Latin. In 1604, a British schoolmaster prepared the first English dictionary. In 1755, Samuel Johnson produced the *Dictionary of the English Language*. Describing rather than prescribing word usage, Johnson was among the first to understand that language changes—that words and usage cannot be fixed for all time. In the United States in 1828, Noah Webster, using Johnson's work as a model, published the *American Dictionary of the English Language*, differentiating between British and American usages and simplifying spelling (for example, *colour* became *color* and *musick* became *music*). As with encyclopedias, dictionaries have moved mostly to online formats since the 1990s, and they struggle to compete with free online or built-in word-processing software dictionaries.

University Press Books

The smallest division in the book industry is the nonprofit **university press**, which publishes scholarly works for small groups of readers interested in intellectually specialized areas, such as literary theory and criticism, history of art movements, and contemporary philosophy. Professors often try to secure book contracts from reputable university presses to increase their chances for *tenure*, a lifetime teaching contract. Some university presses are very small, producing as few as ten titles a year. The largest—Oxford University Press—publishes more than six thousand titles a year and has offices in fifty countries. One of the oldest and most prestigious presses in the United States is Harvard University Press, formally founded in 1913 but claiming roots that go back to 1640, when Stephen Daye published the first colonial book in a small shop located behind the house of Harvard's president.

University presses have not traditionally faced pressure to produce commercially viable books, preferring to encourage books about highly specialized topics by innovative thinkers. In fact, most university presses routinely lose money and are subsidized by their university. Even when they publish more commercially accessible titles, the lack of large marketing budgets prevents such books from reaching mass audiences. While large commercial trade houses are often criticized for publishing only blockbuster books, university presses often suffer the opposite criticism—that they produce mostly obscure books that only a handful of scholars read. To offset costs and increase revenue, some presses are trying to form alliances with commercial houses to help promote and produce academic books that have wider appeal.

Trends and Issues in Book Publishing

Ever since Harriet Beecher Stowe's abolitionist novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* sold fifteen thousand copies in fifteen days back in 1852 (and three million total copies prior to the Civil War), many American publishers have stalked the *best-seller*, or blockbuster (just like in the movie business).

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Based On: Making Books into Movies
Writers and producers discuss the process that brings a book to the big screen.
Discussion: How is the creative process of writing a novel different from making a movie? Which would you rather do, and why?

While most authors are professional writers, the book industry also reaches out to famous media figures, who may pen a best-selling book (Tina Fey, Jerry Seinfeld, Bill Clinton) or a commercial failure (Whoopi Goldberg, Jay Leno). Other ways publishers attempt to ensure popular success include acquiring the rights to license popular film and television programs or experimenting with formats like audio books and e-books. In addition to selling new books, other industry issues include the preservation of older books and the history of banned books and censorship.

Influences of Television and Film

There are two major facets in the relationship among books, television, and film: how TV can help sell books and how books serve as ideas for TV shows and movies. Through TV exposure, books by or about talk-show hosts, actors, and politicians such as Stephen Colbert, Julie Andrews, Barack Obama, and Hillary Clinton sell millions of copies—enormous sales in a business in which 100,000 in sales constitutes remarkable success. In national polls conducted from the 1980s through today, nearly 30 percent of respondents said they had read a book after seeing the story or a promotion on television.

One of the most influential forces in promoting books on TV was Oprah Winfrey. Even before the development of Oprah's Book Club in 1996, Oprah's afternoon talk show had become a major power broker in selling books. In 1993, for example, Holocaust survivor and Nobel Prize recipient Elie Wiesel appeared on *Oprah*. Afterward, his 1960 memoir, *Night*, which had been issued as a Bantam paperback in 1982, returned to the best-seller lists. In 1996, novelist Toni Morrison's nineteen-year-old book *Song of Solomon* became a paperback best-seller after Morrison appeared on *Oprah*. In 1998, after Winfrey brought Morrison's *Beloved* to movie screens, the book version was back on the best-seller lists. Each Oprah's Book Club selection became an immediate best-seller, generating tremendous excitement within the book industry. *The Oprah Winfrey Show* ended in 2011, but the book club was revived online in 2012.

The film industry gets many of its story ideas from books (more than 1,450 feature-length movie adaptations in the United States since 1980), which results in enormous movie-rights revenues for the book industry and its authors.[13] Robert M. Edsel's *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves, and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* (2009), Veronica Roth's *Divergent* (2011), and John Green's *The Fault in Our Stars* (2012), for instance, became Hollywood motion pictures in 2014. The most profitable movie successes for the book industry in recent years emerged from fantasy works. J. K. Rowling's best-selling Harry Potter books have become hugely popular movies, as has Peter Jackson's film trilogy of J. R. R. Tolkien's enduringly popular *The Lord of the Rings* (first published in the 1950s). The Twilight movie series has created a huge surge in sales of Stephenie Meyer's four-book saga, a success repeated by Suzanne Collins's Hunger Games trilogy. Books have also inspired popular television programs, including *Game of Thrones* and *Boardwalk Empire* on HBO, *Dexter* on Showtime, and *Pretty Little Liars* on ABC Family. In each case, the television shows boosted the sales of the original books, too. Journalist H. G. Bissinger's *Friday Night Lights: A Town, a Team, and a Dream*

THE FAULT IN OUR STARS, a popular young adult–targeted novel that crossed over to a wider audience, became a hit film in the summer of 2014. The film's star, Shailene Woodley, has made her career on book-to-film adaptations: her starring roles in *Fault*, *The Spectacular Now*, and the Divergent series all originated in books.

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(1990), chronicling the story of a West Texas high school football team, inspired a 2004 film and then a 2006–2011 television series. The movie and television versions then spawned special editions of the book and frequent reprintings as the book became a classic sports account.

Audio Books

Another major development in publishing has been the merger of sound recording with publishing. *Audio books* generally feature actors or authors reading entire works or abridged versions of popular fiction and nonfiction trade books. Indispensable to many sightless readers and older readers whose vision is diminished, audio books are also popular among readers who do a lot of commuter driving or who want to listen to a book at home while doing something else—like exercising. The number of audio books borrowed from libraries soared in the 1990s and early 2000s, and small bookstore chains developed to cater to the audio book niche. Audio books are now readily available on the Internet for downloading to iPods and other portable devices. Amazon owns Audible, the largest provider of audio books.

Convergence: Books in the Digital Age

In 1971, Michael Hart, a student computer operator at the University of Illinois, typed up the text of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, and thus the idea of the **e-book**—a digital book read on a computer or a digital reading device—was born. Hart soon founded Project Gutenberg, which now offers more than forty thousand public domain books (older texts with expired copyrights) for free at www.gutenberg.org. Yet the idea of *commercial e-books*—putting copyrighted books like current best-sellers in digital form—took a lot longer to gain traction.

Print Books Move Online

Early portable reading devices from RCA and Sony in the 1990s were criticized for being too heavy, too expensive, or too difficult to read, while their e-book titles were scarce and had little cost advantage over full-price hardcover books. It is no surprise that these e-readers and e-books didn't catch on. Then, in 2007, Amazon, the largest online bookseller, developed an e-reader (the Kindle) and an e-book store that seemed inspired by Apple's music industry–changing iPod and iTunes. The first Kindle had an easy-on-the-eyes electronic paper display, held more than two hundred books, and did something no other device could do before: wirelessly download e-books from Amazon's online bookstore. Moreover, most Kindle e-books sold for $9.99, less than half the price of most new hardcovers. This time, e-books caught on quickly, and Amazon couldn't make Kindles fast enough to keep up with demand.

Amazon has continued to refine its e-reader, and in 2011 it introduced the Kindle Fire, a color touchscreen tablet with Web browsing, access to all the media on Amazon, and the Amazon Appstore. The Kindle devices are the best-selling products ever on Amazon. Of course, the Kindle is no longer the only portable reading device on the market. Apps have transformed the iPod Touch, the iPhone, and other smartphones into e-readers. In 2010, Apple introduced the iPad, a color touchscreen tablet that quickly outsold the Kindle. The immediate initial success of the iPad (introduced at a starting price of $499 and up), which sold three million units in less than three months, spurred other e-readers to drop their prices below $200. Like Amazon's Kindle Fire, other devices have mimicked the iPad by adding color, e-mail, and an app store.

By 2013, e-books accounted for 38 percent of adult fiction sales in the United States (in terms of revenue). Projections indicate that e-books will surpass the print book market by 2017.[14] As the market grows rapidly, several companies are vying to be the biggest seller of e-books. Apple's iBook Store serves the iPad, iPod, and iPhone exclusively. Amazon and Barnes & Noble sell e-books for their readers but also have apps for other devices so that, for example, an iPad user could buy e-books from their stores. Google started an e-book store

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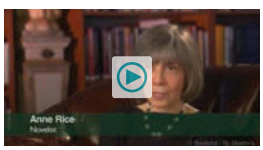


Books in the New Millennium
Authors, editors, and bookstore owners discuss the future of book publishing.
Discussion: Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future of books in an age of computers and e-readers?

(now Google Play) that enables customers to access its cloud-based e-books anywhere via any device, a feature added by Amazon and Apple.

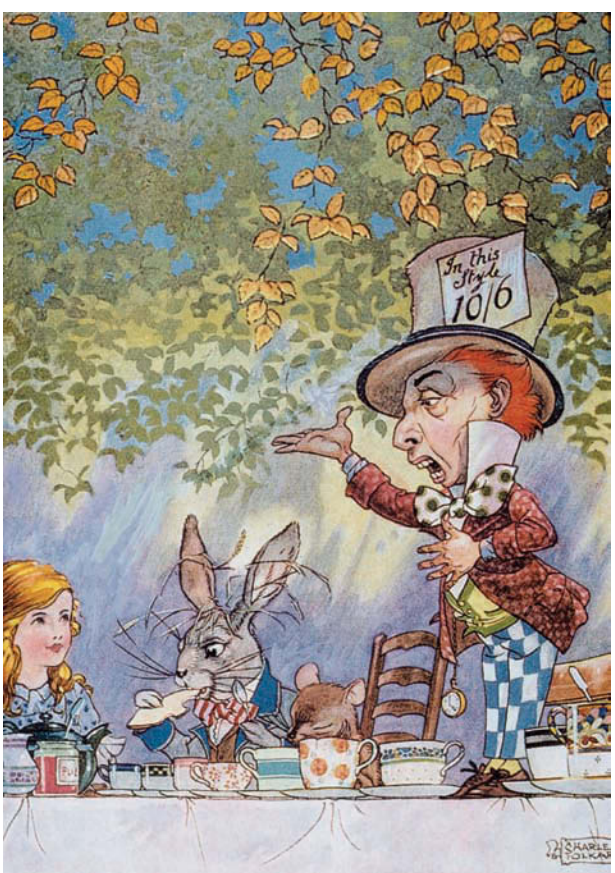
The Future of E-Books

E-books are demonstrating how digital technology can help the oldest mass medium adapt and survive. Distributors, publishers, and bookstores also use digital technology to print books on demand, reviving books that would otherwise go out of print and avoiding the inconveniences of carrying unsold books. But perhaps the most exciting part of e-books is their potential for reimagining what a book can be. Computers or tablet touchscreens such as an iPad can host e-books with embedded video, hyperlinks, and dynamic content, enabling, for example, a professor to reorganize, add, or delete content of an e-textbook to tailor it to the needs of a specific class. Children's books may also never be the same. An *Alice in Wonderland* e-book developed for the iPad uses the device's motion and touchscreen technologies to make "the pop-up book of the 21st-century." Such developments are changing the reading experience: "Users don't just flip the 'pages' of the e-book—they're meant to shake it, turn it, twist it, jiggle it, and watch the characters and settings in the book react."[15] E-books have also made the distribution of long-form journalism and novellas easier with products like the inexpensive Kindle Singles.

E-BOOKS have opened up many new possibilities for children's books and are even going so far as to redefine how a book looks and acts. The classic *Alice in Wonderland* has been reimagined into a fully interactive experience. You can tilt your iPad to make Alice grow bigger or smaller, and shake your iPad to make the Mad Hatter even madder.

Preserving and Digitizing Books

Another recent trend in the book industry involves the preservation of older books, especially those from the nineteenth century printed on acid-based paper, which gradually deteriorates. At the turn of the twentieth century, research initiated by libraries concerned with losing valuable older collections provided evidence that acid-based paper would eventually turn brittle and self-destruct. The paper industry, however, did not respond, so in the 1970s, leading libraries began developing techniques to halt any further deterioration (although this process could not restore books to their original state). Finally, by the early 1990s, motivated almost entirely by economics rather than by the cultural value of books, the paper industry began producing acid-free paper. Libraries and book conservationists, however, still focused attention on older, at-risk books. Some institutions began photocopying original books onto acid-free paper and made the copies available to the public. Libraries then stored the originals, which were treated to halt further wear.



Sam Abell/National Geographic/Getty Images

Another way to preserve books is through digital imaging. The most extensive digitization project, Google Books, which began in 2004, features partnerships with the New York Public Library and about twenty major university research libraries—including Harvard, Michigan, Oxford, and Stanford—to scan millions of books and make them available online. The Authors Guild and the Association of American Publishers initially sued Google for digitizing copyrighted books without permission. Google argued that displaying only a limited portion of the books was legal under fair-use rules. After years of legal battles, a U.S. Court of Appeals sided with Google's fair-use arguments in 2013 and dismissed the lawsuit. The Authors Guild vowed to appeal the decision. An alternative group, dissatisfied by Google Books' restriction of its scanned book content from use by other commercial search services, started a nonprofit service in 2007.

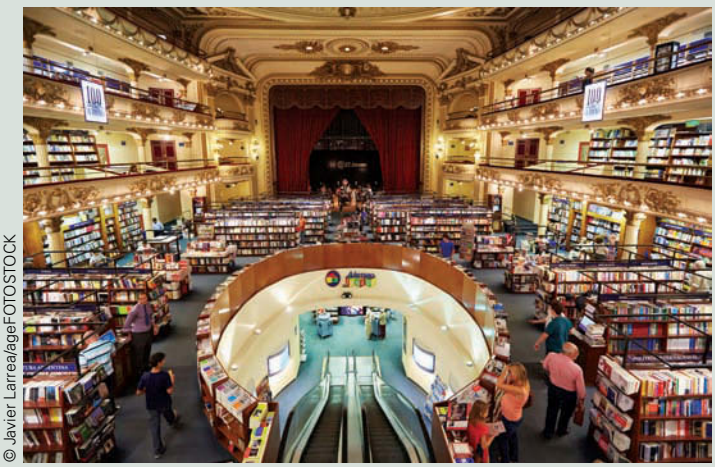
GLOBAL VILLAGE

Buenos Aires, the World's Bookstore Capital

Buenos Aires, Argentina, has more bookstores per capita than any other city in the world. According to a 2015 study by the World Cities Cultural Forum, Buenos Aires has 734 bookstores, or about 25 per 100,000 people.[1] By comparison, Madrid has 16 bookstores per 100,000 people, Tokyo has 13, London has 10, Paris and New York each have 9, Amsterdam and Berlin each have 7, Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro each have 5, Mumbai has 4, and Singapore has 3.

Buenos Aires also has some of the best bookstores in the world, including El Ateneo Grand Splendid. A former theater palace built in 1919, the ornate building was repurposed as a bookstore in 2007. The main floor and balconies are filled with bookshelves, the former theater boxes are now reading nooks, and the stage, framed by a crimson curtain, is a café. The grand space is regularly cited as one of the most beautiful and most interesting bookstores in the world. Juan Pablo Marciani, manager of El Ateneo, says books are a significant part of Argentinian culture: "Books represent us like the tango. We have a culture very rooted in print."[2] So how did Buenos Aires come to have such a bookish culture?

Partly it's due to chance; the country's literary community grew and flourished with the influx of Spanish writers and publishers who fled to Argentina during the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s. It is also because of choice: Argentina doesn't charge sales tax on books. Heavy taxes on e-readers and tablets have kept e-book use low, too.[3] The local bookstore industry is also helped by the fact that Amazon.com doesn't have a retail Web site in Argentina. Even if Argentina did have Amazon, it's likely that the company wouldn't gain the dominant foothold it now has in the United States and the United Kingdom in digital and print book sales.



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The main reason behind the country's thriving bookstore culture, though, is that Argentina has fixed book pricing (FBP). Thirteen other countries have FBP as well: Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, South Korea, and Spain. FBP rules among countries vary, but generally they require bookstores to limit price discounts during the first six months to two years following the release of a book. The rules usually apply to digital books as well. The effect is that all bookstores in a country sell the latest titles for roughly the same price, even digital books. Countries without FBP tend to have large book chains and Internet retailers, which can offer deep discounts on new releases and easily dominate the market.[4] In the United States, Amazon used the Internet to change the distribution rules and undercut the brick-and-mortar bookstores. Advocates of free-market conditions would argue that Amazon had the best business plan and "won" its market share (although it is worth noting that Amazon was not required to collect sales tax from its customers for years, and even now collects tax in only about half of the states).

The effect of FBP can be seen when comparing the number of independent bookstores in various countries. Since 1991, the United States has lost more than half of its independent bookstores, which represent less than 4 percent of the market. The United Kingdom, which gave up FBP in the late 1990s, has lost one-third of its bookstores since 2005, and independents represent only about 4 percent of the bookseller market. In France, however (which has FBP), independent booksellers represent 22 percent of the market. France has about twenty-five hundred booksellers, more than the nineteen hundred booksellers in the United States, even though France is five times smaller in population[5].

Catherine Blache of the French Publishers Association explains that in France, "booksellers compete not on price, therefore, but in terms of the variety of books they offer, their location and the quality of their customer service."[6] This is what the Buenos Aires bookselling market looks like, too. *Travel + Leisure* magazine recommends this special feature of life in Argentina's capital. "Buenos Aires is bursting with bookstores. . . . Enjoy the land that Amazon forgot."[7]

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Identify two contemporary books that have been challenged or banned in two separate communities. (Check the American Library Association Web site [www.ala.org/advocacy/banned] for information on the most frequently challenged and banned books, or use the LexisNexis database.) Describe the communities involved and what sparked the challenges or bans. Describe the issues at stake and the positions students, teachers, parents, administrators, citizens, religious leaders, and politicians took with regard to the books. Discuss what happened and the final outcomes.

2 ANALYSIS. What patterns emerge? What are the main arguments given for censoring the books? What are the main arguments of those defending these particular books? Are there any middle-ground positions or unusual viewpoints raised in your book controversies? Did these communities take similar or different approaches when dealing with these books?

3 INTERPRETATION. Why did these issues arise? What do you think are the actual reasons why people would challenge or ban a book? (For example, can you tell if people seem genuinely concerned about protecting young readers or are just personally offended by particular books?) How do people handle book banning and issues raised by First Amendment protections of printed materials?

4 EVALUATION. Who do you think is right and wrong in these controversies? Why?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Read the two banned books. Then write a book review and publish it in a student or local paper, on a blog, or on Facebook. Through social media, link to the ALA's list of banned books and challenge other people to read and review them.

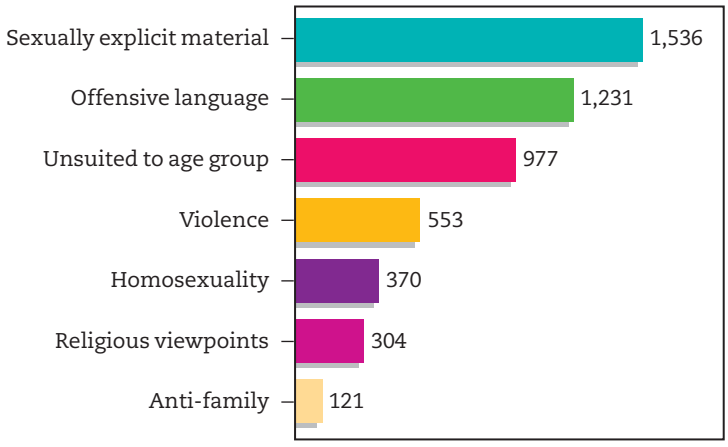
Banned Books and "Family Values"

In *Free Speech for Me—but Not for Thee: How the American Left and Right Relentlessly Censor Each Other*, Nat Hentoff writes that "the lust to suppress can come from any direction." Indeed, *Ulysses* by James Joyce, *The Scarlet Letter* by Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Leaves of Grass* by Walt Whitman, *The Diary of a Young Girl* by Anne Frank, *Lolita* by Vladimir Nabokov, and *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee have all been banned by some U.S. community, school, or library at one time or another. In fact, the most censored book in U.S. history is Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the 1884 classic that still sells tens of thousands of copies each year. Often, the impulse behind calling for a book's banishment is to protect children in the name of a community's "family values."

The Internet Archive's Open Library works with the Boston Public Library, several university libraries, Amazon, Microsoft, and Yahoo! to digitize millions of books with expired copyrights and make them freely available at openlibrary.org. In 2008, another group of universities formed the HathiTrust Digital Library to further archive and share digital collections. In 2010, these nonprofit archives joined other libraries to create the Digital Public Library of America.

Censorship and Banned Books

Over time, the wide circulation of books gave many ordinary people the same opportunities to learn that were once available to only a privileged few. However, as societies discovered the power associated with knowledge and the printed word, books were subjected to a variety of censors. Imposed by various rulers and groups intent on maintaining their authority, the censorship of books often prevented people from learning about the rituals and moral standards of other cultures. Political censors sought to banish "dangerous" books that promoted radical ideas or challenged conventional authority. In various parts of the world, some versions of the Bible, Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (1867), *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), and Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1989) have all been banned at one time or another. In fact, one of



Top 20 Banned Classics

1. *The Great Gatsby* by F. Scott Fitzgerald
2. *The Catcher in the Rye* by J. D. Salinger
3. *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck
4. *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee
5. *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker
6. *Ulysses* by James Joyce
7. *Beloved* by Toni Morrison
8. *The Lord of the Flies* by William Golding
9. *1984* by George Orwell
10. *The Sound and the Fury* by William Faulkner
11. *Lolita* by Vladimir Nabokov
12. *Of Mice and Men* by John Steinbeck
13. *Charlotte's Web* by E. B. White
14. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by James Joyce
15. *Catch-22* by Joseph Heller
16. *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley
17. *Animal Farm* by George Orwell
18. *The Sun Also Rises* by Ernest Hemingway
19. *As I Lay Dying* by William Faulkner
20. *A Farewell to Arms* by Ernest Hemingway

FIGURE 10.3

BANNED AND CHALLENGED BOOKS

Data from: American Library Association, www.ala.org/ala/issuesadvocacy/banned/index.cfm.

the triumphs of the Internet is that it allows the digital passage of banned books into nations where printed versions have been outlawed. (For more on banned books, see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Banned Books and 'Family Values'" on page 360.)

Each year, the American Library Association (ALA) compiles a list of the most challenged books in the United States. Unlike an enforced ban, a **book challenge** is a formal request to have a book removed from a public or school library's collection. Common reasons for challenges include sexually explicit passages, offensive language, occult themes, violence, homosexual themes, promotion of a religious viewpoint, nudity, and racism. (The ALA defends the right of libraries to offer material with a wide range of views and does not support removing material on the basis of partisan or doctrinal disapproval.) Some of the most challenged books of the past decade include *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* by Maya Angelou, *Forever* by Judy Blume, the *Harry Potter* series by J. K. Rowling, and the *Captain Underpants* series by Dav Pilkey (see Figure 10.3).

The Organization and Ownership of the Book Industry

Compared with the revenues earned by other mass media industries, the steady growth of book publishing has been relatively modest. From the mid-1980s to 2013, total revenues went from $9 billion to about $27.01 billion. Within the industry, the concept of who or what constitutes a publisher varies widely. A publisher may be a large company that is a subsidiary of a global media conglomerate and occupies an entire office building, or a one-person home office operation using a laptop computer.

Ownership Patterns

Like most mass media, commercial publishing is dominated by a handful of major corporations with ties to international media conglomerates. Mergers and consolidations have driven the book industry. For example, one of the largest publishing conglomerates is Germany's Bertelsmann. Beginning in the late 1970s with its purchase of Dell for $35 million and its 1980s purchase of

TABLE 10.2

WORLD'S TEN LARGEST BOOK PUBLISHERS (REVENUE IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS), 2014

Data from: "The World's 56 Largest Book Publishers, 2014," Publishers Weekly, *June 27, 2014, www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/industry-news/financial-reporting/article/63004-the-world-s-56-largest-book-publishers-2014.html.*

Note: Cengage emerged from bankruptcy in 2014. Its ranking is based on 2012 revenue.

Rank/Publishing Company (Group or Division)	Home Country	Revenue in $ Millions
1 Pearson	U.K.	$9,330
2 Reed Elsevier	U.K./NL/U.S.	$7,288
3 Thomson Reuters	U.S.	$5,576
4 Wolters Kluwer	NL	$4,920
5 Penguin Random House (Bertelsmann & Pearson)	Germany/U.K.	$3,664
6 Hachette Livre (Lagardère)	France	$2,851
7 Holtzbrinck	Germany	$2,222
8 Grupo Planeta	Spain	$2,161
9 Cengage (Apax Partners)	U.S./Canada	$1,993
10 McGraw-Hill Education	U.S.	$1,992

Doubleday for $475 million, Bertelsmann has been building a publishing dynasty. In 1998, Bertelsmann shook up the book industry by adding Random House, the largest U.S. book publisher, to its fold for $1.4 billion. Bertelsmann's book company subsidiaries include Ballantine Bantam Dell, Doubleday Broadway, Alfred A. Knopf, and the Random House Publishing Group. In 2013, Random House merged with Penguin Books (owned by Pearson PLC, a British corporation), creating Penguin Random House and gaining control of about one-quarter of the book industry (see Table 10.2).

Penguin Random House, Simon & Schuster (owned by CBS), Hachette (owned by French-based Lagardère), HarperCollins (owned by News Corp.), and Macmillan (owned by German-based Holtzbrinck) are the five largest trade book publishers in the United States. From a corporate viewpoint, executives have argued that large companies can financially support a number of smaller firms or imprints while allowing their editorial ideas to remain independent from the parent corporation. With thousands of independent presses competing with bigger corporations, book publishing continues to produce volumes on an enormous range of topics. Still, the largest trade book publishers and independents alike find themselves struggling in the face of the industry's digital upheaval and the dominance of Amazon in the distribution of e-books.

BOOK MARKETING
In addition to traditional advertising and in-store placements, publishers take part in the annual BookExpo America (BEA) convention to show off their books to buyers who decide what titles bookstores will purchase and sell. BookCon, a popular offshoot of BEA, brings book fans to the convention to meet their favorite authors.

Brent N. Clarke/FilmMagic/Getty Images

The Structure of Book Publishing

A small publishing house may have a staff of a few to twenty people. Medium-size and large publishing houses employ hundreds of people. In the larger houses, divisions usually include acquisitions and development; copyediting, design, and production; marketing and sales; and administration and business. Unlike daily newspapers but similar to magazines, most publishing houses contract independent printers to produce their books.

Most publishers employ **acquisitions editors** to seek out and sign authors to contracts. For fiction, this might mean discovering talented writers through book agents or reading unsolicited manuscripts. For nonfiction, editors might examine manuscripts and letters of inquiry or match a known writer to a project (such as a celebrity

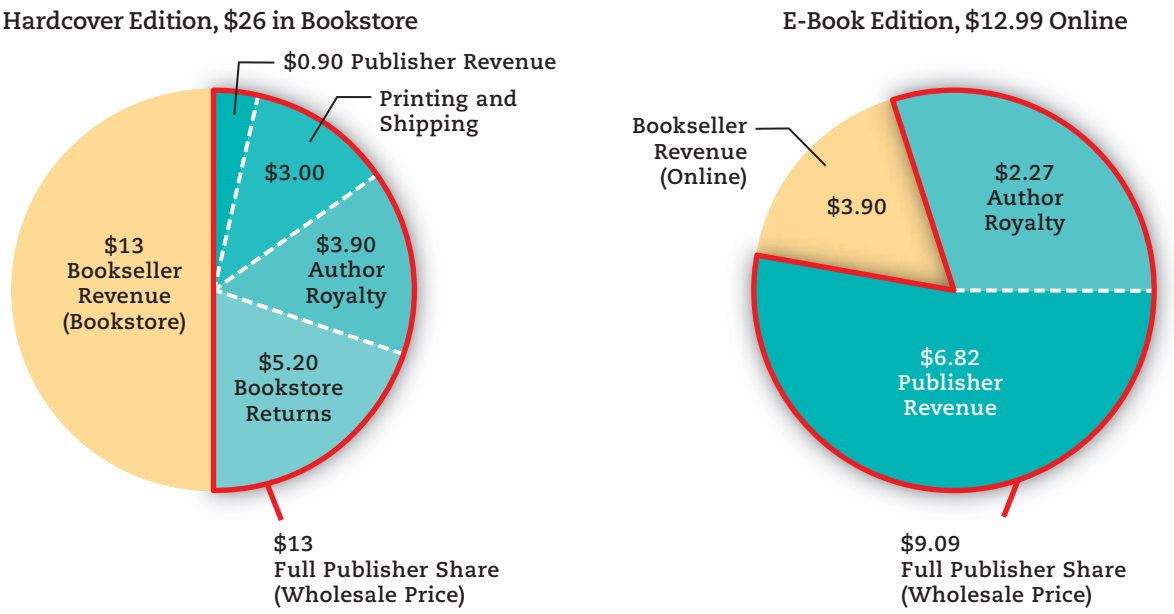


FIGURE 10.4

HOW A BOOK'S REVENUE IS DIVIDED

Booksellers are still dependent on printed books, but e-books are changing the nature of business expenses, profits, and costs to consumers. Here's where the money goes on a $26 trade book and the same title sold as a $12.99 e-book.

Data from: Ken Auletta, "Publish or Perish: Can the iPad Topple the Kindle, and Save the Book Business?" New Yorker, *April 26, 2010, pp. 24–31.*

Note: Publishers and booksellers must pay other expenses, such as employees and office/retail space, from their revenue share.

biography). Acquisitions editors also handle **subsidiary rights** for an author—that is, selling the rights to a book for use in other media, such as a mass market paperback or as the basis for a screenplay.

As part of their contracts, writers sometimes receive *advance money*, an early payment that is subtracted from royalties earned from book sales (see Figure 10.4). Typically, an author's royalty is between 5 and 15 percent of the net price of the book. New authors may receive little or no advance from a publisher, but commercially successful authors can receive millions. For example, author J. K. Rowling hauled in an estimated $7 million advance from Little, Brown & Company/Hachette for *The Casual Vacancy* (2012), her first novel after the *Harry Potter* series. Nationally recognized authors, such as political leaders, sports figures, comedians, or movie stars, can also command large advances from publishers who are banking on the well-known person's commercial potential. For example, Sarah Palin received $1.25 million for her book *Going Rogue*, and George W. Bush got a $7 million advance for *Decision Points*, both released in 2010.

After a contract is signed, the acquisitions editor may turn the book over to a **developmental editor**, who provides the author with feedback, makes suggestions for improvements, and, in educational publishing, obtains advice from knowledgeable members of the academic community. If a book is illustrated, editors work with photo researchers to select photographs and pieces of art. Then the production staff enters the picture. While **copy editors** attend to specific problems in writing or length, production and **design managers** work on the look of the book, making decisions about type style, paper, cover design, and layout.

Simultaneously, plans are under way to market and sell the book. Decisions need to be made concerning the number of copies to print, ways to reach potential readers, and costs for promotion and advertising. For trade books and some scholarly books, publishing houses may send advance copies of a book to appropriate magazines and newspapers with the hope of receiving favorable reviews that can be used in promotional material. Prominent trade writers typically have book signings and travel the radio and TV talk-show circuit to promote their books. Unlike trade publishers, college textbook firms rarely sell directly to bookstores. Instead, they contact instructors through direct-mail brochures or sales representatives assigned to geographic regions.

To help create a best-seller, trade houses often distribute large illustrated cardboard bins, called *dumps*, to thousands of stores to display a book in bulk quantity. Like food merchants who

buy eye-level shelf placement for their products in supermarkets, large trade houses buy shelf space from major chains to ensure prominent locations in bookstores. Similarly, publishers are required to pay (co-op payments) for featured treatment on Amazon, as mentioned in the opening of this chapter. Publishers also buy ad space in newspapers and magazines and on buses, billboards, television, radio, and the Web—all in an effort to generate interest in a new book.

Selling Books: Brick-and-Mortar Stores, Clubs, and Mail Order

Traditionally, the final part of the publishing process involves the business and order fulfillment stages—shipping books to thousands of commercial outlets and college bookstores. Warehouse inventories are monitored to ensure that enough copies of a book will be available to meet demand. Anticipating such demand, though, is a tricky business. No publisher wants to be caught short if a book becomes more popular than originally predicted or get stuck with books it cannot sell, as publishers must absorb the cost of returned books. Independent bookstores, which tend to order more carefully, return about 20 percent of books ordered; in contrast, mass merchandisers such as Walmart, Sam's Club, Target, and Costco, which routinely overstock popular titles, often return up to 40 percent. Returns this high can have a serious impact on a publisher's bottom line. For years, publishers have talked about doing away with the practice of allowing bookstores to return unsold books to the publisher for credit.

Today, about 15,000 outlets sell books in the United States, including traditional bookstores, department stores, drugstores, used-book stores, and toy stores. Shopping-mall bookstores boosted book sales starting in the late 1960s. But it was the development of book superstores in the 1980s that really reinvigorated the business. Following the success of a single Borders store established in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1971, a number of book chains began developing book superstores that catered to suburban areas and to avid readers. A typical Barnes & Noble superstore stocks up to 200,000 titles. As superstores expanded, they began to sell music and coffee. Borders grew from 14 superstores in 1991 to more than 508 superstores and 173 Waldenbooks in 2010, but the company declared bankruptcy and closed its last brick-and-mortar store in 2011. Since the shuttering of Borders, Barnes & Noble is the last national bookstore retail chain in the United States, operating 647 superstores and 724 college bookstores, but closing its smaller B. Dalton mall bookstores in 2010.

INDEPENDENT BOOKSTORES City Lights Books in San Francisco is both an independent bookstore and an independent publisher, publishing nearly two hundred titles since launching in 1955, including poet Allen Ginsberg's revolutionary work *Howl*. Customers from around the world now come to browse through the landmark store's three floors and to see the place where beatniks like Ginsberg got their start.

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The rise of book superstores (and later, online bookstores) severely cut into independent bookstore business, which dropped from a 31 percent market share in 1991 to 4.3 percent by 2011.[16] The number of independent bookstores dropped from 5,100 in 1991 to about 2,100 today. Independent bookstores and superstore chains are being squeezed from multiple sides: online and e-book sales; discount retailers such as Walmart, Sam's Club, Target, and Costco; and specialty retailers like Anthropologie and Urban Outfitters that sell "lifestyle" books.[17] But many independent stores continue to thrive by offering stronger service and special events.

Book clubs and mail-order services are two other traditional methods of selling books. Originally, these two tactics helped the industry when local bookstores were rarer and the Internet did not yet exist.

The Book-of-the-Month Club and the Literary Guild both started in 1926. Using popular writers and literary experts to recommend new books, the clubs were immediately successful. Book clubs have long served as editors for their customers, screening thousands of

titles and recommending key books in particular genres. During the 1980s, book clubs began a long decline in sales. Today, twenty remaining book clubs—including the Book-of-the-Month Club, the Literary Guild, and Doubleday—are consolidated by a single company, Pride Tree Holdings, which also owns DVD and music clubs.

Mail-order bookselling was pioneered in the 1950s by magazine publishers. They created special sets of books, including Time-Life Books, focusing on such areas as science, nature, household maintenance, and cooking. These series usually offered one book at a time and sustained sales through direct-mail flyers and other advertising. Although such sets are more costly due to advertising and postal charges, mail-order books still appeal to customers who prefer mail to the hassle of shopping or to those who prefer the privacy of mail order (particularly if they are ordering sexually explicit books or magazines). Today, mail-order bookselling is used primarily by trade, professional, and university press publishers.

Selling Books Online

Since the late 1990s, online booksellers have created an entirely new book distribution system on the Internet. The strength of online sellers lies in their convenience and low prices, and especially their ability to offer backlist titles and the works of less famous authors that retail stores aren't able to carry on their shelves. Online customers are also drawn to the interactive nature of these sites, which allow readers to post their own book reviews, read those of fellow customers, and receive book recommendations based on book searches and past purchases.

The trailblazer is Amazon, established in 1995 by then thirty-year-old Jeff Bezos, who left Wall Street to start a Web-based business. Bezos realized books were an untapped and ideal market for the Internet, with more than three million publications in print and plenty of distributors to fulfill orders. He moved to Seattle and started Amazon, so named because search engines like Yahoo! listed categories in alphabetical order, putting Amazon near the top of the list. In 1997, Barnes & Noble, the leading retail store bookseller, launched its own online book site, BN.com. The site's success, however, remains dwarfed by Amazon. By 2014, Amazon controlled 41 percent of book sales (print and e-books combined).[18]

But Amazon's bigger objective for the book industry was to transform the entire industry itself, from one based on bound paper volumes to one based on digital files (see Figure 10.5). The introduction of the Kindle in 2007 made Amazon the fastest book delivery system in the world. Instead of going to a bookstore or ordering from Amazon and waiting for the book to be delivered in a box, one could buy a digital version in a few seconds from the Amazon store. Amazon quickly grew to control 90 percent of the e-book market, which it used as leverage to

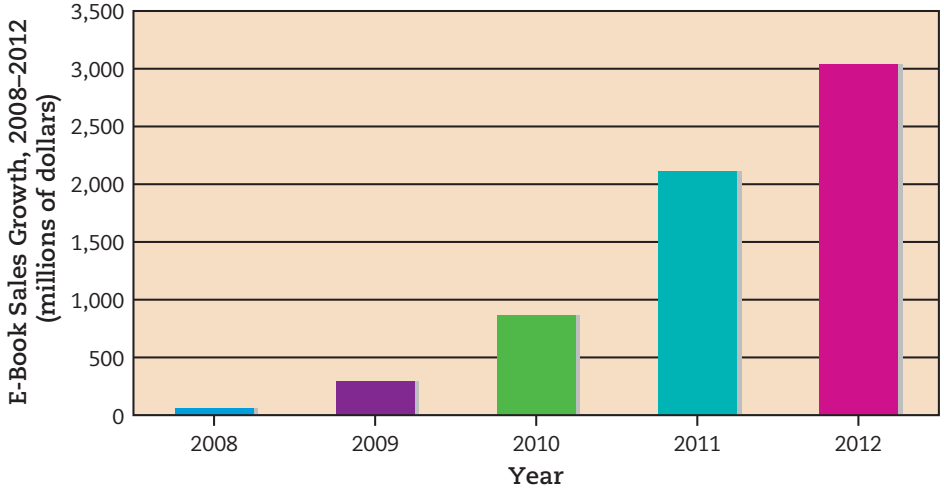

FIGURE 10.5

E-BOOK SALES GROWTH (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS), 2008–2012

Data from: Jim Miliot, "The E-Book Boom Years: The Format Moved from Sideline to Vital Category in Five Years," Book Expo America, 2013: The Digital Spotlight, Publishers Weekly, *May 2013, p. 1.*

force book publishers to comply with its low prices or risk getting dropped from Amazon's bookstore (something that has happened to several independent book publishers who complained).[19] Amazon has done the same in print book sales, where it is also a major player.

Amazon's price slashing caused most of the major trade book publishing corporations to endorse Apple's agency-model pricing, in which the publishers set the book prices and the digital bookseller gets a 30 percent commission. The new agency pricing system for e-books began in 2011; by 2013, Amazon's share of the e-book market had dropped from about 90 percent to about 60 percent, while Barnes & Noble and Apple each held about a 25 percent market share. When the U.S. Department of Justice ruled in 2013 that Apple and the major publishers had colluded to set book prices (thus denying consumers the lower prices that Amazon's deep discounts might offer), the booksellers responded that government investigators should be more concerned about Amazon, which has grown to be one of the most powerful players in the publishing industry. Of particular concern to publishers is that Amazon has been expanding into the field of traditional publishers with the establishment of Amazon Publishing, which has grown rapidly since 2009. With a publishing arm that can sign authors to book contracts, the Amazon store's distribution, and millions of Kindle devices in the hands of readers, Amazon is becoming a vertically integrated company and a too-powerful entity, traditional publishers fear.

Amazon's biggest rivals in the digital book business are those with their own tablet devices. Apple has its iBook Store, which is available for iPads and iPhones through an app in the iTunes store. Google Play, Google's digital media store, combines newly released and backlist books, along with the out-of-print titles that Google has been digitizing since 2004. Google also introduced its Nexus 7 tablet in 2012 to promote its store. Barnes & Noble has been less successful in shoring up its flagging brick-and-mortar bookstores with its Nook device and online store. (Barnes & Noble announced in 2014 that it would spin off its Nook Media division as a separate company.) The Kobo e-book device, introduced in 2010 by a Toronto-based company, has become the most popular e-book device in Canada and is making some inroads with independent booksellers in the United States.

Independent bookstores are an increasingly rare breed in the retail book industry. But to support independents, the American Booksellers Association created IndieCommerce, an e-commerce platform to give independent bookstores the ability to offer online service similar to Amazon's.

FIFTY SHADES OF GREY began its unlikely success story as *Twilight* fan fiction—an online phenomenon where fans of preexisting books, movies, or TV shows pen original stories about the characters from those works. These new stories can't be sold because they use copyrighted characters, but they're often shared for free online. Eventually, author E. L. James rewrote her fan fiction and self-published it as *Fifty Shades of Grey*; it was then picked up by a traditional publisher and became an even bigger hit, doubtless inspiring fan fiction of its own, as well as a hit film series.

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Alternative Voices

Even though the book industry is dominated by large book publishers and one big online retailer (Amazon), there are still alternatives for both publishing and selling books. One idea is to make books freely available to everyone. This idea is not a new one; in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, industrialist Andrew Carnegie used millions of dollars from his vast steel fortune to build more than twenty-five hundred public libraries in the United States, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Carnegie believed that libraries created great learning opportunities for citizens, especially for immigrants like himself.

One Internet source, NewPages, is working on another alternative to conglomerate publishing and chain bookselling by trying to bring together a vast array of alternative and university presses,

independent bookstores, and guides to literary and alternative magazines. The site's listing of independent publishers, for example, includes hundreds, mostly based in the United States and Canada, ranging from Academy Chicago Publishers (which publishes a range of fiction and nonfiction books) to Zephyr Press (which "publishes literary titles that foster a deeper understanding of cultures and languages").

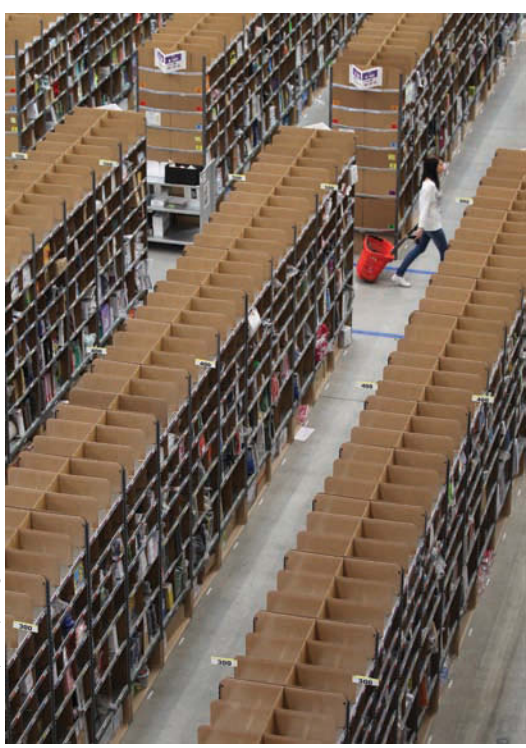
Finally, because e-books make publishing and distribution costs low, **e-publishing** has enabled authors to sidestep traditional publishers. A new breed of large Internet-based publishing houses, such as Xlibris, iUniverse, Hillcrest Media, Amazon's CreateSpace, and Author Solutions, design and distribute books for a comparatively small price for aspiring authors who want to self-publish a title, which can even be formatted for the Kindle or iPad. Although sales are typically low for such books, the low overhead costs allow higher royalty rates for the authors and lower retail prices for readers.

Sometimes self-published books make it to the best-seller lists. British writer E. L. James's blockbuster erotic novel *Fifty Shades of Grey* was first written as fan fiction, posted to a busy *Twilight* fan forum beginning in 2009, where thousands read and commented on it. In 2012, Vintage bought the rights to *The Fifty Shades* trilogy for more than $1 million. Amanda Hocking, a writer in her mid-twenties from Minnesota, wrote several paranormal romance e-books that attracted attention from several publishers, and she signed a seven-figure advance contract with St. Martin's Press.[20] Some traditional publishers are considering the straight-to-e-book route themselves. Little, Brown & Company released Pete Hamill's *They Are Us* in digital format only.

AMAZON'S WAREHOUSES go far beyond the stockrooms of a typical brick-and-mortar store, housing more than one hundred employees in each location, of which there are dozens across the United States and around the world. Though Amazon still uses these warehouses to support its massive fulfillment needs, it owns a lot of virtual businesses, too, including cloud storage, e-publishing, e-commerce sites like Zappos, and social media like Goodreads, which Amazon bought in 2013.

Books and the Future of Democracy

As we enter the digital age, the book-reading habits of children and adults have become a social concern. After all, books have played an important role not only in spreading the idea of democracy but also in connecting us to new ideas beyond our local experience. The impact of our oldest mass medium—the book—remains immense. Without the development of printing presses and books, the idea of democracy would be hard to imagine. From the impact of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which helped bring an end to slavery in the 1860s, to Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, which led to reforms in the pesticide industry in the 1960s, books have made a difference. They have told us things that we wanted—and needed—to know, and inspired us to action. And, quite suddenly, Americans are reading more again. In a sharp turnaround from a decade earlier, a 2009 National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) study, *Reading on the Rise*, reported that "for the first time in the history of the survey—conducted five times since 1982—the overall rate at which adults read literature (novels and short stories, plays, or poems) rose by seven percent." Interestingly, the most rapid increase in literary reading was in young adults ages eighteen to twenty-four, with significant increases among Hispanic and African American populations, and with fiction accounting for the new growth in all adult literary readers. The NEA surmised that millions of parents, teachers, librarians, and community leaders who endorsed reading and reading programs spurred the increase in reading. The survey found that America is basically divided in half: About 50 percent of Americans can be considered readers, and about 50 percent are nonreaders. Moreover, the NEA report noted that



Sean Gallup/Getty Images

Photo courtesy of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh

CARNEGIE LIBRARIES
The Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh was first opened in 1895 with a $1 million donation from Andrew Carnegie (at the time, it was called Main Library). In total, eight branches were built in Pittsburgh as Carnegie Libraries.

people who read regularly are more active in civic and cultural life and more likely to perform volunteer and charity work, crucial activities in a democratic society.[21]

Although there is an increased interest in books, many people are concerned about their quality. Indeed, the economic clout of publishing houses run by large multinational corporations has made it more difficult for new authors and new ideas to gain a foothold. Often, editors and executives prefer to invest in commercially successful authors or those who have a built-in television, sports, or movie audience. In his book *The Death of Literature*, Alvin Kernan argues that serious literary work has been increasingly overwhelmed by the triumph of consumerism. People jump at craftily marketed celebrity biographies and popular fiction, he argues, but seldom read serious works. He contends that cultural standards have been

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Publishing Industry

Joanna, Lead Technical Writer, Amazon's Consumer Web Site in Seattle

I have the unique opportunity to work directly with software developers to understand the needs of our customers and to write operations documentation to improve the overall customer experience. But, unlike at many other companies at which I have worked, here at Amazon, I am also encouraged to develop new, innovative ways of supporting our customers. My job is extremely fulfilling, as I know that my contributions, and opinions, have significant impact on the end user.

Jeremy Soldevilla, Publisher and Founder, Christopher Matthews Publishing

Build a platform for yourself.

- If you can, start before you graduate school. Are you a writer? Start a blog showcasing your writing. Post things regularly, no less than once a week. Include reviews of books. Join as many discussion groups on LinkedIn, Goodreads, Facebook, Twitter, and anywhere else that relates to writing and publishing.
- Join Guru.com as an editor.
- Create a Web site dedicated to book reviews—yours and/or other's reviews.
- Got Web design skills? Create a great Web site and focus the marketing of your design skills to self-publishers.
- Got art design skills? Create a Web site showcasing your portfolio and create some mock book covers.
- There is plenty of low-cost and free software available to format books and convert books to e-books. Get some, learn it, and offer your services online and through online author discussion groups.

Carolyn Zimatore, Talent Acquisition Manager, HarperCollins Publishers

Publishing internship experience is ideal, of course, but I do know that's not attainable for all. While in school, participate in extracurricular activities relating to publishing, like your school newspaper or literary magazine—that looks great on a résumé. If you are able to take courses on copyediting or anything digital—go for it! Also, one of the most valuable experiences you can have is to work at a bookstore.

Gina Gagliano, Marketing/Publicity Manager, First Second Books

You know when is a good time to be applying for an internship? . . . Applying at the beginning of the previous season is your best bet—which means September for winter/spring internships, January for summer internships, and May/June for fall internships. If you don't stick the timing on these things, you could be the best-ever intern possibility we've seen in our lives, but we're sorry—we've given the job to someone else already.

undermined by marketing ploys that divert attention away from serious books and toward mass-produced works that are more easily consumed.[22]

Yet books and reading have survived the challenge of visual and digital culture. Developments such as digital publishing, word processing, audio books, children's pictorial literature, and online services have integrated aspects of print and electronic culture into our daily lives. Most of these new forms carry on the legacy of books, transcending borders to provide personal stories, world history, and general knowledge to all who can read.

Since the early days of the printing press, books have helped us understand ideas and customs outside our own experiences. For democracy to work well, we must read. When we examine other cultures through books, we discover not only who we are and what we value but also who others are and what our common ties might be.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the commercial nature of mass media. Books have been products of a publishing industry in the United States since at least the early nineteenth century, but with the advent of digital technologies, the structure of the publishing industry is either evolving or dying. Is this a good or bad thing for the future of books?

Since the popularization of Gutenberg's printing press, there has always been some kind of gatekeeper in the publishing industry. Initially, it was religious institutions (which, for example, determined what would constitute the books of the Bible), then intellectuals, educators, and—with the development of publishing houses in the early nineteenth century—a fully formed commercial publishing industry.

Now, with the digital turn in publishing, anyone can be an author. Clay Shirky, a digital theorist at New York University, argues that this completely undercuts the work of publishers. "Publishing is going away," Shirky says. "Because the word 'publishing' means a cadre of professionals who are taking on the incredible difficulty and complexity and expense of making something public. That's not a job anymore. That's a button. There's a button that says 'publish,' and when you press it, it's done."[23] Indeed, self-publishing is already a huge part of what the industry has become. As the *New York Times* noted, "Nearly 350,000 new print titles were published in 2011, and 150,000 to 200,000 of them were produced by self-publishing companies."[24] (Table 10.1 indicates that about 192,633 books were published in 2013, so nearly that many more books were self-published in the same year.)

An increase in the number of books in circulation is great for democracy, for the inclusion of more voices. But is there still value to the acquisition, editing, and marketing of books that publishers do? Are these traditional gatekeepers worth keeping around? Is it a legitimate concern that the quality of book content will suffer without publishers to find, develop, and promote the work of the best authors?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

papyrus, 345
parchment, 345
codex, 345
manuscript culture, 345
illuminated manuscripts, 346
block printing, 346
printing press, 346
vellum, 346
paperback books, 347
dime novels, 347
pulp fiction, 347
linotype, 348
offset lithography, 348
trade books, 349
professional books, 350
textbooks, 350
mass market paperbacks, 351
instant book, 354
reference books, 354
university press, 355
e-book, 357
book challenge, 361
acquisitions editors, 362
subsidiary rights, 363
developmental editor, 363
copy editors, 363
design managers, 363
e-publishing, 367

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

The History of Books, from Papyrus to Paperbacks

1. What distinguishes the manuscript culture of the Middle Ages from the oral and print eras in communication?
2. Why was the printing press such an important and revolutionary invention?
3. Why were books particularly important to women readers during the early periods of American history?

Modern Publishing and the Book Industry

4. Why did publishing houses develop?
5. Why is the trade book segment one of the most lucrative parts of the book industry?
6. What are the major issues that affect textbook publishing?
7. What has undermined the sales of printed encyclopedias?
8. What is the relationship between the book and movie industries?
9. Why did the Kindle succeed in the e-book market where other devices had failed?

Trends and Issues in Book Publishing

10. In what ways have e-books reimagined what a book can be?
11. What are the major issues in the debate over digitizing millions of books for Web search engines?
12. What is the difference between a book that is challenged and one that is banned?

The Organization and Ownership of the Book Industry

13. What are the current ownership patterns in the book industry? How do they affect the kinds of books that are published?
14. What are the general divisions within a typical publishing house?
15. What was the impact of the growth of book superstores on the rest of the bookstore industry?
16. How have online bookstores and e-books affected bookstores and the publishing industry?
17. What are the concerns over Amazon's powerful role in determining book pricing and having its own publishing division?
18. What is Andrew Carnegie's legacy in regard to libraries in the United States and elsewhere?

Books and the Future of Democracy

19. Why is an increasing interest in reading a signal for improved democratic life?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. As books shift to digital formats, what advantages of the bound-book format are we sacrificing?
2. Given the digital turn in the book industry, if you were to self-publish a book, what strategies would you use in marketing and distribution to help an audience find it?
3. Imagine that you are on a committee that oversees book choices for a high school library in your town. What policies do you think should guide the committee's selection of controversial books?
4. Why do you think the availability of television and cable hasn't substantially decreased the number of new book titles available each year? What do books offer that television doesn't?
5. What is the cultural significance of a bound volume, particularly a religious holy book, such as the Bible or Qur'an? If holy books are in digital form, does the format change their meaning?

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- VIDEO: TURNING THE PAGE: BOOKS GO DIGITAL
  Authors discuss how e-books are changing both the way books are consumed and the way they are written.

PART 4

The Business of Mass Media

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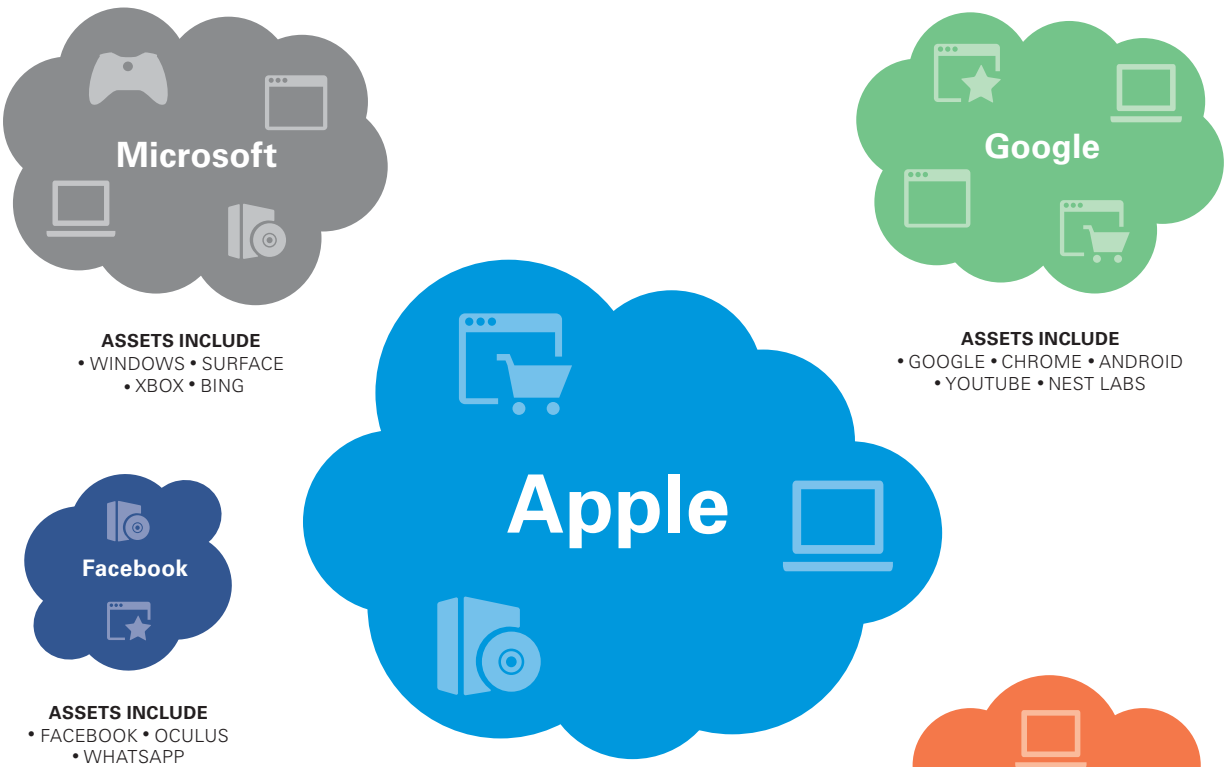
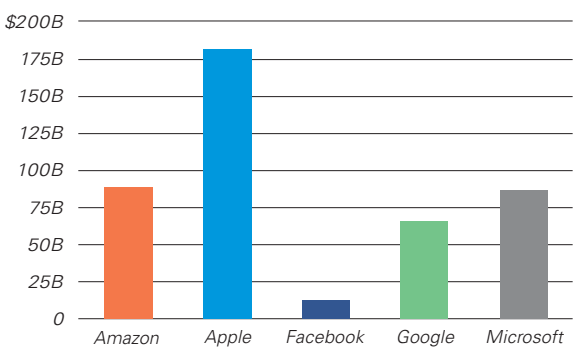
The digital turn has brought about a shift in the locus of power in the mass media. For decades, the mass media have been dominated by giant corporations—such as Comcast (NBC Universal), Disney, Time Warner, 21st Century Fox, and CBS—which created the music, television, movies, and publications we consumed. Now a new digital market has grown up around them, displacing the way traditional mass media businesses operate, changing how advertising and public relations work, and breaking down the barriers of entry to start-up media companies:

- **Changes in the structure of media economics.** In just a few short years, legacy media companies, with their vast subsidiaries, have lost some of their power due to the rise of major digital companies, such as Apple, Amazon, Google, Microsoft, and Facebook. These digital corporations are the new media conglomerates, although they do not own many major content-creation companies. They control the devices and platforms that people use, thus controlling which media people consume. Traditional media companies now find themselves in a position in which they have to work with these companies (even if they balk at the 30 percent cut Apple takes, for example) or risk losing their audience.
- **The new digital ecosystem for advertising and public relations.** Professional media communicators are negotiating new terrain in the digital age, too. Not only are they figuring out what kinds of advertising or PR campaigns work best in the age of social media and mobile devices, but they also are dealing with an age in which it's much more difficult to control the flow of information and the framing of a story. This new environment can be good and bad. Everyone on the Internet is a potential customer but also a potential public critic.
- **Democracy and the redistribution of power.** The digital turn has allowed for more voices, more companies, and more creative start-ups, reversing many early concerns of mass media conglomerates. Now, content creators can enter the marketplace more easily: It's simple to get songs listed in the iTunes store, books placed in the Amazon catalog, and videos posted to YouTube.

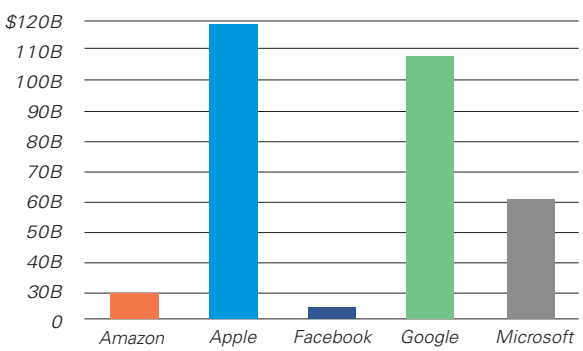
THE BIG FIVE DIGITAL COMPANIES



2014 REVENUE



BRAND VALUE



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ONLY ON hulu

Kevin Mazur/BET/Getty Images for BET

11

Advertising and Commercial Culture

378 Early Developments in American Advertising

383 The Shape of U.S. Advertising Today

393 Persuasive Techniques in Contemporary Advertising

399 Commercial Speech and Regulating Advertising

408 Advertising, Politics, and Democracy

The digital turn has not lessened advertising; if anything, it may have increased its volume. But it has shifted the way ads are bought, sold, and consumed. By 2014, the only older, or "legacy," mass medium whose global advertising revenue was not totally disrupted by the Internet was television—both cable and broadcast, which includes ABC, CBS, Fox, and NBC. In fact, television's 38 percent share of U.S. and world ad revenue in 2014 represented a 5 percent rise between 2007 and 2014. In second place for 2014 stood Internet and digital ads, which captured almost 25 percent of worldwide ad revenue, surpassing for the first time the combined total of newspapers (12 percent) and magazines (10 percent). (Back in 2007, newspapers accounted for 28 percent and magazines 14.5 percent of all ad revenue, with the Internet trailing far behind at 8.2 percent.)[1]

The transition isn't yet complete. By late 2016, Internet and digital ad spending are expected to catch up with TV, with one forecast giving both TV and Internet/digital 38 percent of the global ad market. In fact, in the first half of 2015, traditional

U.S. TV viewing declined almost 10 percent, with Netflix's digital streaming services accounting for almost half that decline.[2] Analyzing data from *Advertising Age*'s 2015 *Marketing Fact Pack* reveals why this is happening. In 2014, the average minutes per day U.S. adults spent watching TV came in at 273 (or about 4.5 hours per day), whereas the average time spent with digital devices and services—from computers to Netflix to YouTube to smartphones to tablets—amounted to about 346 minutes (or almost 6 hours a day). And, of course, we are often watching ads on TV and texting on our smartphones at the same time.[3]

ABC, CBS, Fox, and NBC are worried about these trends. While these once-dominant TV networks have started their own digital streaming services—like Hulu—they trail Netflix and Amazon Prime, which remain ad-free, subscription-only services. In 2015, spending was expected to drop 7 percent during the TV "upfronts"—that time each spring when advertisers spend about 75 percent of their TV budgets buying ads on programs like NBC's *The Voice* (which in 2014 earned the network about $275,000 per thirty-second ad) or CBS's *Thursday Night Football* (which averaged $483,000 for a thirty-second spot).[4] Even the joint venture of Hulu held its own upfront presentation, bringing out Jerry Seinfeld to show off its exclusive acquisition of his classic series *Seinfeld*, long unavailable in a streaming format and one of the last massive hits of the network-dominated era. Hulu can compete with Netflix and Amazon, but it will compete with the networks' content, too.

Traditional TV models have managed to hold on because in a fragmented marketplace, the "mass" prime-time TV audience—only a quarter of what it was in the 1980s—still remains somewhat larger than the audience most YouTube videos or Netflix series can generate. Once in a while, a hit the size of Fox's *Empire* will come along and instill faith in the networks' ability to capture a mass audience. Still, the great grandchildren of those baby boomers who grew up on TV in the 1950s and 1960s will be raised on smartphones and tablets, with no loyalty to (or patience for) ad-based broadcast networks and no memory of gathering with the family to watch a favorite "must-see" sitcom—and the ads that accompany it—around the electronic hearth.

But people will always want stories; the challenge for the advertising industry is to figure out how their ads can be tied into the consumption of those stories. What will cable and broadcast networks do to get younger viewers to watch those stories on their smartphones? Will Netflix, with its nearly sixty million subscribers in 2015, look to advertising for another revenue stream? How much of the ad budgets for Procter & Gamble, AT&T, GM, and Ford—four of the biggest U.S. advertisers—will shift from TV to digital platforms? In short: What will advertisers do to keep people watching ads, especially in a world of digital devices that let us skip ads, and ad-free story services like HBO and Netflix?

TODAY, ADVERTISEMENTS ARE EVERYWHERE AND IN EVERY MEDIA FORM. Ads take up more than half the space in most daily newspapers and consumer magazines. They are inserted into trade books and textbooks. They clutter Web sites on the Internet. They fill our mailboxes and wallpaper the buses we ride. Dotting the nation's highways, billboards promote fast-food and hotel chains, while neon signs announce the names of stores along major streets and strip malls. Ads are even found in the restrooms of malls, restaurants, and bars.

At local theaters and on DVDs, ads now precede the latest Hollywood movie trailers. Corporate sponsors spend millions for **product placement**: the purchase of spaces for particular goods to appear in a TV show, movie, or music video. Ads are part of a deejay's morning patter, and ads routinely interrupt our favorite TV and cable programs. By 2012, more than sixteen minutes of each hour of prime-time network television carried commercials, program promos, and public service announcements—an increase from thirteen minutes an hour in 1992. In addition, each hour of prime-time network TV carried about eleven minutes of product placements.[5] This means that about twenty-six minutes of each hour (or 43 percent) include some sort of paid sponsorship. According to the Food Marketing Institute, the typical supermarket's shelves are filled with thirty thousand to fifty thousand different brand-name packages, all functioning like miniature billboards. By some research estimates, the average American comes into contact with five thousand forms of advertising each day.[6]

Advertising comes in many forms, from classified ads to business-to-business ads, which provide detailed information on specific products. However, in this chapter, we will concentrate on the more conspicuous advertisements that shape product images and brand-name identities. Because so much consumer advertising intrudes into daily life, ads are often viewed in a negative light. Although business managers agree that advertising is the foundation of a healthy media economy—far preferable to government-controlled media—audiences routinely complain about how many ads they are forced to endure, and they increasingly find ways to avoid them, like zipping through television ads with TiVo and blocking pop-up ads with Web browsers. In response, market researchers routinely weigh consumers' tolerance—how long an ad or how many ads they are willing to tolerate to get "free" media content. Without consumer advertisements, however, mass communication industries would cease to function in their present forms. Advertising is the economic glue that holds most media industries together.

In this chapter, we will:

- Examine the historical development of advertising—an industry that helped transform numerous nations into consumer societies
- Look at the first U.S. ad agencies; early advertisements; and the emergence of packaging, trademarks, and brand-name recognition
- Consider the growth of advertising in the last century, such as the increasing influence of ad agencies and the shift to a more visually oriented culture
- Outline the key persuasive techniques used in consumer advertising
- Investigate ads as a form of commercial speech, and discuss the measures aimed at regulating advertising
- Look at political advertising and its impact on democracy

It's increasingly rare to find spaces in our society that don't contain advertising. As you read this chapter, think about your own exposure to advertising. What are some things you like or admire about advertising? For example, are there particular ad campaigns that give you enormous

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THE "GOT MILK?" advertising campaign was originally designed by Goodby, Silverstein & Partners for the California Milk Processor Board in 1993. From 1998 to 2014, the National Milk Processor Board licensed the "got milk?" slogan for its celebrity milk mustache ads, like this one.

Milk Processor Education Program

pleasure? How and when do ads annoy you? Can you think of any ways you intentionally avoid advertising? For more questions to help you understand the role of advertising in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Early Developments in American Advertising

Advertising has existed since 3000 BCE, when shop owners in ancient Babylon hung outdoor signs carved in stone and wood so that customers could spot their stores. Merchants in early Egyptian society hired town criers to walk through the streets, announcing the arrival of ships and listing the goods on board. Archaeologists searching Pompeii, the ancient Italian city destroyed when Mount Vesuvius erupted in 79 CE, found advertising messages painted on walls. By 900 CE, many European cities featured town criers who not only called out the news of the day but also directed customers to various stores.

Other early media ads were on handbills, posters, and broadsides (long, newsprint-quality posters). English booksellers printed brochures and bills announcing new publications as early as the 1470s, when posters advertising religious books were tacked onto church doors. In 1622, print ads imitating the oral style of criers appeared in the first English newspapers. Announcing land deals and ship cargoes, the first newspaper ads in colonial America ran in the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704.

To distinguish their approach from the commercialism of newspapers, early magazines refused to carry advertisements. By the mid-nineteenth century, though, most magazines contained ads, and most publishers started magazines hoping to earn advertising dollars.

Advertising and Commercial Culture

First Newspaper Ad
Featuring land deals and ship cargoes, the first newspaper ads in colonial America run in the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704 (p. 378).

Prototype of First Ad Agency
In 1841 in Boston, Volney Palmer opens a precursor to the first ad agency, selling newspaper space to advertisers (p. 379).

Food and Drug Act
To monitor misleading patent medicine claims in newspaper and magazine ads, the Federal Food and Drug Act is passed in 1906 (p. 381).

War Advertising Council
In the 1940s, a voluntary group of agencies and advertisers organizes war bond sales, blood donor drives, and food rationing; the postwar extension of these voluntary efforts becomes known as the Ad Council (p. 382).

1700 • 1900 • 1925 • 1950 •

First Full-Service Ad Agency
N. W. Ayer & Son of Philadelphia, assuming responsibility for creating and placing ads, becomes the first full-service advertising agency in 1869 (p. 379).

FTC
The Federal Trade Commission is established by the federal government in 1914 to help monitor advertising abuses (p. 383).

The Advertising Archives (left); © Bettmann/Corbis (right)

About 80 percent of these early advertisements covered three subjects: land sales, transportation announcements (stagecoach and ship schedules), and "runaways" (ads placed by farm and plantation owners whose slaves had fled).

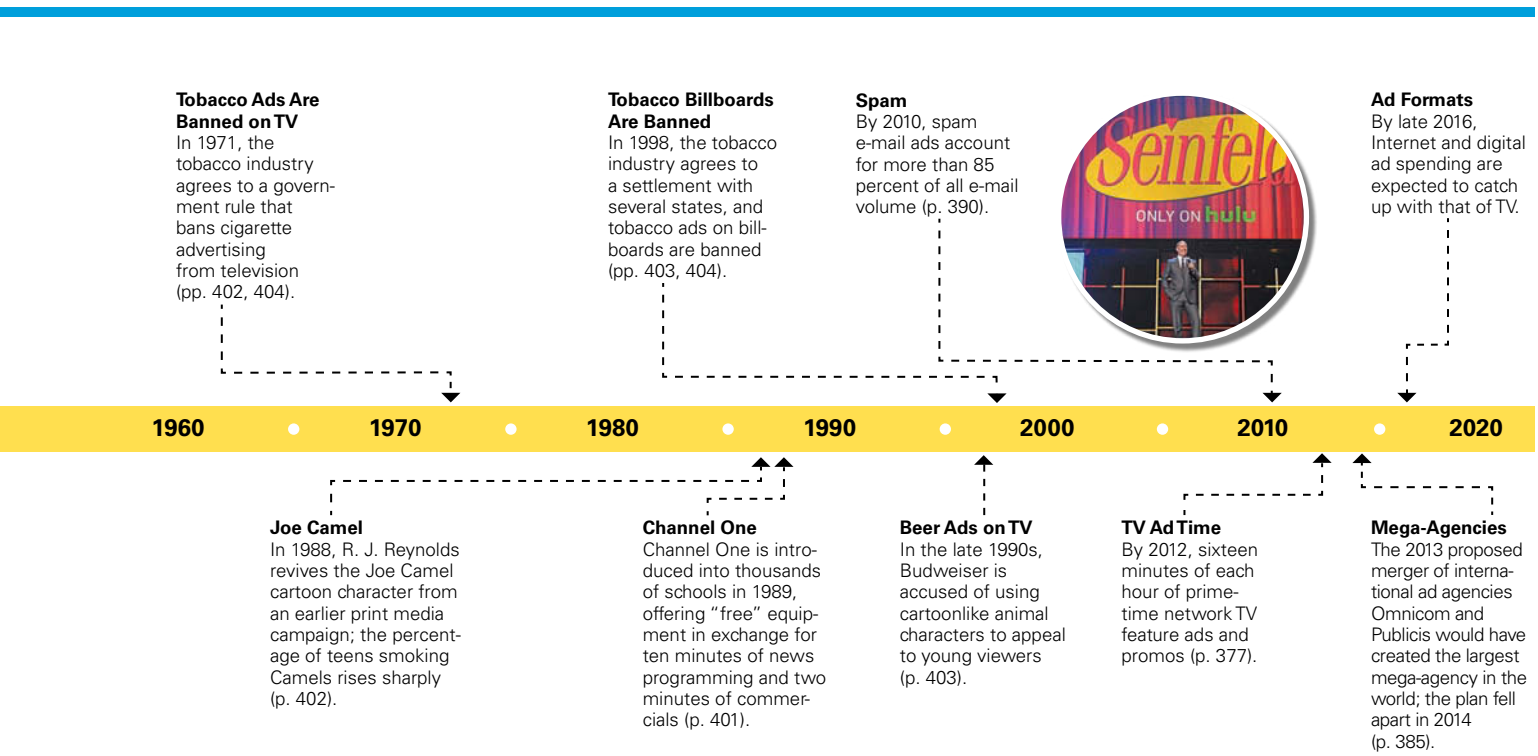
The First Advertising Agencies

Until the 1830s, little need existed for elaborate advertising, as few goods and products were even available for sale. Before the Industrial Revolution, 90 percent of Americans lived in isolated areas and produced most of their own tools, clothes, and food. The minimal advertising that did exist usually featured local merchants selling goods and services in their own communities. In the United States, national advertising, which initially focused on patent medicines, didn't start in earnest until the 1850s, when railroads linking the East Coast to the Mississippi River valley began carrying newspapers, handbills, and broadsides—as well as national consumer goods—across the country.

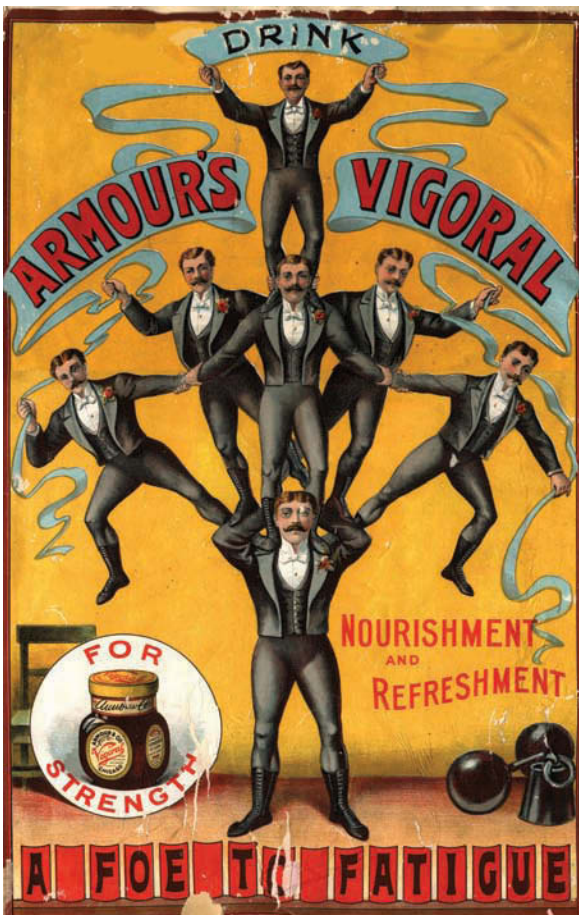
The first American advertising agencies were newspaper **space brokers**, individuals who purchased space in newspapers and sold it to various merchants. Newspapers, accustomed to a 25 percent nonpayment rate from advertisers, welcomed the space brokers, who paid up front. Brokers usually received discounts of 15 to 30 percent but sold the space to advertisers at the going rate. In 1841, Volney Palmer opened a prototype of the first ad agency in Boston; for a 25 percent commission from newspaper publishers, he sold space to advertisers.

Advertising in the 1800s

The first full-service modern ad agency, N. W. Ayer & Son, worked primarily for advertisers and product companies rather than for newspapers. Opening in 1869 in Philadelphia, the agency helped create, write, produce, and place ads in selected newspapers and magazines. The traditional payment structure at this time had the agency collecting a fee from its advertising client for each ad placed; the fee covered the price that each media outlet charged for placement of



Kevin Mazur/BET/Getty Images for BET



The Advertising Archives

PATENT MEDICINES
Unregulated patent medicines, such as the one represented in this ad, created a bonanza for nineteenth-century print media in search of advertising revenue. After several muckraking magazine reports about deceptive patent medicine claims, Congress created the Food and Drug Administration in 1906.

the ad, plus a 15 percent commission for the agency. The more ads an agency placed, the larger the agency's revenue. Thus, agencies had little incentive to buy fewer ads on behalf of their clients. Nowadays, however, many advertising agencies work for a flat fee, and some will agree to be paid on a performance basis.

Trademarks and Packaging

During the mid-1800s, most manufacturers served retail store owners, who usually set their own prices by purchasing goods in large quantities. Manufacturers, however, came to realize that if their products were distinctive and associated with quality, customers would ask for them by name. This would allow manufacturers to dictate prices without worrying about being undersold by stores' generic products or bulk items. Advertising let manufacturers establish a special identity for their products, separate from those of their competitors.

Like many ads today, nineteenth-century advertisements often created the impression of significant differences among products when in fact very few differences actually existed. But when consumers began demanding certain products—either because of quality or because of advertising—manufacturers were able to raise the prices of their goods. With ads creating and maintaining brand-name recognition, retail stores had to stock the desired brands.

One of the first brand names, Smith Brothers, has been advertising cough drops since the early 1850s. Quaker Oats, the first cereal company to register a trademark, has used the image of William Penn, the Quaker who founded Pennsylvania in 1681, to project a company image of honesty, decency, and hard work since 1877. Other early and enduring brands include Campbell Soup, which came along in 1869; Levi Strauss overalls in 1873; Ivory Soap in 1879; and Eastman Kodak film in 1888. Many of these companies packaged their products in small quantities, thereby distinguishing them from the generic products sold in large barrels and bins.

Product differentiation associated with brand-name packaged goods represents the single biggest triumph of advertising. Studies suggest that although most ads are not very effective in the short run, over time they create demand by leading consumers to associate particular brands with quality. Not surprisingly, building or sustaining brand-name recognition is the focus of many product-marketing campaigns. But the costs that packaging and advertising add to products generate many consumer complaints. The high price of many contemporary products results from advertising costs. For example, designer jeans that cost $150 (or more) today are made from roughly the same inexpensive denim that has outfitted farmworkers since the 1800s. The difference now is that more than 90 percent of the jeans' cost goes toward advertising and profit.

Patent Medicines and Department Stores

By the end of the 1800s, patent medicines and department stores accounted for half of the revenues taken in by ad agencies. Meanwhile, one-sixth of all print ads came from patent medicine and drug companies. Such ads ensured the financial survival of numerous magazines as "the role of the publisher changed from being a seller of a product to consumers to being a gatherer of consumers for the advertisers," according to Goodrum and Dalrymple in *Advertising in America.*[7] Bearing names like Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, Dr. Lin's Chinese Blood Pills, and William Radam's Microbe Killer, patent medicines were often made with water and 15 to 40 percent concentrations of ethyl alcohol. One patent medicine—Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup—actually

contained morphine. Powerful drugs in these medicines explain why people felt "better" after taking them; at the same time, they triggered lifelong addiction problems for many customers.

Many contemporary products, in fact, originated as medicines. Coca-Cola, for instance, was initially sold as a medicinal tonic and even contained traces of cocaine until 1903, when it was replaced by caffeine. Early Post and Kellogg's cereal ads promised to cure stomach and digestive problems. Many patent medicines made outrageous claims about what they could cure, leading to increased public cynicism. As a result, advertisers began to police their ranks and develop industry codes to restore customer confidence. Partly to monitor patent medicine claims, the Federal Food and Drug Act was passed in 1906.

Along with patent medicines, department store ads were also becoming prominent in newspapers and magazines. By the early 1890s, more than 20 percent of ad space was devoted to department stores. At the time, these stores were frequently criticized for undermining small shops and businesses, where shopkeepers personally served customers. The more impersonal department stores allowed shoppers to browse and find brand-name goods themselves. Because these stores purchased merchandise in large quantities, they could generally sell the same products for less. With increased volume and less money spent on individualized service, department store chains, like Target and Walmart today, undercut small local stores and put more of their profits into ads.

© Bettmann/Corbis

WAR ADVERTISING COUNCIL
During World War II, the federal government engaged the advertising industry to create messages to support the U.S. war effort. Advertisers promoted the sale of war bonds; conservation of natural resources, such as tin and gasoline; and even saving kitchen waste so it could be fed to farm animals.

Advertising's Impact on Newspapers

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, "continuous-process machinery" kept company factories operating at peak efficiency, helping produce an abundance of inexpensive packaged consumer goods.[8] The companies that produced those goods—Procter & Gamble, Colgate-Palmolive, Heinz, Borden, Pillsbury, Eastman Kodak, Carnation, and American Tobacco—were some of the first to advertise, and they remain major advertisers today (although many of these brand names have been absorbed by larger conglomerates).

The demand for newspaper advertising by product companies and retail stores significantly changed the ratio of copy at most newspapers. Whereas newspapers in the mid-1880s featured 70 to 75 percent news and editorial material and only 25 to 30 percent advertisements, by the early 1900s, more than half the space in daily papers was devoted to advertising. However, the recent recession hit newspapers hard: Their advertising revenue fell by half, from a peak of $49 billion in 2005 to $24 billion in 2013—as car, real estate, and help-wanted ads fell significantly.[9] For many papers, fewer ads meant smaller papers, not room for more articles. Some good news for newspapers in 2013, however, was that while ad dollars declined by 6.5 percent from 2012, circulation revenue—mostly from online growth and initiatives—grew almost 4 percent.

Promoting Social Change and Dictating Values

As U.S. advertising became more pervasive, it contributed to major social changes in the twentieth century. First, it significantly influenced the transition from a producer-directed to a consumer-driven society. By stimulating demand for new products, advertising helped manufacturers create new markets and recover product start-up costs quickly. From farms to cities, advertising spread the word—first in newspapers and magazines and later on radio and television.

National Safety Council

PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS
The Ad Council has been creating public service announcements (PSAs) since 1942. Supported by contributions from individuals, corporations, and foundations, the council's PSAs are produced pro bono by ad agencies. This PSA is the result of the Ad Council's long-standing relationship with the National Safety Council.

Second, advertising promoted technological advances by showing how new machines—such as vacuum cleaners, washing machines, and cars—could improve daily life. Third, advertising encouraged economic growth by increasing sales. To meet the demand generated by ads, manufacturers produced greater quantities, which reduced their costs per unit, although they did not always pass these savings along to consumers.

Appealing to Female Consumers

By the early 1900s, advertisers and ad agencies believed that women, who constituted 70 to 80 percent of newspaper and magazine readers, controlled most household purchasing decisions. (This is still a fundamental principle of advertising today.) Ironically, more than 99 percent of the copywriters and ad executives at that time were men, primarily based in Chicago and New York. They emphasized stereotyped appeals to women, believing that simple ads with emotional and even irrational content worked best. Thus, early ad copy featured personal tales of "heroic" cleaning products and household appliances. The intention was to help female consumers feel good about defeating life's problems—an advertising strategy that endured throughout much of the twentieth century.

Dealing with Criticism

Although ad revenues fell during the Great Depression in the 1930s, World War II rejuvenated advertising. For the first time, the federal government bought large quantities of advertising space to promote U.S. involvement in a war. These purchases helped offset a decline in traditional advertising, as many industries had turned their attention and production facilities to the war effort.

Also during the 1940s, the industry began to actively deflect criticism that advertising created consumer needs that ordinary citizens never knew they had. Criticism of advertising grew as the industry appeared to be dictating values as well as driving the economy. To promote a more positive image, the industry developed the War Advertising Council—a voluntary group of agencies and advertisers that organized war bond sales, blood donor drives, and the rationing of scarce goods.

The postwar extension of advertising's voluntary efforts became known as the Ad Council. This organization has earned praise over the years for its Smokey the Bear campaign ("Only you can prevent forest fires"); its fund-raising campaign for the United Negro College Fund ("A mind is a terrible thing to waste"); and its "crash dummy" spots for the Department of Transportation, which substantially increased seat belt use. Choosing a dozen worthy causes annually, the Ad Council continues to produce pro bono *public service announcements* (PSAs) on a wide range of topics, including literacy, homelessness, drug addiction, smoking, and AIDS education.

Early Ad Regulation

The early 1900s saw the formation of several watchdog organizations. Partly to keep tabs on deceptive advertising, advocates in the business community in 1913 created the nonprofit Better Business Bureau, which now has more than one hundred branch offices in the United States. At the same time, advertisers wanted a formal service that tracked newspaper readership, guaranteed accurate audience measures, and ensured that papers would not overcharge ad agencies and their clients. As a result, publishers formed the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) in 1914 (now known as the Alliance for Audited Media).

That same year, the government created the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), in part to help monitor advertising abuses. Thereafter, the industry urged self-regulatory measures in order to keep government interference at bay. For example, established in 1917, the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) tried to minimize government oversight by urging ad agencies to refrain from making misleading product claims.

Finally, the advent of television dramatically altered advertising. With this new visual medium, ads increasingly intruded on daily life. Critics also discovered that some agencies used **subliminal advertising**. This term, coined in the 1950s, refers to hidden or disguised print and visual messages that allegedly register in the subconscious and fool people into buying products. Noted examples of subliminal ads from that time include a "Drink Coca-Cola" ad embedded in a few frames of a movie and alleged hidden sexual activity drawn into liquor ads. Although research suggests that such ads are no more effective than regular ads, the National Association of Broadcasters banned the use of subliminal ads in 1958.

The Shape of U.S. Advertising Today

Until the 1960s, the shape and pitch of most U.S. ads were determined by a **slogan**, the phrase that attempts to sell a product by capturing its essence in words. With slogans such as "A Diamond Is Forever" (which De Beers first used in 1948), the visual dimension of ads was merely a complement. Eventually, however, through the influence of European design, television, and (now) multimedia devices such as the iPad, images asserted themselves, and visual style became dominant in U.S. advertising and ad agencies.

The Influence of Visual Design

Just as a postmodern design phase developed in art and architecture during the 1960s and 1970s, a new design era began to affect advertising at the same time. Part of this visual revolution was imported from non-U.S. schools of design; indeed, ad-rich magazines such as *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair* increasingly hired European designers as art directors. These directors tended to be less tied to U.S. word-driven radio advertising because most European countries had government-sponsored radio systems with no ads.

By the early 1970s, agencies had developed teams of writers and artists, thus granting equal status to images and words in the creative process. By the mid-1980s, the visual techniques of MTV, which initially modeled its style on advertising, influenced many ads and most agencies. MTV promoted a particular visual aesthetic—rapid edits, creative camera angles, compressed narratives, and staged performances. Video-style ads soon saturated television and featured such prominent performers as Paula Abdul, Ray Charles, Michael Jackson, Elton John, and Madonna. The popularity of MTV's visual style also started a

MAD MEN
AMC's hit series *Mad Men* depicts the male-dominated world of Madison Avenue in the 1960s, as the U.S. consumer economy kicked into high gear and agencies developed ad campaigns for cigarettes, exercise belts, and presidential candidates. The show ended its run in 2015 after seven seasons and many awards.

Jaimie Trueblood/© AMC/Everett Collection

trend in the 1980s to license hit songs for commercial tie-ins. By the twenty-first century, a wide range of short, polished musical performances and familiar songs—including the work of Train (Samsung), the Shins (McDonald's), LMFAO (Kia Motors), and classic Louis Armstrong (Apple iPhone)—were routinely used in TV ads to encourage consumers not to click the remote control.

Most recently, the Internet and multimedia devices, such as computers, mobile phones, and portable media players, have had a significant impact on visual design in advertising. As the Web became a mass medium in the 1990s, TV and print designs often mimicked the drop-down menu of computer interfaces. In the twenty-first century, visual design has evolved in other ways, becoming more three-dimensional and interactive as full-motion, 3-D animation becomes a high-bandwidth multimedia standard. At the same time, design is also simpler, as ads and logos need to appear clearly on the small screens of smartphones and portable media players, and more international, as agencies need to appeal to the global audiences of many companies and therefore need to reflect styles from around the world.

Types of Advertising Agencies

About fourteen thousand ad agencies currently operate in the United States. In general, these agencies are classified as either **mega-agencies**—large ad firms that formed by merging several agencies and that maintain regional offices worldwide—or small **boutique agencies** that devote their talents to only a handful of select clients. With the economic crisis, both types of ad agencies suffered revenue declines in 2008 and 2009 but had slowly improved within about five years.

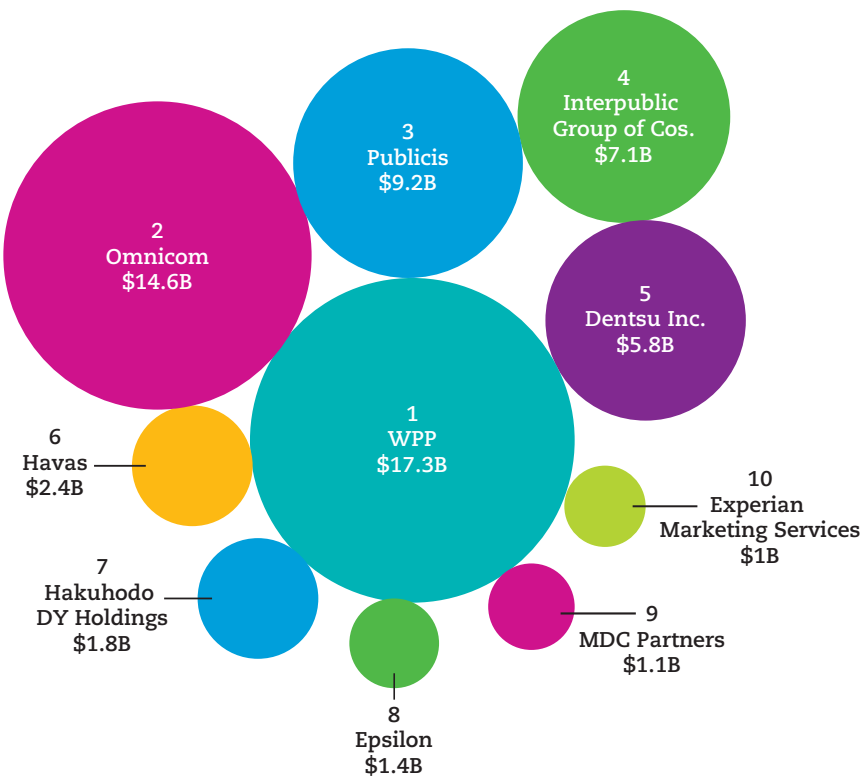
Mega-Agencies

Mega-agencies provide a full range of services, from advertising and public relations to operating their own in-house radio and TV production studios. In 2014, the four global mega-agencies were WPP, Omnicom, Publicis, and Interpublic (see Figure 11.1).

FIGURE 11.1

GLOBAL REVENUE FOR THE WORLD'S LARGEST AGENCIES (IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

Data from: Advertising Age Marketing Fact Pack 2015, *pp. 26–27.*



In 2013, Omnicom and Publicis announced a merger that would have created the world's largest mega-agency. But that plan fell apart in 2014, according to the *New York Times*, over a "mix of clashing personalities, disagreements about how the companies would be integrated and complications over legal and tax issues."[10] Based in New York, Omnicom in 2015 had more than 74,000 employees operating in more than 100 countries and currently owns the global advertising firms BBDO Worldwide, DDB Worldwide, and TBWA Worldwide. The company also owns three leading public relations agencies: Fleishman-Hillard, Ketchum, and Porter Novelli. The Paris-based Publicis Groupe has a global reach through agencies like Leo Burnett Worldwide, the British agency Saatchi & Saatchi, DigitasLBi, and the public relations firm MSL Group. Publicis employed more than 63,000 people worldwide in 2015.

The London-based WPP Group grew quickly in the 1980s with the purchases of J. Walter Thompson, the largest U.S. ad firm at the time; Hill & Knowlton, one of the largest U.S. public relations agencies; and Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide. In the 2000s, WPP Group continued its growth and acquired Young & Rubicam and Grey Global—both major U.S. ad firms. By 2013, WPP had 179,000 employees in 111 countries. The Interpublic Group, based in New York with 47,400 employees worldwide, holds global agencies like McCann Erickson (the top U.S. ad agency), FCB, and Lowe and Partners, and public relations firms Golin and Weber Shandwick.

This mega-agency trend has stirred debate among consumer and media watchdog groups. Some consider large agencies a threat to the independence of smaller firms, which are slowly being bought out. An additional concern is that these four firms now control more than half the distribution of advertising dollars globally. As a result, the cultural values represented by U.S. and European ads may undermine or overwhelm the values and products of developing countries. (See Figure 11.2 for a look at how advertising dollars are spent by medium.)

Boutique Agencies

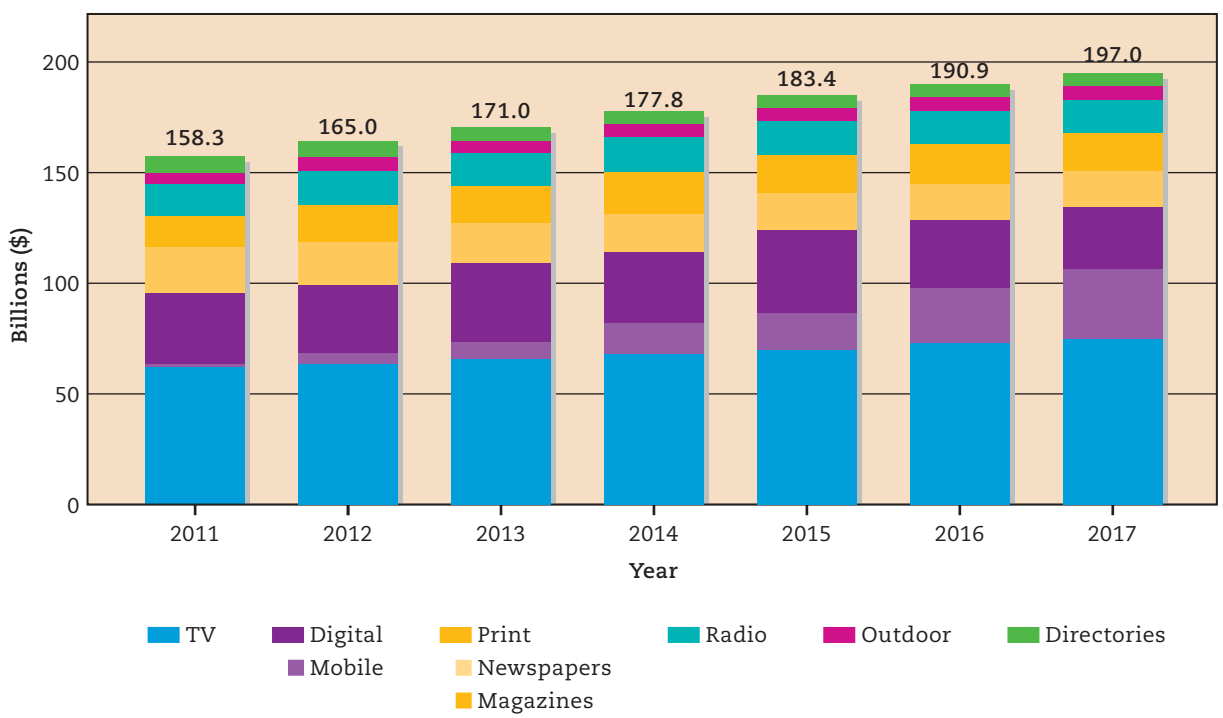
The visual revolutions in advertising during the 1960s elevated the standing of designers and graphic artists, who became closely identified with the look of particular ads. Breaking

FIGURE 11.2

WHERE WILL THE ADVERTISING DOLLARS GO?*

*Years 2015–2017 are projections.

Data from: eMarketer, "US Total Media Ad Spend Inches Up, Pushed by Digital," August 22, 2013.



away from bigger agencies, many of these creative individuals formed small boutique agencies. Offering more personal services, the boutiques prospered, bolstered by innovative ad campaigns and increasing profits from TV accounts. By the 1980s, large agencies had bought up many of the boutiques. Nevertheless, these boutiques continue to operate as fairly autonomous subsidiaries within multinational corporate structures.

One independent boutique agency in Minneapolis, Peterson Milla Hooks (PMH), made its name with a boldly graphic national branding ad campaign for Target department stores. Target moved its business to another agency in 2011, but PMH—which employs only about sixty people—rebounded. By 2015, the agency's client list included Gap, Kohl's, Nine West, Mattel, Kmart, Sephora, Rooms To Go, Sleep Number, JCPenney, Target, and Chico's.[11]

The Structure of Ad Agencies

Traditional ad agencies, regardless of their size, generally divide the labor of creating and maintaining advertising campaigns among four departments: account planning, creative development, media coordination, and account management. Expenses incurred for producing the ads are part of a separate negotiation between the agency and the advertiser. As a result of this commission arrangement, it generally costs most large-volume advertisers no more to use an agency than it does to use their own staff.

Account Planning, Market Research, and VALS

The account planner's role is to develop an effective advertising strategy by combining the views of the client, the creative team, and consumers. Consumers' views are the most difficult to understand, so account planners coordinate **market research** to assess the behaviors and attitudes of consumers toward particular products long before any ads are created. Researchers may study everything from possible names for a new product to the size of the copy for a print ad. Researchers also test new ideas and products with consumers to get feedback before developing final ad strategies. In addition, some researchers contract with outside polling firms to conduct regional and national studies of consumer preferences.

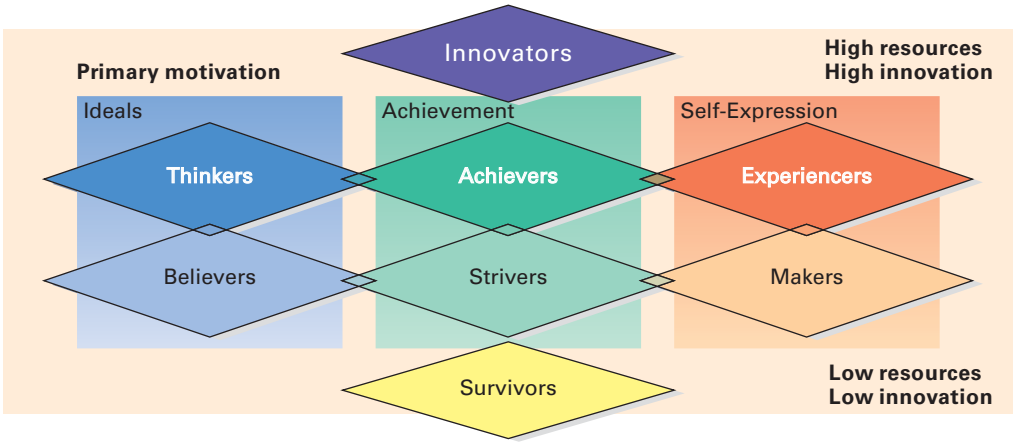
Agencies have increasingly employed scientific methods to study consumer behavior. In 1932, Young & Rubicam first used statistical techniques developed by pollster George Gallup. By the 1980s, most large agencies retained psychologists and anthropologists to advise them on human nature and buying habits. The earliest type of market research, **demographics**, mainly studied and documented audience members' age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, education, and income. Today, demographic data are much more specific. They make it possible to locate consumers in particular geographic regions—usually by zip code. This enables advertisers and product companies to target ethnic neighborhoods or affluent suburbs for direct mail, point-of-purchase store displays, or specialized magazine and newspaper inserts.

Demographic analyses provide advertisers with data on people's behavior and social status but reveal little about feelings and attitudes. By the 1960s and 1970s, advertisers and agencies began using **psychographics**, a research approach that attempts to categorize consumers according to their attitudes, beliefs, interests, and motivations. Psychographic analysis often relies on **focus groups**, a small-group interview technique in which a moderator leads a discussion about a product or an issue, usually with six to twelve people. Because focus groups are small and less scientific than most demographic research, the findings from such groups may be suspect.

In 1978, the Stanford Research Institute (SRI), now called Strategic Business Insights (SBI), instituted its **Values and Lifestyles (VALS)** strategy. Using questionnaires, VALS researchers measured psychological factors and divided consumers into types. VALS research assumes that not every product suits every consumer and encourages advertisers to vary their sales slants to find market niches.

Over the years, the VALS system has been updated to reflect changes in consumer orientations (see Figure 11.3). The most recent system classifies people by their primary consumer

The VALS™ Framework



VALS™ Types and Characteristics

Innovators Innovators are successful, sophisticated, take-charge people with high self-esteem and abundant resources. They exhibit all three primary motivations in varying degrees. They are change leaders and are the most receptive to new ideas and technologies. They are very active consumers, and their purchases reflect cultivated tastes for upscale, niche products and services.

Thinkers Thinkers are motivated by ideals. They are mature, satisfied, comfortable, and reflective people who value order, knowledge, and responsibility. They tend to be well educated and actively seek out information in the decision-making process. They are well informed about world and national events and are alert to opportunities to broaden their knowledge.

Achievers Motivated by the desire for achievement, Achievers have goal-oriented lifestyles and a deep commitment to career and family. Their social lives reflect this focus and are structured around family, their place of worship, and work. Achievers live conventional lives, are politically conservative, and respect authority and the status quo. They value consensus, predictability, and stability over risk, intimacy, and self-discovery.

Experiencers Experiencers are motivated by self-expression. As young, enthusiastic, and impulsive consumers, Experiencers quickly become enthusiastic about new possibilities but are equally quick to cool. They seek variety and excitement, savoring the new, the offbeat, and the risky. Their energy finds an outlet in exercise, sports, outdoor recreation, and social activities.

Believers Like Thinkers, Believers are motivated by ideals. They are conservative, conventional people with concrete beliefs based on traditional, established codes: family, religion, community, and the nation. Many Believers express moral codes that are deeply rooted and literally interpreted. They follow established routines, organized in large part around home, family, community, and social or religious organizations to which they belong.

Strivers Strivers are trendy and fun loving. Because they are motivated by achievement, Strivers are concerned about the opinions and approval of others. Money defines success for Strivers, who don't have enough of it to meet their desires. They favor stylish products that emulate the purchases of people with greater material wealth. Many see themselves as having a job rather than a career, and a lack of skills and focus often prevents them from moving ahead.

Makers Like Experiencers, Makers are motivated by self-expression. They express themselves and experience the world by working on it—building a house, raising children, fixing a car, or canning vegetables—and have enough skill and energy to carry out their projects successfully. Makers are practical people who have constructive skills and value self-sufficiency. They live within a traditional context of family, practical work, and physical recreation and have little interest in what lies outside that context.

Survivors Survivors live narrowly focused lives. With few resources with which to cope, they often believe that the world is changing too quickly. They are comfortable with the familiar and are primarily concerned with safety and security. Because they must focus on meeting needs rather than fulfilling desires, Survivors do not show a strong primary motivation.

FIGURE 11.3

VALS TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Data from: Strategic Business Insights, 2010, http://strategicbusinessinsights.com/vals/ustypes.shtml.

motivations: ideals, achievement, or self-expression. The ideals-oriented group, for instance, includes *thinkers*—"mature, satisfied, comfortable, and reflective people who value order, knowledge, and responsibility." VALS and similar research techniques ultimately provide advertisers with microscopic details about which consumers are most likely to buy which products.

Agencies and clients—particularly auto manufacturers—have relied heavily on VALS to determine the best placement for ads. VALS data suggest, for example, that *achievers* and *experiencers* watch more sports and news programs; these groups prefer luxury cars or sport-utility vehicles. *Thinkers*, on the other hand, favor TV dramas and documentaries and like the functionality of minivans or the gas efficiency of hybrids.

VALS researchers do not claim that most people fit neatly into a category. But many agencies believe that VALS research can give them an edge in markets where few differences in quality may actually exist among top-selling brands. Consumer groups, wary of such research, argue that too many ads promote only an image and provide little information about a product's price, its content, or the work conditions under which it was produced.

Creative Development

Teams of writers and artists—many of whom regard ads as a commercial art form—make up the nerve center of the advertising business. The creative department outlines the rough sketches for print and online ads and then develops the words and graphics. For radio, the creative side prepares a working script, generating ideas for everything from choosing the narrator's voice to determining background sound effects. For television, the creative department develops a **storyboard**, a sort of blueprint or roughly drawn comic-strip version of the potential ad. For digital media, the creative team may develop Web sites, interactive tools, flash games, downloads, and **viral marketing**—short videos or other content that (marketers hope) quickly gains widespread attention as users share it with friends online or by word of mouth.

Often the creative side of the business finds itself in conflict with the research side. In the 1960s, for example, both Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB) and Ogilvy & Mather downplayed research; they championed the art of persuasion and what "felt right." Yet DDB's simple ads for Volkswagen Beetles in the 1960s were based on weeks of intensive interviews with VW workers as well as on creative instincts. The campaign was remarkably successful in establishing the first niche for a foreign car manufacturer in the United States. Although sales of the VW Bug had been growing before the ad campaign started, the successful ads helped Volkswagen preempt the Detroit auto industry's entry into the small-car field.

Both the creative and the strategic sides of the business acknowledge that they cannot predict with any certainty which ads and which campaigns will succeed. Agencies say ads work best by slowly creating brand-name identities—by associating certain products over time with quality and reliability in the minds of consumers. Some economists, however, believe that much of the money spent on advertising is ultimately wasted because it simply encourages consumers to change from one brand name to another. Such switching may lead to increased profits for a particular manufacturer, but it has little positive impact on the overall economy.

Media Coordination: Planning and Placing Advertising

Ad agency media departments are staffed by media planners and **media buyers**: people who choose and purchase the types of media that are best suited to carry a client's ads, reach the targeted audience, and measure the effectiveness of those ad placements. For instance, a company like Procter & Gamble, currently the world's leading advertiser, displays its more than three hundred major brands—most of them household products like Crest toothpaste and Pampers diapers—on TV shows viewed primarily by women. To reach male viewers, however, media buyers encourage beer advertisers to spend their ad budgets on cable and network sports programming, evening talk radio, or sports magazines.

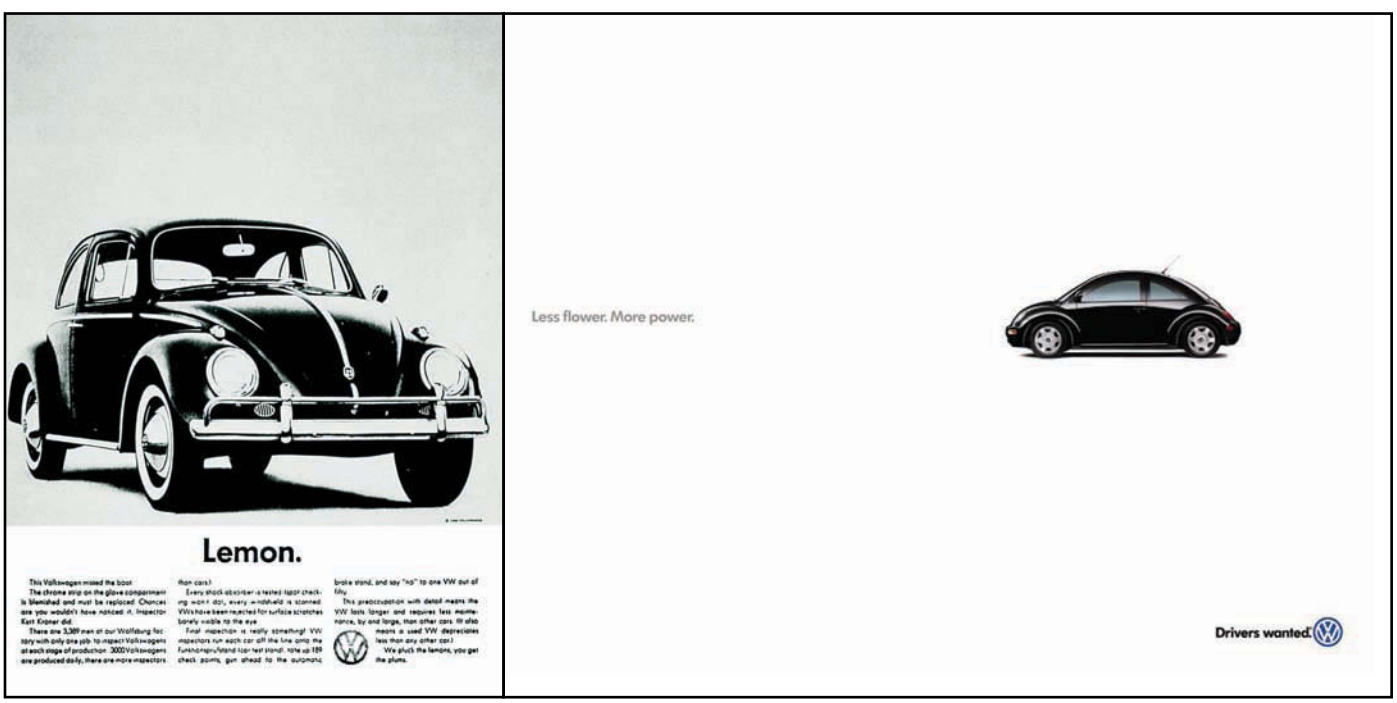
Along with commissions or fees, advertisers often add incentive clauses to their contracts with agencies, raising the fee if sales goals are met and lowering it if goals are missed. Incentive clauses can sometimes encourage agencies to conduct repetitive **saturation advertising**, in which a variety of media are inundated with ads aimed at target audiences. The initial Miller Lite beer campaign ("Tastes great, less filling"), which used humor and retired athletes to reach its male audience, became one of the most successful saturation campaigns in media history. It ran from 1973 to 1991 and included television and radio spots, magazine and newspaper ads, and billboards and point-of-purchase store displays. The excessive repetition of the campaign helped light beer overcome a potential image problem: being viewed as watered-down beer unworthy of "real" men.

The cost of advertising, especially on network television, increases each year. The Super Bowl remains the most expensive program for purchasing television advertising, with thirty seconds of time costing on average $4.5 million in 2015 on Fox—up from $4 million in 2014. (The network also reported that in 2015, the big game generated 24.4 million tweets.) Running a thirty-second ad during a national prime-time TV show can cost from $50,000 to more than $500,000, depending on the popularity and ratings of the program. The prime-time average for a thirty-second TV spot was $107,000 in 2015, down from an all-time high of $129,600 in the prerecession year 2005.[12] (See "Case Study: Hey, Super Bowl Sponsors: Your Ads Are Already Forgotten," page 395.)

Account and Client Management

Client liaisons, or **account executives**, are responsible for bringing in new business and managing the accounts of established clients, including overseeing budgets and the research, creative, and media planning work done on their campaigns. This department also oversees new ad campaigns in which several agencies bid for a client's business, coordinating the presentation of a proposed campaign and various aspects of the bidding process, such as determining what a series of ads will cost a client. Account executives function as liaisons between the advertiser and the agency's creative team. Because most major companies maintain their

CREATIVE ADVERTISING
The New York ad agency Doyle Dane Bernbach created a famous series of print and television ads for Volkswagen beginning in 1959 (*below, left*) and helped usher in an era of creative advertising that combined a single-point sales emphasis with bold design, humor, and honesty. Arnold Worldwide, a Boston agency, continued the highly creative approach with its clever, award-winning "Drivers wanted" campaign for the New Beetle (*below*).



own ad departments to handle everyday details, account executives also coordinate activities between their agency and a client's in-house personnel.

The advertising business is volatile, and account departments are especially vulnerable to upheavals. One industry study conducted in the mid-1980s indicated that client accounts stayed with the same agency for about seven years on average, but since the late 1980s, clients have changed agencies much more often. Clients routinely conduct **account reviews**, the process of evaluating and reinvigorating a product's image by reviewing an ad agency's existing campaign or by inviting several new agencies to submit new campaign strategies, which may lead the product company to switch agencies. For example, when General Motors restructured its business in 2010, it put its advertising account for Chevrolet under review. Campbell Ewald (a subsidiary of Interpublic) had held the Chevy account since 1919, creating such campaigns as "The Heartbeat of America" and "Like a Rock," but after the review, it lost the $30 million account to Publicis.[13]

Trends in Online Advertising

The earliest form of Web advertising appeared in the mid-1990s and featured *banner ads*, the printlike display ads that load across the top or side of a Web page. Since that time, other formats have emerged, including video ads, sponsorships, and "rich media"—like pop-up ads, pop-under ads, flash multimedia ads, and **interstitials**, which pop up in new screen windows as a user clicks to a new Web page. Other forms of Internet advertising include classified ads and e-mail ads. Unsolicited commercial e-mail—known as **spam**—accounted for more than 85 percent of e-mail messages by 2010.

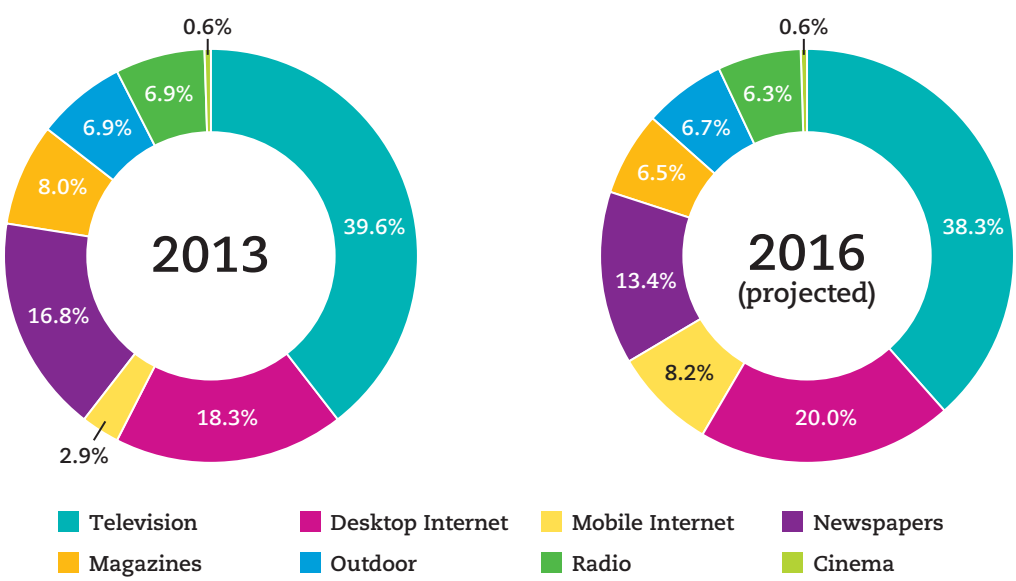
Paid search advertising has become the dominant format of Web advertising. Even though their original mission was to provide impartial search results, search sites such as Google, Yahoo!, and Bing have quietly morphed into advertising companies, selling sponsored links associated with search terms and distributing online ads to affiliated Web pages.[14]

Back in 2004, digital ads accounted for just over 4 percent of global ad spending. By 2012, the Internet had gained an 18 percent share of worldwide ad spending, and in 2014, it was the second-largest global advertising medium behind only television. In the United States, the Internet accounted for 19.1 percent of ad spending in 2012, making it the second-largest advertising medium, behind television.[15] According to *Adweek*, spending on digital ads globally grew to 16 percent in 2014.[16]

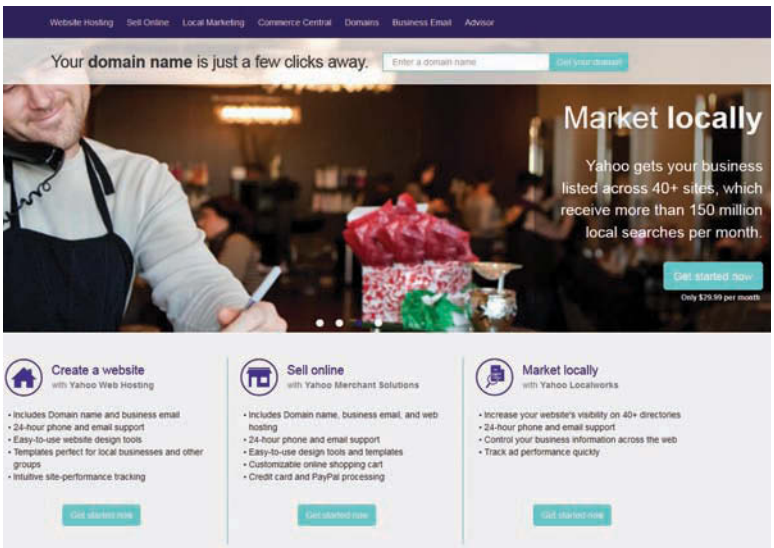
FIGURE 11.4

SHARE OF GLOBAL AD SPENDING BY MEDIUM

Data from: ZenithOptimedia, in Ricardo Bilton, "The Surprising State of Digital Ad Spending in 5 Charts," Digiday, June 17, 2014, http://digiday.com/brands/present-future-digital-ad-spending-5-charts/.



Online Advertising Challenges Traditional Media



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Because Internet advertising is the leading growth area, advertising mega-agencies have added digital media agencies and departments to develop and sell ads online. For example, WPP has 24/7 Media and Xaxis, Omnicom owns Proximity Worldwide, Publicis has Digitas LBi and Razorfish, and Interpublic operates R/GA. Realizing the potential of their online ad businesses, major Web services have also aggressively expanded into the advertising market by acquiring smaller Internet advertising agencies. Google bought DoubleClick, the biggest online ad server; Yahoo! purchased Right Media, which auctions online ad space; and Microsoft acquired aQuantive, an online ad server and network that enables advertisers to place ads on multiple Web sites with a single buy. Google, as the top search engine, has surpassed the traditional mega-agencies in revenue, earning $66 billion in 2014, with almost all of that coming from advertising. Facebook, the top social networking site, is not yet in Google's league but remains poised to become a bigger advertising threat with an audience of over 1.4 billion users worldwide in 2015. Facebook earned $12.4 billion in 2014, most of that profit also coming from ads.[17]

Facebook has made its biggest strides in mobile advertising. While Google accounted for nearly 32 percent of all online global ad spending in 2013—over $120 billion—Facebook finished in second place, with roughly 6 percent of the total spent on online global advertising that year. In 2014, the *New York Times* reported that Facebook was closing the mobile gap, noting that the social media site accounted for nearly 16 percent of mobile advertising dollars in the previous year, while Google's share had dropped.[18]

As the Internet draws people's attention away from traditional mass media, leading advertisers are moving more of their ad campaigns and budget dollars to digital media. For example, the CEO of consumer product giant Unilever, a company with more than four hundred brands (including Dove, Hellmann's, and Lipton) and a multibillion-dollar advertising budget, doubled its spending on digital media back in 2010, since customers were spending much more time on the Internet and mobile phones. "I think you need to fish where the fish are," the Unilever CEO said. "So I've made it fairly clear that I'm driving Unilever to be at the leading edge of digital marketing."[19]

ONLINE ADS are mostly placed by large Internet companies like Google, Yahoo!, Microsoft, and AOL. Such services have allowed small businesses access to more customers than traditional advertising because the online ads are often cheaper to produce and are shown only to targeted users.

LaunchPad

macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

Advertising in the Digital Age
This video discusses how ads evolve to overcome resistance to advertising.
Discussion: Do you recall many ads from the last few times you used the Internet? What do you think this might mean for advertisers?

Online Marketers Target Individuals

Internet ads offer many advantages to advertisers, compared to ads in traditional media outlets like newspapers, magazines, radio, or television. Perhaps the biggest advantage—and potentially the most disturbing part for citizens—is that marketers can develop consumer profiles that direct targeted ads to specific Web site visitors. They do this by collecting information about each Internet user through cookies (see Chapter 2 for more on cookies) and online surveys. For example, when an ESPN.com contest requires you to fill out a survey to be eligible to win sports tickets, or when washingtonpost.com requires that you create an account for free access to the site, marketers use that information to build a profile about you. The cookies they attach to your profile allow them to track your activities on a certain site. They can also add to your profile by tracking what you search for and even by mining your profiles and data

on social networking sites. Agencies can also add online and retail sales data (what you bought and where) to user profiles to create an unprecedented database, largely without your knowledge. Such data mining is a boon to marketers, but it is very troubling to consumer privacy advocates.

Internet advertising agencies can also track ad *impressions* (how often ads are seen) and *click-throughs* (how often ads are clicked on). This provides advertisers with much more specific data on the number of people who not only viewed the ad but also showed real interest by clicking on it. For advertisers, online ads are more beneficial because they are more precisely targeted and easily measured. For example, an advertiser can use Google AdWords to create small ads that are linked to selected key words and geographic targeting (from global coverage to a small radius around a given location). AdWords tracks and graphs the performance of the ad's key words (through click-through and sales rates) and lets the advertiser update the campaign at any time. This kind of targeted advertising enables smaller companies with a $500 ad budget, for example, to place their ads in the same location as larger companies with multimillion-dollar ad budgets.

Beyond computers, smartphones—the "third screen" for advertisers—are of increasing importance. Smartphones offer effective targeting to individuals, as does Internet advertising, but they also offer advertisers the bonus of tailoring ads according to either a specific geographic location (e.g., a restaurant ad goes to someone in close proximity) or the user demographic, since wireless providers already have that information. Google has also developed unique applications for mobile advertising and searching. For example, the Google Goggles smartphone app enables the user to take a photo of an object—such as a book cover, a landmark, a logo, or text—and then have Google return related search results. Google's Voice Search app lets users speak their search terms. Such apps are designed to maintain Google's dominant search engine position (which generates most of its profits) on the increasingly important mobile platform.

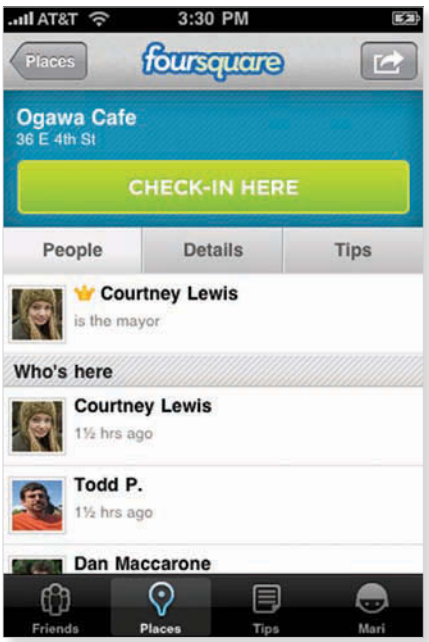
Advertising Invades Social Media

Social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Foursquare, provide a wealth of data for advertisers to mine. These sites and apps create an unprecedented public display of likes, dislikes, locations, and other personal information. And advertisers are using such information to further refine their ability to send targeted ads that might interest users. Facebook and other sites (like Hulu) go even further by asking users if they liked the ad or not. For example, clicking off a display ad in Facebook results in the question "Why didn't you like it?" followed by the choices "uninteresting," "misleading," "offensive," "repetitive," and "other." All that information goes straight back to advertisers so they can revise their advertising and try to engage you the next time. Beyond allowing advertisers to target and monitor their ad campaigns, most social media encourage advertisers to create their own online identity. For example, Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream's Facebook page has more than seven million "friends." Despite appearances, such profiles and identities still constitute a form of advertising and serve to promote products to a growing online audience for virtually no cost.

Companies and organizations also buy traditional paid advertisements on social media sites. A major objective of their *paid media* is to get *earned media*, or to convince online consumers to promote products on their own. Imagine that the environmental group the National Resources Defense Council buys an ad on Facebook that attracts your interest. That's a successful paid media ad for the council, but it's even more effective if it becomes earned media—that is, when you mark that you "Like" it, you essentially give the organization a personal endorsement. Knowing you like the ad, your friends view it; as they pass it along, it gets more earned media and eventually becomes viral—an even greater advertising achievement. As the Nielsen Media rating service says about online earned media, "Study after study has

shown that consumers trust their friends and peers more than anyone else when it comes to making a purchase decision."[20] Social media are helping advertisers use such personal endorsements to further their own products and marketing messages—basically, letting consumers do the work for them.

A recent controversy in online advertising is whether people have to disclose if they are being paid to promote a product. For example, bloggers often review products or restaurants as part of their content. Some bloggers with large followings have been paid (either directly or by "gifts" of free products or trips) to give positive reviews or promote products on their site. When such instances, dubbed "blog-ola" by the press, came to light in 2008 and 2009, the bloggers argued that they did not have to reveal that they were being compensated for posting their opinions. At the time, they were right. However, in 2009, the Federal Trade Commission released new guidelines that require bloggers to disclose when an advertiser is compensating them to discuss a product. In 2010, a similar controversy erupted when it was revealed that many celebrities were being paid to tweet about their "favorite" products. One of Facebook's more recent ad ventures is called "sponsored stories." The way this works, according to the *New York Times*, is that companies, including Amazon, "pay Facebook to generate . . . automated ads" when a user clicks on the "Like" button for a Facebook participating brand partner or "references them in some other way." Sponsors and product companies like this service because they save money, since "no creative work is involved." However, in 2012, this practice resulted in Facebook's settling a state of California class action suit out of court. The lead plaintiff in the case, a costume designer from Seattle, innocently clicked the "Like" button for an online language course offered by Rosetta Stone. Then several months later, according to the *Times*, "she showed up in an ad for Rosetta Stone on her friends' Facebook pages."[21] Part of the case involved her resentment about not consenting to be used in an ad or receiving any compensation. As new ways to advertise or sponsor products through social media continue to develop, consumers need to keep a careful eye out for what is truly a friendly recommendation from a friend and what is advertising.



FOURSQUARE is using its recent popularity to increase revenues by partnering with businesses to provide "specials" to Foursquare users and "mayors." While it may seem like a great deal to offer free snacks or drinks to users, what Foursquare is really offering to businesses ("venues") is the chance to mine data and "be able to track how your venue is performing over time thanks to [Foursquare's] robust set of venue analytics."

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Persuasive Techniques in Contemporary Advertising

Ad agencies and product companies often argue that the main purpose of advertising is to inform consumers about available products in a straightforward way. Most consumer ads, however, merely create a mood or tell stories about products without revealing much else. A one-page magazine ad, a giant billboard, or a thirty-second TV spot gives consumers little information about how a product was made, how much it costs, or how it compares with similar brands. In managing space and time constraints, advertising agencies engage in a variety of persuasive techniques.

Conventional Persuasive Strategies

One of the most frequently used advertising approaches is the **famous-person testimonial**, in which a product is endorsed by a well-known person. Famous endorsers include Justin Timberlake for Bud Light, Taylor Swift for Diet Coke, and Beyoncé for Pepsi. Athletes earn some of the biggest endorsement contracts. For example, Chicago Bulls player Derrick Rose has a $185 million,

© WENN Ltd/Alamy

FAMOUS-PERSON TESTIMONIALS
Major stars used to be somewhat wary of appearing in ads (at least in the United States), but many brands now use celebrity endorsements. A recent Revlon campaign featured both Emma Stone and Olivia Wilde.

thirteen-year deal with Adidas, the same shoe company that has a $160 million deal with now-retired soccer star David Beckham. Tiger Woods remains one of the leading endorsers, despite his personal scandals in 2009. Although some sponsors—including Accenture, Gatorade, and Gillette—dropped him, companies such as Nike and Rolex either stayed with him or sought him out in deals that still totaled over $60 million a year in 2014—down from $80 million in 2012.

Another technique, the **plain-folks pitch**, associates a product with simplicity. Over the years, Volkswagen ("Drivers wanted"), General Electric ("We bring good things to life"), and Microsoft ("I'm a PC and Windows 7 was my idea") have each used slogans that stress how new technologies fit into the lives of ordinary people. In a way, the Facebook technique of sponsored stories fits this model, since it depends on friends' endorsements of products rather than the words or images of stars or athletes.

By contrast, the **snob-appeal approach** attempts to persuade consumers that using a product will maintain or elevate their social status. Advertisers selling jewelry, perfume, clothing, and luxury automobiles often use snob appeal. For example, the pricey bottled water brand Fiji ran ads in *Esquire* and other national magazines that said, "The label says Fiji because it's not bottled in Cleveland"—a jab intended to favorably compare the water bottled in the South Pacific to the drinking water of an industrial city in Ohio. (Fiji ended up withdrawing the ad after the Cleveland Water Department released test data showing that its water was more pure than Fiji water.)

Another approach, the **bandwagon effect**, points out in exaggerated claims that *everyone* is using a particular product. Brands that refer to themselves as "America's favorite" or "the best" imply that consumers will be left behind if they ignore these products. A different technique, the **hidden-fear appeal**, plays on consumers' sense of insecurity. Deodorant, mouthwash, and shampoo ads frequently invoke anxiety, pointing out that only a specific product could relieve embarrassing personal hygiene problems and restore a person to social acceptability.

A final ad strategy, used more in local TV and radio campaigns than in national ones, has been labeled **irritation advertising**: creating product-name recognition by being annoying or obnoxious. Although both research and common sense suggest that irritating ads do not work very well, there have been exceptions. In the 1950s and 1960s, for instance, an aspirin company ran a TV ad illustrating a hammer pounding inside a person's brain. Critics and the product's own agency suggested that people bought the product, which sold well, to get relief from the ad as well as from their headaches. On the regional level, irritation ads are often used by appliance discount stores or local car dealers, who dress in outrageous costumes and yell at the camera.

The Association Principle

Historically, American car advertisements have shown automobiles in natural settings—on winding roads that cut through rugged mountain passes or across shimmering wheat fields—but rarely on congested city streets or in other urban settings where most driving actually occurs. Instead, the car—an example of advanced technology—merges seamlessly into the natural world.

This type of advertising exemplifies the **association principle**, a widely used persuasive technique that associates a product with a positive cultural value or image even if it has little

CASE STUDY

Hey, Super Bowl Sponsors: Your Ads Are Already Forgotten

by Eric Chemi

With Super Bowl ad rates averaging $4.5 million per 30 seconds, total spending for commercials during this year's game approached $337 million. Here's the problem: Most of those commercials have already been forgotten. A survey of audience respondents conducted by marketing-research firm Db5 for *Bloomberg Businessweek* suggests they remembered less than 10 percent of Sunday's commercials. Despite what some so-called expert panels say about why certain ads are more successful than others, it's likely those results are too biased or subjective to tell us which ads were truly memorable. Db5 surveyed 504 people who watched the game in its entirety, and the results are surprising.

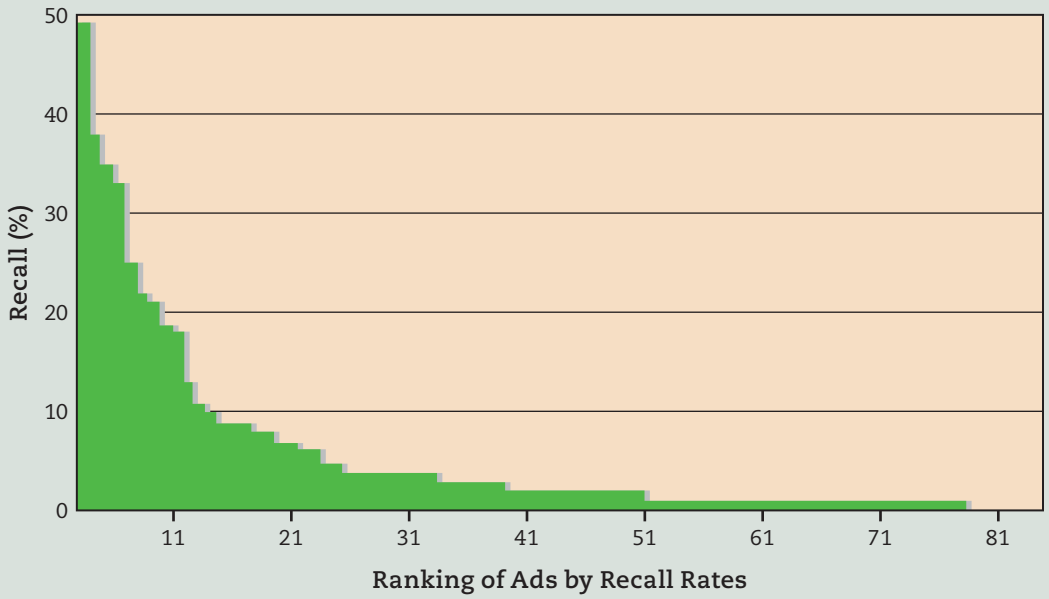
When asked to recall as many companies as possible that had ads during the big game, the average viewer in the survey could name only 5.4 brands. With more than 50 companies buying ads, that means less than 10 percent were recalled. The top winners were Budweiser, Doritos, Coca-Cola, PepsiCo, and GoDaddy—the only brands with viewer recall rates of more than 25 percent. Just 12 companies saw more than 10 percent recollection rates; the vast majority saw less than 10 percent recall. Even when viewers were given a sample list of advertisers and asked whether they remembered seeing an ad for each company, only 49 percent of those ads were recalled on average.

Daniel Goldstein, Db5's chief strategy officer, is a former ad executive who has worked on several major Super Bowl campaigns (Pepsi, Doritos, Visa). He says everybody is trying to copy the one-hit-wonder approach of Apple's famous "1984" ad. "Apple was the first to prove you could air a commercial only one time, during the Super Bowl, and have it bring you a ton of follow-up attention, praise, and sales," he says. Since then, that phenomenon has created a monster. Talking animals, talking babies, talking animal babies, big celebrities, bikinis, big-name Hollywood directors—the list of gimmicks is endless. Most of the audience can't keep up with all the tricks, and almost all the ads are quickly forgotten.

Some trends could have made a difference. Consistency may have been a factor; the most-remembered commercials came from companies who buy Super Bowl ads on an annual basis, such as Budweiser, Doritos, Coke, Pepsi, and GoDaddy. Another theory says that ads can be remembered better with advanced viewings, because they would give audiences more chances to see and process the spot. According to the data, however, that did not turn out to be the case. Ads that were seen for the first time did just as well as previously viewed ads.

The mathematical question for companies: Is 10 percent recall among 100 million people worth $4.5 million? With the increase of media fragmentation, there are so few opportunities to reach so many viewers at once. Goldstein says that this is not a knock against the Super Bowl as a platform for advertisers, but rather a signal that advertisers should not waste such a big opportunity for which they paid big bucks. The one trend that does seem to work is consistently showing up year after year, making the money a worthwhile investment in the long run. If companies want to go big, they should be going big every year.

Data from: Eric Chemi, "Hey, Super Bowl Sponsors: Your Ads Are Already Forgotten," Bloomberg Businessweek*, February 3, 2014, www.businessweek.com/articles/2014-02-03/hey-super-bowl-sponsors-your-ads-are-already-forgotten.*



connection to the product. For example, many ads displayed visual symbols of American patriotism in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in an attempt to associate products and companies with national pride. Media critic Leslie Savan noted that in trying "to convince us that there's an innate relationship between a brand name and an attitude," advertising may associate products with nationalism, happy families, success at school or work, natural scenery, freedom, or humor.[22]

One of the more controversial uses of the association principle has been the linkage of products to stereotyped caricatures of women. In numerous instances, women have been portrayed either as sex objects or as clueless housewives who, during many a daytime TV commercial, need the powerful off-screen voice of a male narrator to instruct them in their own homes.

Another popular use of the association principle is to claim that products are "real" and "natural"—possibly the most familiar adjectives associated with advertising. For example, Coke sells itself as "the real thing," and the cosmetics industry offers synthetic products that promise to make women look "natural." The adjectives *real* and *natural* saturate American ads yet almost always describe processed or synthetic goods. Green marketing has a similar problem, as it is associated with goods and services that aren't always environmentally friendly.

Philip Morris's Marlboro brand has used the association principle to completely transform its product image. In the 1920s, Marlboro began as a fashionable women's cigarette. Back then, the company's ads equated smoking with a sense of freedom, attempting to appeal to women who had just won the right to vote. Marlboro, though, did poorly as a women's product, and new campaigns in the 1950s and 1960s transformed the brand into a man's cigarette. Powerful images of active, rugged men dominated the ads. Often, Marlboro associated its product with nature, displaying an image of a lone cowboy roping a calf, building a fence, or riding over a snow-covered landscape. In 2014, the branding consultancy BrandZ (a division of WPP) named Marlboro the world's ninth "most valuable global brand," having an estimated worth of $67 billion. (Google, Apple, IBM, Microsoft, McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Visa, and AT&T ranked ahead of Marlboro.)

Disassociation as an Advertising Strategy

As a response to corporate mergers and public skepticism toward impersonal and large companies, a *disassociation corollary* emerged in advertising. The nation's largest winery, Gallo, pioneered the idea in the 1980s by establishing a dummy corporation, Bartles & Jaymes, to sell jug wine and wine coolers, thereby avoiding the use of the Gallo corporate image in ads and on its bottles. The ads featured Frank and Ed, two low-key, grandfatherly types, as "co-owners" and ad spokesmen. On the one hand, as a *BusinessWeek* article observed, the ad was "a way to connect with younger consumers who yearn for products that are handmade, quirky, and authentic."[23] On the other hand, this technique, by concealing the Gallo tie-in, allowed the wine giant to disassociate from the negative publicity of the 1970s—a period when labor leader Cesar Chavez organized migrant workers in a long boycott of Gallo.

In the 1990s, General Motors also used the disassociation strategy, according to the same *BusinessWeek* report. Reeling from a declining corporate reputation, GM tried to package the Saturn as "a small-town enterprise, run by folks not terribly unlike Frank and Ed," who provide caring, personal service.[24] In 2009, however, GM shut down its struggling Saturn brand during the economic recession. As an ad strategy, disassociation often links new brands in a product line to eccentric or simple regional places rather than to images conjured up by big cities and multinational conglomerates.

Advertising as Myth and Story

Another way to understand ads is to use **myth analysis**, which provides insights into how ads work at a general cultural level. Here, the term *myth* does not refer simply to an untrue story or outright falsehood. Rather, myths help us define people, organizations, and social norms.

According to myth analysis, most ads are narratives with stories to tell and social conflicts to resolve. Three common mythical elements are found in many types of ads:

1. Ads incorporate myths in mini-story form, featuring characters, settings, and plots.
2. Most stories in ads involve conflicts, pitting one set of characters or social values against another.
3. Such conflicts are negotiated or resolved by the end of the ad, usually by applying or purchasing a product. In advertising, the product and those who use it often emerge as the heroes of the story.

Even though the stories that ads tell are usually compressed into thirty seconds or onto a single page, they still include the traditional elements of narrative. For instance, many SUV ads ask us to imagine ourselves driving out into the raw, untamed wilderness, to a quiet, natural place that only, say, a Jeep can reach. The audience implicitly understands that the SUV can somehow, almost magically, take us out of our fast-paced, freeway-wrapped urban world, plagued with long commutes, traffic jams, and automobile exhaust. This implied conflict between the natural world and the manufactured world is apparently resolved by the image of the SUV in a natural setting. Although SUVs typically clog our urban and suburban highways, get low gas mileage, and create tons of air pollution particulates, the ads ignore those facts. Instead, they offer an alternative story about the wonders of nature, and the SUV amazingly becomes the vehicle that negotiates the conflict between city/suburban blight and the unspoiled wilderness.

Most advertisers do not expect consumers to accept without question the stories or associations they make in ads. As media scholar Michael Schudson observed in his book *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion*, they do not "make the mistake of asking for belief."[25] Instead, ads are most effective when they create attitudes and reinforce values. Then they operate like popular fiction, encouraging us to suspend our disbelief. Although most of us realize that ads create a fictional world, we often get caught up in their stories and myths. Indeed, ads often work because the stories offer comfort about our deepest desires and conflicts—between men and women, nature and technology, tradition and change, the real and the artificial. Most contemporary consumer advertising does not provide much useful information about products. Instead, it tries to reassure us that through the use of familiar brand names, everyday tensions and problems can be managed (see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: The Branded You" on page 399).

Product Placement

Product companies and ad agencies have become adept in recent years at *product placement*: strategically placing ads or buying space in movies, TV shows, comic books, video games, blogs, and music videos so that products appear as part of a story's set environment. For example, a 2015 episode of *Modern Family* was told entirely through a character's MacBook Pro and apps filmed on Apple devices, though the idea came from the show rather than from Apple. In 2013, the Superman movie *Man of Steel* had the most product placements ever for a film up to that time, with two-hundred-plus marketing partners in deals worth $160 million, including those with Hardee's, Gillette, Sears, Nikon, Nokia, 7-Eleven, IHOP, and the National Guard.

PRODUCT PLACEMENT in movies and television is more prevalent than ever. On television, placement is often most visible in reality shows, while scripted series and films tend to be more subtle—at least some of the time. Apple products are so ubiquitous in movies and television that many viewers have probably become accustomed to the prominent display of its glowing, familiar logo on shows like *House of Cards*.

David Giesbrecht/© Netflix/Everett Collection

EXAMINING ETHICS

Do Alcohol Ads Encourage Binge Drinking?

With clear evidence that cigarettes caused lung cancer, the tobacco industry in the early 1970s chose to pull all TV ads for cigarettes, in part to ward off the planned increase in public service ads that the government and nonprofit agencies were airing about the dangers of smoking. Similarly, for decades ads for hard liquor (called "distilled spirits" by the industry) were not shown in TV markets across the United States for fear of igniting anti-alcohol public service spots warning about alcoholism and heavy drinking, and countering TV commercials. Some ads for hard liquor have reappeared in recent years, but not all channels or shows will air them; often they appear on late-night or specialized programming.

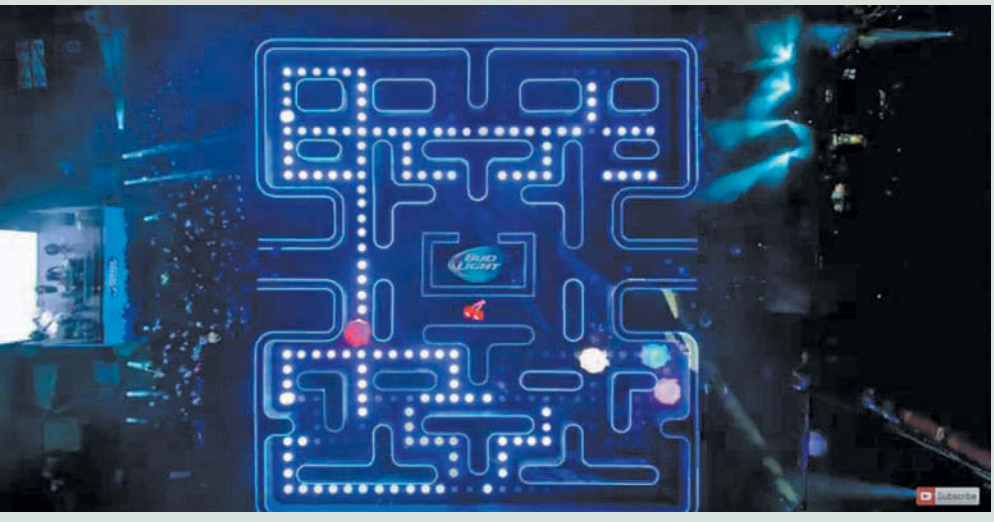
Beer ads, however, have never been interrupted and remain ubiquitous, usually associating beer drinking with young people, sex appeal, and general good times. As such, the debates over alcohol ads continue, especially in light of the ritual of binge drinking that has bedeviled universities throughout the United States. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, more than 4,500 deaths annually result from underage and binge drinking, the latter of which is generally defined as six drinks or more in one sitting.

A Dartmouth University study released in 2015 and published in the medical journal *JAMA Pediatrics* demonstrated that "alcohol ads have led to a risk in underage drinking and binge drinking."[1] The study, "Cued Recall of Alcohol Advertising on Television and Underage Drinking Behavior," surveyed more than 2,500 young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three in 2011 and then reinterviewed 1,500 of them in 2013.

In 2013, 66 percent of high school students said they had tried alcohol, whereas only 21 percent said they had engaged in binge drinking. However, 29 percent of the fifteen- to seventeen-year-olds reinterviewed after exposure to alcohol ads reported binge drinking. One coauthor of the study said, "It's very strong evidence that underage drinkers are not only exposed to television advertising, but they also assimilate the messages. That process moves them forward in their drinking behavior."[2] Although the study argues that the efforts by hard liquor advertisers to protect young people from the messages in their ads are ineffective, the Distilled Spirits Council disagrees and said the Dartmouth study was "driven by advocacy, not science."[3]

One ethical question raised by the 2015 study has to do with those who work in the ad business and the work they are asked to do. Many reputable ad agencies will ask new or potential employees if there are clients and products that they would not represent. Some agencies might specifically ask newly hired account executives if they would be willing to work for a tobacco or liquor company or if, given what they know about childhood obesity and the low nutrition content in many fast foods, sugared cereals, and popular sodas, they could represent those products.

It might be a useful exercise, then, to ask yourself, Are their products or companies you would not work for or represent in some capacity? Why or why not? Would you be willing to represent tobacco companies that wanted to place ads in magazines or a hard liquor product that wanted to advertise on TV? Why or why not?



BUD LIGHT attracted negative attention with a campaign about "turning no into yes," evoking the language of sexual assault.

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

The Branded You

To what extent are you influenced by brands?

1 DESCRIPTION. Take a look around your home or dormitory room and list all the branded products you've purchased, including food, electronics, clothes, shoes, toiletries, and cleaning products.

2 ANALYSIS. Now organize your branded items into categories. For example, how many items of clothing are branded with athletic, university, or designer logos? What patterns emerge, and what kind of psychographic profile do these brands suggest about you?

3 INTERPRETATION. Why did you buy each particular product? Was it because you thought it was of superior quality? Because it was cheaper? Because your parents used this product (so it was tried, trusted, and familiar)? Because it made you feel a certain way about yourself and you wanted to project this image toward others? Have you ever purchased items without brands or removed logos once you bought the product? Why?

4 EVALUATION. As you become more conscious of our branded environment (and your participation in it), what is your assessment of U.S. consumer culture? Is there too much conspicuous branding? What is good and bad about the ubiquity of brand names in our culture? How does branding relate to the common American ethic of individualism?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Visit Adbusters (www.adbusters.org) and read about action projects that confront commercialism, including Buy Nothing Day, Media Carta, TV Turnoff, the Culturejammers Network, the Blackspot nonbrand sneaker, and Unbrand America. Also visit the home page for the advocacy organization Commercial Alert (www.commercialalert.org) to learn about the most recent commercial incursions into everyday life and what can be done about them. Or write a letter to a company about a product or ad that you think is a problem. How does the company respond?

For many critics, product placement has gotten out of hand. What started out as subtle appearances in realistic settings—like Reese's Pieces in the 1982 movie *E.T.*—has turned into Coca-Cola's being almost an honorary cast member on Fox's *American Idol* set. The practice is now so pronounced that it was a subject of Hollywood parody in the 2006 film *Talladega Nights: The Ballad of Ricky Bobby*, starring Will Ferrell.

In 2005, watchdog organization Commercial Alert asked both the FTC and the FCC to mandate that consumers be warned about product placement on television. The FTC rejected the petition, whereas the FCC proposed product placement rules but had still not approved them by the fall of 2015. In contrast, in 2007 the European Union approved product placement for television but requires programs to alert viewers of such paid placements. In Britain, for example, the letter *P* must appear in the corner of the screen at commercial breaks and at the beginning and end of a show to signal product placements.[26]

Commercial Speech and Regulating Advertising

In 1791, Congress passed and the states ratified the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, promising, among other guarantees, to "make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." Over time, we have developed a shorthand label for the First Amendment, misnaming it the free-speech clause. The amendment ensures that citizens and journalists can generally say and write what they want, but it says nothing directly about **commercial speech**—any

Courtesy of adbusters.org

ADBUSTERS MEDIA FOUNDATION
This nonprofit organization based in Canada says its spoof ads, like the one shown here, are designed to "put out a better product and beat the corporations at their own game" (see www.adbusters.org). Besides satirizing the advertising appeals of the fashion, tobacco, alcohol, and food industries, the Adbusters Media Foundation sponsors Buy Nothing Day, an anticonsumption campaign that annually falls on the day after Thanksgiving—one of the busiest shopping days of the year.

print or broadcast expression for which a fee is charged to organizations and individuals buying time or space in the mass media.

Whereas freedom of speech refers to the right to express thoughts, beliefs, and opinions in the abstract marketplace of ideas, commercial speech is about the right to circulate goods, services, and images in the concrete marketplace of products. For most of the history of mass media, only very wealthy citizens established political parties, and multinational companies could routinely afford to purchase speech that reached millions. The Internet, however, has helped level that playing field. Political speech, like a cleverly edited mash-up video, or entertaining speech, like a music video by California teenager Rebecca Black singing about the weekend (the infamous "Friday" video on YouTube), can go viral and quickly reach millions, rivaling the most expensive commercial speech.

Although the mass media have not hesitated to carry product and service-selling advertisements and have embraced the concepts of infomercials and cable home-shopping channels, they have also refused certain issue-based advertising that might upset their traditional advertisers. For example, although corporations have easy access in placing paid ads, many labor unions have had their print and broadcast ads rejected as "controversial." The nonprofit Adbusters Media Foundation, based in Vancouver, British Columbia, has had difficulty getting networks to air its "uncommercials." One of its spots promotes the Friday after Thanksgiving (traditionally, the beginning of the holiday shopping season) as Buy Nothing Day.

Critical Issues in Advertising

In his 1957 book *The Hidden Persuaders*, Vance Packard expressed concern that advertising was manipulating helpless consumers, attacking our dignity, and invading "the privacy of our minds."[27] According to this view, the advertising industry was all-powerful. Although consumers have historically been regarded as dupes by many critics, research reveals that the consumer mind is not as easy to predict as some advertisers once thought. In the 1950s, for example, Ford could not successfully sell its midsize car, the oddly named Edsel, which was aimed at newly prosperous Ford customers looking to move up to the latest in push-button window wipers and antennas. After a splashy and expensive ad campaign, Ford sold only 63,000 Edsels in 1958 and just 2,000 in 1960, when the model was discontinued.

One of the most disastrous campaigns ever featured the now-famous "This is not your father's Oldsmobile" spots, which began running in 1989 and starred celebrities like former Beatles drummer Ringo Starr and his daughter. Oldsmobile (which became part of General Motors in 1908) and its ad agency, Leo Burnett, decided to market to a younger generation after sales declined from a high of 1.1 million vehicles in 1985 to only 715,000 in 1988. But the campaign backfired, apparently alienating its older loyal customers (who may have felt abandoned by Olds and its catchy new slogan) and failing to lure younger buyers (who probably still had trouble getting past the name Olds). In 2000, Oldsmobile sold only 260,000 cars, and GM had phased out its Olds division by 2005.[28]

As these examples illustrate, most people are not easily persuaded by advertising. Over the years, studies have suggested that between 75 and 90 percent of new consumer products typically

fail because they are not embraced by the buying public.[29] But despite public resistance to many new products, the ad industry has made contributions, including raising the American standard of living and financing most media industries. Yet serious concerns over the impact of advertising remain. Watchdog groups worry about the expansion of advertising's reach, and critics continue to condemn ads that stereotype or associate products with sex appeal, youth, and narrow definitions of beauty. Some of the most serious concerns involve children, teens, and health.

Children and Advertising

Children and teenagers, living in a culture dominated by TV ads, are often viewed as "consumer trainees." For years, groups such as Action for Children's Television (ACT) worked to limit advertising aimed at children. In the 1980s, ACT fought particularly hard to curb program-length commercials: thirty-minute cartoon programs (such as *G.I. Joe*, *My Little Pony and Friends*, *The Care Bear Family*, and *He-Man and the Masters of the Universe*) developed for television syndication primarily to promote a line of toys. This commercial tradition continued with programs such as *Pokémon* and *SpongeBob SquarePants*.

In addition, parent groups have worried about the heavy promotion of products like sugar-coated cereals during children's programs. Pointing to European countries, where children's advertising is banned, these groups have pushed to minimize advertising directed at children. Congress, hesitant to limit the protection that the First Amendment offers to commercial speech, and faced with lobbying by the advertising industry, has responded weakly. The Children's Television Act of 1990 mandated that networks provide some educational and informational children's programming, but the act has been difficult to enforce and has done little to restrict advertising aimed at kids.

Because children and teenagers influence nearly $500 billion a year in family spending—on everything from snacks to cars—they are increasingly targeted by advertisers.[30] A Stanford University study found that a single thirty-second TV ad can influence the brand choices of children as young as age two. Still, methods for marketing to children have become increasingly seductive as product placement and merchandising tie-ins become more prevalent. Most recently, companies have used seemingly innocuous online games to sell products like breakfast cereal to children.

Advertising in Schools

A controversial development in advertising was the introduction of Channel One into thousands of schools during the 1989–90 school year. The brainchild of Whittle Communications, Channel One offered "free" video and satellite equipment (tuned exclusively to Channel One) in exchange for a twelve-minute package of current events programming that included two minutes of commercials. Public pressure managed to get most junk-food ads removed from Channel One schools by 2006.

Over the years, the National Dairy Council and other organizations have also used schools to promote products, providing free filmstrips, posters, magazines, folders, and study guides adorned with corporate logos. Teachers, especially in underfunded districts, have usually been grateful for the support. Early on, however, Channel One was viewed as a more intrusive threat, violating the implicit cultural border between an entertainment situation (watching commercial television) and a learning situation (going to school). One study showed that schools with a high concentration of low-income students were more than twice as likely as affluent schools to receive Channel One.[31]

Texas and Ohio contain the highest concentrations of Channel One contracts, but many individual school districts and some state systems, including New York and California, have banned Channel One News. These school systems have argued that Channel One provides students with only slight additional knowledge about current affairs, and fear that students deem the products advertised—sneakers, clothing, cereal, and controversial sugar-flavored

LaunchPad

macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

Advertising and Effects on Children
Scholars and advertisers analyze the effects of advertising on children.
Discussion: In the video, some argue that using cute, kid-friendly imagery in ads can lead children to begin drinking; others dispute this claim. What do you think, and why?

AS AMERICAN OBESITY CONTINUES TO RISE, ads touting fast food and soft drinks have been countered by health advocacy, as in this ad on the New York City subway warning riders about the sugar content of their morning coffee drinks.

© 2012 New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene/Elk Studios

juices like SunnyD—more worthy of purchase because they are advertised in educational environments.[32] A 2006 study found that students remember "more of the advertising than they do the news stories shown on Channel One."[33] Though it has changed owners several times over the past ten years, Channel One is still in business.

Health and Advertising

Eating Disorders. Advertising has a powerful impact on the standards of beauty in our culture. A long-standing trend in advertising is the association of certain products with ultra-thin female models, promoting a style of "attractiveness" that girls and women are invited to emulate. Even today, despite the popularity of fitness programs, most fashion models are much thinner than the average woman. Some forms of fashion and cosmetics advertising actually pander to individuals' insecurities and low self-esteem by promising the ideal body. Such advertising suggests standards of style and behavior that may not only be unattainable but also be harmful, leading to eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia and an increase in cosmetic surgeries.

If advertising has been criticized for promoting skeleton-like beauty, it has also been blamed for the tripling of obesity rates in the United States since the 1980s, with more than two-thirds of adult Americans identified in 2015 as being overweight or obese. Corn syrup–laden soft drinks, fast food, and processed food are the staples of media ads and are major contributors to the nationwide weight problem. More troubling is that an obese nation is good for business (creating a multibillion-dollar market for diet products, exercise equipment, and self-help books), so media outlets see little reason to change current ad practices. The food and restaurant industry at first denied any connection between ads and the rise of U.S. obesity rates, instead blaming individuals who make bad choices. Increasingly, however, some fast-food chains offer healthier meals and calorie counts on various food items.

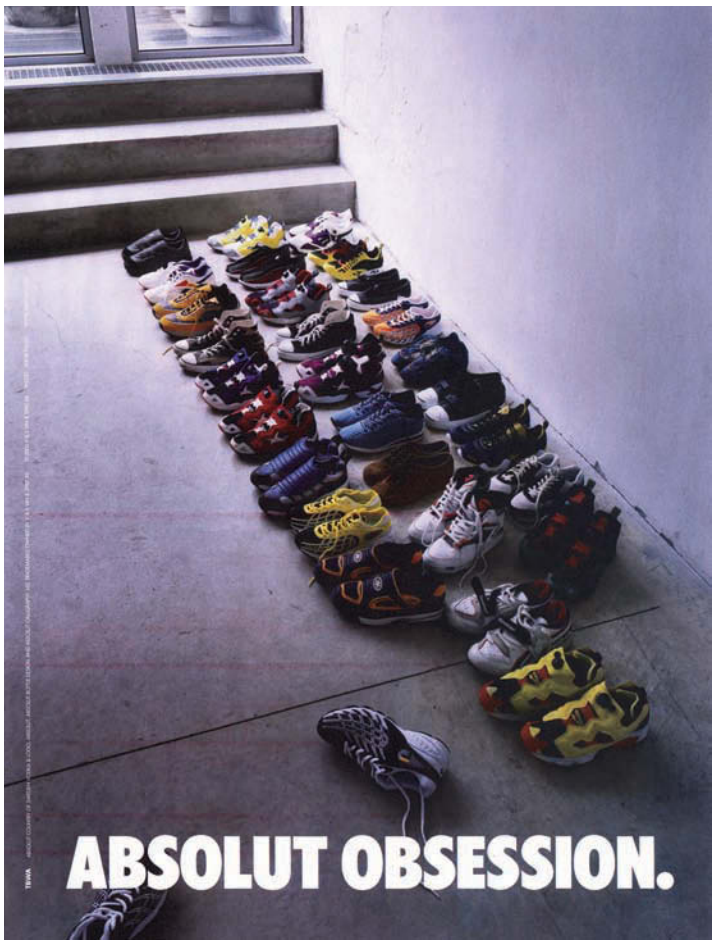
Tobacco. One of the most sustained criticisms of advertising is its promotion of tobacco consumption. Opponents of tobacco advertising have become more vocal in the face of grim statistics: Each year, an estimated 400,000 Americans die from diseases related to nicotine addiction and poisoning. Tobacco ads disappeared from television in 1971, under pressure from Congress and the FCC. However, over the years, numerous ad campaigns have targeted teenage consumers of cigarettes. In 1988, for example, R. J. Reynolds, a subdivision of RJR Nabisco, updated its Joe Camel cartoon character, outfitting him with hipper clothes and sunglasses. Spending $75 million annually, the company put Joe on billboards and store posters and in sports stadiums and magazines. One study revealed that before 1988, fewer than 1 percent of teens under age eighteen smoked Camels. After the ad blitz, however, 33 percent of this age group preferred Camels.

In addition to young smokers, the tobacco industry has targeted other groups. In the 1960s, for instance, the advertising campaigns for Eve and Virginia Slims cigarettes (reminiscent of ads during the suffrage movement in the early 1900s) associated their products with women's liberation, equality, and slim fashion models. And in 1989, Reynolds introduced a cigarette called Uptown, targeting African American consumers. The ad campaign fizzled due to public protests by black leaders and government officials. When these leaders pointed to the high concentration of cigarette billboards in poor urban areas and the high mortality rates among black male smokers, the tobacco company withdrew the brand.

The government's position regarding the tobacco industry began to change in the mid-1990s, when new reports revealed that tobacco companies had known that nicotine was

addictive as early as the 1950s and had withheld that information from the public. In 1998, after four states won settlements against the tobacco industry and the remaining states threatened to bring more expensive lawsuits against the companies, the tobacco industry agreed to an unprecedented $206 billion settlement that carried significant limits on advertising and marketing tobacco products.

The agreement's provisions banned cartoon characters in advertising, thus ending the use of the Joe Camel character; prohibited the industry from targeting young people in ads and marketing and from giving away free samples, tobacco-brand clothing, and other merchandise; and ended outdoor billboard and transit advertising. The agreement also banned tobacco company sponsorship of concerts and athletic events, and it strictly limited other corporate sponsorships by tobacco companies. These agreements, however, do not apply to tobacco advertising abroad (see "Global Village: Smoking Up the Global Market" on page 404).



The Advertising Archives

LIFESTYLE AD APPEALS TBWA (now a unit of Omnicom) introduced Absolut Vodka's distinctive advertising campaign in 1980. The campaign marketed a little-known Swedish vodka as an exclusive lifestyle brand, an untraditional approach that parlayed it into one of the world's best-selling spirits. The long-running ad campaign ended in 2006, with more than 1,450 ads having maintained the brand's premium status by referencing fashion, artists, and contemporary music.

Alcohol. In 2013, 88,000 people died from alcohol-related diseases, and another 10,000 died in car crashes involving drunk drivers. As you can guess, many of the same complaints regarding tobacco advertising are also being directed at alcohol ads. (The hard liquor industry has voluntarily banned TV and radio ads for decades.) For example, one of the most popular beer ad campaigns of the late 1990s, featuring the Budweiser frogs (which croak "Budweis-errrr"), has been accused of using cartoonlike animal characters to appeal to young viewers. In fact, the Budweiser ads would be banned under the tough standards of the tobacco industry settlement, which prohibits the attribution of human characteristics to animals, plants, or other objects.

Alcohol ads have also targeted minority populations. Malt liquors, which contain higher concentrations of alcohol than beers do, have been touted in high-profile television ads for such labels as Colt 45 and Magnum. There is also a trend toward marketing high-end liquors to African American and Hispanic male populations. In a recent marketing campaign, Hennessy targeted young African American men with ads featuring hip-hop star Nas and sponsored events in Times Square and at the Governors Ball and Coachella music festivals. Hennessy also sponsored VIP parties with Latino deejays and hip-hop acts in Miami and Houston.

College students, too, have been heavily targeted by alcohol ads, particularly by the beer industry. Although colleges and universities have outlawed "beer bashes" hosted and supplied directly by major brewers, both Coors and Miller still employ student representatives to help "create brand awareness." These students notify brewers of special events that might be sponsored by and linked to a specific beer label. The images and slogans in alcohol ads often associate the products with power, romance, sexual prowess, or athletic skill. In reality, though, alcohol is a chemical depressant; it diminishes athletic ability and sexual performance, triggers addiction in roughly 10 percent of the U.S. population, and factors into many domestic abuse cases. A national study demonstrated "that young people who see more ads for alcoholic beverages tend to drink more."[34]

GLOBAL VILLAGE

Smoking Up the Global Market

By 2000, the status of tobacco companies and their advertising in the United States had hit a low point. A $206 billion settlement in 1998 between tobacco companies and state attorneys general ended tobacco advertising on billboards and severely limited the ways in which cigarette companies can promote their products in the United States. Advertising bans and antismoking public service announcements contributed to tobacco's growing disfavor in America, with smoking rates dropping from a high of 42.5 percent of the population in 1965 to just 18 percent fifty years later.

As Western cultural attitudes have turned against tobacco, the large tobacco multinationals have shifted their global marketing focus, targeting Asia in particular. Of the world's more than 1 billion smokers, 120 million adults smoke in India, 125 million adults smoke in Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam), and 350 million people smoke in China.[1] Underfunded government health programs and populations that generally admire American and European cultural products make Asian nations ill-equipped to resist cigarette marketing efforts. For example, in spite of China's efforts to control smoking (several Chinese cities have banned smoking in public places), recent studies have shown that nearly two-thirds of Chinese men and 10 percent of Chinese women are addicted to tobacco. Chinese women, who are now starting to smoke at increasing rates, are associating smoking with slimness, feminism, and independence.[2]

Advertising bans have actually forced tobacco companies to find alternative and, as it turns out, better ways to promote smoking. Philip Morris, the largest private tobacco company, and its global rival, British American Tobacco (BAT), practice "brand stretching"—linking their logos to race-car events, soccer leagues, youth festivals, concerts, TV shows, and popular cafés. The higher price for Western cigarettes in Asia has increased their prestige and has made packs of Marlboros symbols of middle-class aspiration.

The unmistakable silhouette of the Marlboro Man is ubiquitous throughout developing countries, particularly in Asia. In Hanoi, Vietnam, almost every corner boasts a street vendor with a trolley cart, the bottom half of which carries the Marlboro logo or one of the other premium foreign brands. Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh City has two thousand such trolleys. Children in Malaysia are especially keen on Marlboro clothing, which, along with watches, binoculars, radios, knives, and backpacks, they can win by collecting a certain number of empty Marlboro packages. (It is now illegal to sell tobacco-brand clothing and merchandise in the United States.)

Sporting events have proved to be an especially successful brand-stretching technique with men. In addition to Philip Morris's sponsorship of the Marlboro soccer league in China in the mid- to late 1990s, cigarette ads flourished on Chinese television (in the U.S., such ads have been banned by FCC rules since 1971). For the last twenty years, however, cigarette ads have been banned in China on TV and radio and in newspapers and magazines. But in 2014, the powerful government-controlled Chinese tobacco industry blocked a complete ban, according to Reuters, still permitting "cigarette product launches, and tobacco sponsorship for sporting events and schools."[3]

Critics suggest that the same marketing strategies will make their way into the United States and other Western countries, but that's unlikely. Tobacco companies are mainly interested in developing regions like Asia for two reasons. First, the potential market is staggering: Only one in twenty cigarettes now sold in China is a foreign brand, and women are just beginning to develop the habit. Second, many smokers in countries like China are unaware that smoking causes lung cancer. In fact, a million Chinese people die each year from tobacco-related health problems—around 50 percent of Chinese men will die before they are sixty-five years old, and lung cancer among Chinese women has increased by 30 percent in the past few years.[4] Smoking is projected to cause about eight million deaths a year by 2030.[5]

© John van Hasselt/Sigma/Corbis

Prescription Drugs. Another area of concern is the surge in prescription drug advertising. Spending on direct-to-consumer advertising for prescription drugs increased from $266 million in 1994 to $4.5 billion in 2014—largely because of growth in television advertising, which today accounts for about two-thirds of such ads. The ads have made household names of prescription drugs such as Nexium, Claritin, Paxil, and Viagra. The ads are also very effective: Another survey found that nearly one in three adults has talked to a doctor, and one in eight has received a prescription in response to seeing an ad for a prescription drug.[35] Between 2007 and 2011, direct-to-consumer TV advertising for prescription drugs dropped 23 percent—from $3.1 billion in 2007 to $2.3 billion in 2011—due both to doctors' concerns about being pressured by patients who see the TV ads for new drugs and to notable recalls of heavily advertised drugs like Vioxx, a pain reliever that was later found to have harsh side effects. Still, in 2011, Pfizer spent $156 million on TV ads for Lipitor (a cholesterol-lowering drug that reduces the risk of heart attack and stroke), the highest amount spent for any prescription drug that year. But then, in 2012, spending rose again to over $3 billion.[36]

The tremendous growth of prescription drug ads brings the potential for false and misleading claims, particularly because a brief TV advertisement can't possibly communicate all the relevant cautionary information. More recently, direct-to-consumer prescription drug advertising has appeared in text messages and on Facebook. Pharmaceutical companies have also engaged in "disease awareness" campaigns to build markets for their products. As of 2014, the United States and New Zealand were the only two nations to allow prescription drugs to be advertised directly to consumers.

CELEBRITY SPOKESPEOPLE Tennis champion Serena Williams recently endorsed the sleep supplement Sleep Sheets, an over-the-counter sleep aid that promises to combat insomnia and promote natural sleep. Although it is available without a prescription, Williams's vigorous ad campaign for the supplement, which she co-owns, attests to the persistence of prescription drug ads and the vulnerability of their audience.

Watching Over Advertising

A few nonprofit watchdog and advocacy organizations—Commercial Alert, as well as the Better Business Bureau and the National Consumers League—compensate in many ways for some of the shortcomings of the Federal Trade Commission and other government agencies in monitoring the excesses of commercialism and false and deceptive ads.

Excessive Commercialism

Since 1998, Commercial Alert, a nonprofit organization founded in part by longtime consumer advocate Ralph Nader and based in Portland, Oregon, has been working to "limit excessive commercialism in society" by informing the public about the ways that advertising has crept out of its "proper sphere." For example, Commercial Alert highlights the numerous deals for cross-promotion made between Hollywood studios and fast-food companies. These include Warner Brothers' partnership with Hardee's for *Man of Steel*, and DreamWorks Animation's partnership with McDonald's for family-friendly flicks like *The Croods* and *How to Train Your Dragon 2*.

These deals not only helped movie studios make money as DVD sales declined but also helped movies reach audiences that traditional advertising can't. As Jeffrey Godsick, president of consumer products at 21st Century Fox, has said, "We want to hit all the lifestyle points for consumers. Partners get us into

Ben Gabbe/Getty Images

places that are nonpurchasable (as media buys). McDonald's has access to tens of millions of people on a daily basis—that helps us penetrate the culture."[37]

Commercial Alert is a lonely voice in checking the commercialization of U.S. culture. Its other activities have included challenges to specific marketing tactics, such as HarperCollins Children's Books' creation of the Mackenzie Blue series, which included "dynamic corporate partnerships," or product placements woven into the stories, written by the founder of a marketing group aimed at teens. In constantly questioning the role of advertising in democracy, the organization has aimed to strengthen noncommercial culture and limit the amount of corporate influence on publicly elected government bodies.

GREEN ADVERTISING
In response to increased consumer demand, companies have been developing and advertising green, or environmentally conscious, products to attract customers who want to lessen their environmental impact. How effective is this ad for you? What shared values do you look for or respond to in advertising?

The FTC Takes on Puffery and Deception

Since the days when Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound promised "a sure cure for all female weakness," false and misleading claims have haunted advertising. Over the years, the FTC, through its truth-in-advertising rules, has played an investigative role in substantiating the claims of various advertisers. A certain amount of *puffery*—ads featuring hyperbole and exaggeration—has usually been permitted, particularly when a product says it is "new and improved." However, ads become deceptive when they are likely to mislead reasonable consumers based on statements in the ad or because they omit information. Moreover, when a product claims to be "the best," "the greatest," or "preferred by four out of five doctors," FTC rules require scientific evidence to back up the claims.

Rudi Von Briel/Photo Edit

A typical example of deceptive advertising is the Campbell Soup ad in which marbles in the bottom of a soup bowl forced more bulky ingredients—and less water—to the surface. In another instance, a 1990 Volvo commercial featured a monster truck driving over a line of cars and crushing all but the Volvo; the company later admitted that the Volvo had been specially reinforced and the other cars' support columns had been weakened. A more subtle form of deception featured the Klondike Lite ice cream bar—"the 93 percent fat-free dessert with chocolate-flavored coating." The bars were indeed 93 percent fat-free, but only after the chocolate coating was removed.[38]

In 2003, the FTC brought enforcement actions against companies marketing the herbal weight-loss supplement ephedra. Ephedra has a long-standing connection to elevated blood pressure, strokes, and heart attacks and has contributed to numerous deaths. Nevertheless, companies advertised ephedra as a safe and miraculous weight-loss supplement and, incredibly, as "a beneficial treatment for hypertension and coronary disease." According to the FTC, one misleading ad said: "Teacher loses 70 pounds in only eight weeks. . . . This is how over one million people have safely lost millions of pounds! No calorie counting! No hunger! Guaranteed to work for you too!" As the director of the FTC's Bureau of Consumer Protection summed up, "There is no such thing as weight loss in a bottle. Claims that you'll lose

substantial amounts of weight and still eat everything you want are simply false."[39] In 2004, the United States banned ephedra.

When the FTC discovers deceptive ads, it usually requires advertisers to change them or remove them from circulation. The FTC can also impose monetary civil penalties for companies, and it occasionally requires an advertiser to run spots to correct the deceptive ads.

Alternative Voices

One of the provisions of the government's multibillion-dollar settlement with the tobacco industry in 1998 established a nonprofit organization with the mission to counteract tobacco marketing and reduce youth tobacco use. That mission became a reality in 2000, when the American Legacy Foundation launched its antismoking/anti–tobacco industry ad campaign called "Truth."

Working with a coalition of ad agencies, a group of teenage consultants, and a $300 million budget, the foundation created a series of stylish, gritty print and television ads that deconstruct the images that have long been associated with cigarette ads—macho horse country, carefree beach life, sexy bar scenes, and daring skydives. These ads show teens dragging, piling, or heaving body bags across the beach or onto a horse, and holding up signs that say "What if cigarette ads told the Truth?" Other ads show individuals with lung cancer ("I worked where people smoked. I chose not to. But I got lung cancer anyway") or illustrate how many people are indirectly touched by tobacco deaths ("Yeah, my grandfather died April last year").

The TV and print ads prominently reference the foundation's Web site, www.thetruth.com, which offers statistics, discussion forums, and outlets for teen creativity. For example, the site provides facts about addiction (more than 80 percent of all adult smokers started smoking before they turned eighteen) and tobacco money (tobacco companies make $1.8 billion from underage sales) and urges site visitors to organize the facts in their own customized folders. By 2007, with its jarring messages and cross-media platform, the "Truth" anti-tobacco campaign was recognized by 80 percent of teens and was ranked in the Top 10 "most memorable teen brands."[40] The "Truth" campaign at least partly explains the reported decline in teen smoking. Back in 2000, according to University of Michigan studies, 23 percent of all teens said they smoked. In 2015, that figure was down to 8 percent.[41]

Courtesy TRUTH/American Legacy Foundation

ALTERNATIVE ADS
In 2005, "Truth," the national youth smoking prevention campaign, won an Emmy Award in the National Public Service Announcement category. "Truth" ads were created by the ad firms of Arnold Worldwide of Boston and Crispin Porter & Bogusky of Miami.

Advertising, Politics, and Democracy

Advertising as a profession came of age in the twentieth century, facilitating the shift of U.S. society from production-oriented small-town values to consumer-oriented urban lifestyles. With its ability to create consumers, advertising became the central economic support system for our mass media industries. Through its seemingly endless supply of pervasive and persuasive strategies, advertising today saturates the cultural landscape. Products now blend in as props or even as "characters" in TV shows and movies. In addition, almost every national consumer product now has its own Web site to market itself to a global audience 365 days a year. With today's digital technology, ad images can be made to appear in places where they don't really exist. For example, advertisements can be superimposed on the backstop wall behind the batter during a nationally televised baseball broadcast. Viewers at home see the ads, but fans at the game do not.

Advertising's ubiquity, especially in the age of social media, raises serious questions about our privacy and the ease with which companies can gather data on our consumer habits. But an even more serious issue is the influence of ads on our lives as democratic citizens. With fewer and fewer large media conglomerates controlling advertising and commercial speech, what is the effect on free speech and political debate? In the future, how easy will it be to get heard in a marketplace where only a few large companies control access to that space?

Advertising's Role in Politics

Since the 1950s, political consultants have been imitating market-research and advertising techniques to sell their candidates, giving rise to **political advertising**, the use of ad techniques to promote a candidate's image and persuade the public to adopt a particular viewpoint. In the early days of television, politicians running for major offices either bought or were offered half-hour blocks of time to discuss their views and the issues of the day. As advertising time became more valuable, however, local stations and the networks became reluctant to give away time in large chunks. Gradually, TV managers began selling thirty-second spots to political campaigns, just as they sold time to product advertisers.

During the 1992 and 1996 presidential campaigns, third-party candidate Ross Perot restored the use of the half-hour time block when he ran political infomercials on cable and the networks. Barack Obama also ran a half-hour infomercial in 2008, and in the 2012 presidential race, both major candidates and various political organizations supporting them ran many online infomercials that were much longer than the standard thirty- to sixty-second TV spot. However, only very wealthy or well-funded candidates can afford such promotional strategies, and television does not usually provide free airtime to politicians. Questions about political ads continue to be asked: Can serious information on political issues be conveyed in thirty-second spots? Do repeated attack ads, which assault another candidate's character, so undermine citizens' confidence in the electoral process that they stop voting?[42] And how does a democratic society ensure that alternative political voices, which are not well financed or commercially viable, still receive a hearing?

Although broadcasters use the public's airwaves, they have long opposed providing free time for political campaigns and issues, since political advertising is big business for television stations. TV broadcasters earned $400 million in political ad revenue in 1996 and took in more than $1.5 billion (of $4.14 billion total spending) from political ads during the presidential and congressional elections in 2004. In the historic 2008 election, more than $5.28 billion was spent on advertising by all presidential and congressional candidates and interest groups. In 2012 (with a total of $6.28 billion spent on all elections), more than $1.1 billion alone went to local broadcast TV stations in the twelve most highly contested states, with local cable raking in another $200 million in those states.[43]

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Advertising Industry

Paul Ten Haken, President and Chief Online Strategist, Click Rain, Inc.

If you want to work in the online space, you'll want to have an online footprint to match. Start a blog, polish up your social profiles, and make sure who Google says you are is who *you* say you are.

Winston Binch, Partner/Chief Digital Officer, Deutsch LA

Do your homework. Research the hell out of the place you want to work. Learn the history and facts about the people you're meeting with. Take it further. Come with questions. A lot of them. This is a great way to start a dialogue with someone you're interviewing with. And it proves you really want the job. If people don't know anything about my company, it's generally an immediate pass.

Nadja Bellan-White, Senior Partner and Managing Director, Ogilvy & Mather

I think for me, the best advice I've been given, and what I try to do, is really be good to the people around you—people you're competing against [and] your clients. Because the people that you see who you may think are your enemies could be your friends the next day. So be good to everybody. I try to tell that particularly to the younger folks coming in. They think you can be so competitive that you cut people off. You've got to be really, really good to the people around you.

Jonathan Goldhill, CEO and Head Marketing Coach, The Goldhill Group

The world will always need great storytellers (i.e., copy writers) and visual types (i.e., graphic designers). People who can turn abstract concepts and execute these complex programs will succeed because they can harness the creative ideas and concepts and see them through to execution. The industry will also always need good managers.

Debra Murphy, Marketing Coach and Founder, Masterful Marketing

Creativity is needed to develop the messages and determine the right set of strategies to implement for achieving your goals. You also need to be flexible in order to take on whatever is needed to execute the strategy. And likeability is needed for the transparency that is critical in today's online marketing environment.

The Future of Advertising

Although commercialism—through packaging both products and politicians—has generated cultural feedback that is often critical of advertising's pervasiveness, the growth of the industry has not diminished. Ads continue to fascinate. Many consumers buy magazines or watch the Super Bowl just for the advertisements. Adolescents decorate their rooms with their favorite ads and identify with the images certain products convey. In 2014, the fifth straight year of increases, advertising spending in the United States totaled more than $140 billion.[44]

A number of factors have made possible advertising's largely unchecked growth. Many Americans tolerate advertising as a "necessary evil" for maintaining the economy, but many dismiss advertising as not believable and trivial. As a result, unwilling to admit its centrality to global culture, many citizens do not think advertising is significant enough to monitor or reform. Such attitudes have ensured advertising's pervasiveness and suggest the need to escalate our critical vigilance.

As individuals and as a society, we have developed an uneasy relationship with advertising. Favorite ads and commercial jingles remain part of our cultural world for a lifetime, yet we detest irritating and repetitive commercials. We realize that without ads, many mass media would need to reinvent themselves. At the same time, we should remain critical of what advertising has come to represent: the overemphasis on commercial acquisitions and images of material success, and the disparity between those who can afford to live comfortably in a commercialized society and those who cannot.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the commercial nature of mass media. The U.S. media system, due to policy choices made in the early and mid-twentieth century, was built largely on a system of commercial sponsorship. Consumers' acceptance of this arrangement was based on a sense that media content and sponsors should remain independent of each other. In other words, sponsors and product companies should not control and create media content. Today, is that line between media content and advertising shifting—or even completely disappearing?

Although media consumers have not always been comfortable with advertising, they developed a resigned acceptance of it because it "pays the bills" of the media system. Yet media consumers have their limits. Moments in which sponsors stepped over the usual borders of advertising into the realm of media content—including the TV quiz-show and radio payola scandals, complimentary newspaper reports about advertisers' businesses, product placement in TV shows and movies, and now "sponsored stories" on Facebook—have generated the greatest legal and ethical debates about advertising.

Still, as advertising has become more pervasive and consumers have become more discriminating, ad practitioners have searched for ways to weave their work more seamlessly into the cultural fabric. Products now blend in as props or even as "characters" in TV shows and movies. Search engines deliver paid placements along with regular search results. Product placements are woven into video games. Advertising messages can also be the subject of viral videos—and consumers do the work of distributing the message.

Among the more intriguing efforts to become enmeshed in the culture are the ads that exploit, distort, or transform the political and cultural meanings of popular music. When Nike used the Beatles' song "Revolution" (1968) to promote Nike shoes in 1987 ("Nike Air is not a shoe . . . it's a revolution," the ad said), many music fans were outraged to hear the Beatles' music being used for the first time to sell products.

That was more than twenty-five years ago. These days, having a popular song used in a TV commercial is considered a good career move for musicians—even better than radio airplay. Similarly, while product placement in TV shows and movies was hotly debated in the 1980s and 1990s, the explosive growth of paid placements in video games hardly raises an eyebrow today. Even the lessons of the quiz-show scandals, which forced advertisers out of TV program production in the late 1950s, are forgotten or ignored today as advertisers have been warmly invited to help develop TV programs.

Are we as a society giving up on trying to set limits on the never-ending onslaught of advertising? Are we weary of trying to keep advertising out of media production? How do we feel about the growing encroachment of ads into social networks like Facebook and Twitter? Why do we now seem less concerned about the integration of advertising into the core of media culture?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

product placement, 377
space brokers, 379
subliminal advertising, 383
slogan, 383
mega-agencies, 384
boutique agencies, 384
market research, 386
demographics, 386
psychographics, 386
focus groups, 386
Values and Lifestyles (VALS), 386
storyboard, 388
viral marketing, 388
media buyers, 388
saturation advertising, 389
account executives, 389
account reviews, 390
interstitials, 390
spam, 390
famous-person testimonial, 393
plain-folks pitch, 394
snob-appeal approach, 394
bandwagon effect, 394
hidden-fear appeal, 394
irritation advertising, 394
association principle, 394
myth analysis, 396
commercial speech, 399
political advertising, 408

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

Early Developments in American Advertising

1. Whom did the first ad agents serve?
2. How did packaging and trademarks influence advertising?
3. Explain why patent medicines and department stores figured so prominently in advertising in the late nineteenth century.
4. What role did advertising play in transforming America into a consumer society?

The Shape of U.S. Advertising Today

5. What influences did visual culture exert on advertising?
6. What are the differences between boutique agencies and mega-agencies?
7. What are the major divisions at most ad agencies? What is the function of each department?
8. What are the advantages of Internet and mobile advertising over traditional media, like newspapers and television?

Persuasive Techniques in Contemporary Advertising

9. How do the common persuasive techniques used in advertising work?
10. How does the association principle work, and why is it an effective way to analyze advertising?
11. What is the disassociation corollary?
12. What is product placement? Cite examples.

Commercial Speech and Regulating Advertising

13. What is commercial speech?
14. What are four serious contemporary issues regarding health and advertising? Why is each issue controversial?
15. What is the difference between puffery and deception in advertising? How can the FTC regulate deceptive ads?

Advertising, Politics, and Democracy

16. What are some of the major issues involving political advertising?
17. What role does advertising play in a democratic society?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. What is your earliest recollection of watching a television commercial? Do you think the ad had a significant influence on you?
2. Why are so many people critical of advertising?
3. If you were (or are) a parent, what strategies would you use to explain an objectionable ad to your child or teenager? Use an example.
4. Should advertising aimed at children be regulated? Support your response.
5. Should tobacco or alcohol advertising be prohibited? Why or why not? How would you deal with First Amendment issues regarding controversial ads?
6. Would you be in favor of regular advertising on public television and radio as a means of financial support for these media? Explain your answer.
7. Is advertising at odds with the ideals of democracy? Why or why not?

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- VIDEO: BLURRING THE LINES: MARKETING PROGRAMS ACROSS PLATFORMS
  An executive for MTV New Media explores how recent television programs blur the line between scripted and reality shows—and how MTV markets online to reach today's younger viewers.

FF6

Kevin Mazur/WireImage for Parkwood Entertainment/Getty Images

12

Public Relations and Framing the Message

416
Early Developments in Public Relations

421
The Practice of Public Relations

433
Tensions between Public Relations and the Press

436
Public Relations and Democracy

Traditionally, public relations (PR) professionals try to influence audiences, often by attempting to gain positive coverage in the news media. Social media like Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, and Tumblr have shortened the path of communication; now PR pros can communicate directly with their audience—as can many of their famous clients. But entertainers, celebrities, and politicians who live by social media may also see their mistakes and foibles go viral. Ashton Kutcher, Alec Baldwin, Amanda Bynes, Justin Bieber, and former congressmen Anthony Wiener and Christopher Lee are among the celebrities who have damaged their images with ill-considered social media posts.

Other celebrities have more carefully developed incredibly strong followings through social media. Taylor Swift has 70 million Facebook likes, 57.3 million Twitter followers, and almost 30 million Instagram fans. Fellow diva Beyoncé has 63 million Facebook likes, 14 million Twitter followers, and more than 32 million Instagram fans.

And then there's Vin Diesel. Although he doesn't quite have the same standing in the traditional

media as, say, Taylor Swift (he doesn't appear on nearly as many magazine covers), in social media, he qualifies as a superstar. On Facebook, he is the world's third-biggest celebrity, with almost 92 million likes, trailing only Shakira and World Cup soccer star Cristiano Ronaldo. Diesel ranks ahead of Eminem, Rihanna, Leo Messi, Will Smith (the only other actor in the Top 10), and Justin Bieber. (Taylor Swift and Beyoncé are twelfth and fourteenth, respectively.) Diesel doesn't do Twitter, but he has 6.8 million Instagram followers and a popular Web site, vindiesel.com.

Diesel is not among Hollywood's elite actors, but his social media popularity provides some clues about the incredible popularity of the *Fast and Furious* movie franchise. The huge success of the seventh installment's opening in April 2015 took many industry watchers by surprise. In just seventeen days, the movie earned more than $1 billion worldwide, a record pace in crossing that mark. The *New York Times* noted that the movie's content contributed to additional social media: "The sheer spectacle of 'Furious 7'—Universal Pictures crashed at least 230 vehicles during filming—led to enormous chatter on social media networks after its arrival on April 3, which in turn has kept demand high."[1]

To get demand high in the first place, the movie studio, Universal, and many stars of the franchise had built a growing community of fans. It didn't hurt that the cast itself was a rare one, in that it "reflected the reality of our country's racial makeup," as noted by *Entertainment Weekly*.[2] A wide range of audience members can identify with the racial and ethnic backgrounds of the large ensemble cast, which includes Diesel, Paul Walker, Dwayne Johnson, Michelle Rodriguez, Jason Statham, Jordana Brewster, Tyrese Gibson, Ludacris, Tatchakorn Yeerum, Sung Kang, and Romeo Santos.

Many of these stars had also been building a fan base at least since the first film, *The Fast and the Furious*, in 2001. For example, after Vin Diesel (#3 on the Facebook list) comes a number of other Facebook stars: Jason Statham (#29), Dwayne Johnson (#31), Paul Walker (#36), Wiz Khalifa (#49, who performed the film's theme song, "See You Again," which became a #1 hit), Romeo Santos (#61), and Tyrese Gibson (#77). It is likely that no other film has had a cast with as many Top 100 Facebook celebrities. Among entertainment sites on Facebook, the movie *Furious 7* itself ranked #7, with more than 56 million likes.

With such a built-in fan base and long-running characters, it should not have been surprising that the seventh film had such promise for the box office. But it wasn't an easy journey. Tragedy hit the production of the movie with an off-set car accident in November 2013 that killed star Paul Walker. As the *Guardian* recounted, Walker's death left Universal in a difficult position in finishing the film and also handling his passing with sensitivity. The studio's strategy was to use social media to reach out to fans:

> The studio kept them apprised every step of the way. Universal issued three messages via social media during a seven-month period immediately after Walker's death, until *Fast & Furious 7* wrapped in July 2014. The correspondence was respectful and illustrated the uncommon dialogue the studio, Vin Diesel, and other cast members have enjoyed with the films' audience. *Fast and Furious* had built up a cinematic superpower over 14 years, a borderless social media tribe of millions.[3]

After its fifth week of release, *Furious 7* neared a total of $1.5 billion in international box office receipts, while the total franchise had earned more than $3.39 billion.

◢ ***THE VIN DIESEL STORY ILLUSTRATES A MAJOR DIFFERENCE*** between advertising and public relations: Advertising is controlled publicity that a company or an individual buys; public relations attempts to secure favorable media publicity (which is more difficult to control) to promote a company or client.

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

Public relations covers a wide array of practices, such as shaping the public image of a politician or celebrity, establishing or repairing communication between consumers and companies, and promoting government agencies and actions, especially during wartime. Broadly defined, **public relations** refers to the total communication strategy conducted by a person, a government, or an organization attempting to reach and persuade an audience to adopt a point of view.[4] While public relations may sound very similar to advertising, which also seeks to persuade audiences, it is a different skill in a variety of ways. Advertising uses simple and fixed messages (e.g., "our appliance is the most efficient and affordable") that are transmitted directly to the public through the purchase of ads. Public relations involves more complex messages that may evolve over time (e.g., a political campaign or a long-term strategy to dispel unfavorable reports about "fatty processed foods") and that may be transmitted to the public indirectly, often through the news media.

The social and cultural impact of public relations has been immense. In its infancy, PR helped convince many American businesses of the value of nurturing the public, who became purchasers rather than producers of their own goods after the Industrial Revolution. PR set the tone for the corporate image-building that characterized the economic environment of the twentieth century and for the battles of organizations taking sides on today's environmental, energy, and labor issues. Perhaps PR's most significant effect, however, has been on the political process, in which individuals and organizations—on both the Right and the Left—hire spin doctors to shape their media images.

In this chapter, we will:

- Study the impact of public relations and the historical conditions that affected its development as a modern profession
- Look at nineteenth-century press agents and the role that railroad and utility companies played in developing corporate PR
- Consider the rise of modern PR, particularly the influences of former reporters Ivy Lee and Edward Bernays
- Explore the major practices and specialties of public relations
- Examine the reasons for the long-standing antagonism between journalists and members of the PR profession, and the social responsibilities of public relations in a democracy

As you read through this chapter, think about what knowledge you might already have about what public relations practitioners do, given that PR is an immensely powerful media industry and yet remains largely invisible. Can you think of a company or an organization, either national (like BP) or local (like your university or college), that might have engaged the help of a public relations team to handle a crisis? What did the team do to make the public trust the organization more? When you see political campaign coverage, are you sometimes aware of the spin doctors who are responsible for making sure their candidate says or does the "right" thing at the "right" time to foster the most favorable public image that will gain the candidate the most votes? For more questions to help you understand the role of public relations in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Early Developments in Public Relations

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States shifted to a consumer-oriented, industrial society, which fostered the development of new products and services as people moved to cities to find work. During this transformation from farm to factory, advertising and PR emerged as professions. While advertising drew attention and customers to new products, PR began in part to help businesses fend off increased scrutiny from the muckraking journalists and emerging labor unions of the time.[5]

The first PR practitioners were simply theatrical **press agents**: those who sought to advance a client's image through media exposure, primarily via stunts staged for newspapers. The advantages of these early PR techniques soon became obvious. For instance, press agents were used by people like Daniel Boone, who engineered various land-grab and real estate ventures, and Davy Crockett, who in addition to performing heroic exploits was also involved in the massacre of Native Americans. Such individuals often wanted press agents to repair and reshape their reputations as cherished frontier legends or as respectable candidates for public office.

P. T. Barnum and Buffalo Bill

The most notorious press agent of the nineteenth century was Phineas Taylor (P. T.) Barnum, who used gross exaggeration, fraudulent stories, and staged events to secure newspaper coverage for his clients, his American Museum, and later his circus. Barnum's circus, dubbed "The Greatest Show on Earth," included the "midget" General Tom Thumb, Swedish soprano Jenny Lind, Jumbo the Elephant, and Joice Heth (who Barnum claimed was the 161-year-old nurse of George Washington, but who was actually 80 when she died). These performers

Public Relations and Framing the Message

Early Promotions through Media
In a career that spans the 1840s to the 1880s, theatrical agent P. T. Barnum employs early PR tactics to promote his many acts, including the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind and Jumbo, the twelve-foot-tall African elephant (pp. 416–417).

"Poison Ivy" Lee
After opening one of the first PR firms in New York in the first decade of the twentieth century, Lee, in 1914, works for the wealthy Rockefeller family, transforming the senior Rockefeller's reputation as a stingy curmudgeon into that of a child-loving philanthropist (pp. 419–420).

Walter Lippmann
In 1922, the newspaper columnist publishes the book *Public Opinion*, illustrating how slogans, stereotypes, and other media messages can shape public perception (p. 421).

1840 • 1860 • 1880 • 1900 • 1920

The Railroads
The PR practice of bribing reporters for positive news stories and deadheading (giving reporters free rail passes) reaches its height (p. 418).

Edward Bernays
In 1923, Bernays teaches the first public relations course at New York University and writes the first PR textbook (p. 420).

The Advertising Archives (left); © Bettmann/Corbis (right)

became some of the earliest nationally known celebrities because of Barnum's skill in using the media for promotion. Decrying outright fraud and cheating, Barnum understood that his audiences liked to be tricked. In newspapers and on handbills, he later often revealed the strategies behind his more elaborate hoaxes.

From 1883 to 1916, William F. Cody, who once killed buffalo for the railroads, promoted himself and his traveling show: "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World." Cody's troupe—which featured bedouins, Cossacks, and gauchos, as well as "cowboys and Indians"—re-created dramatic gunfights, the Civil War, and battles of the Old West. The show employed sharpshooter Annie Oakley and Lakota medicine man Sitting Bull, whose legends were partially shaped by Cody's nine press agents. These agents were led by John Burke, who successfully promoted the show for its entire thirty-four-year run. Burke was one of the first press agents to use a wide variety of media channels to generate publicity: promotional newspaper stories, magazine articles and ads, dime novels, theater marquees, poster art, and early films. Burke and Buffalo Bill shaped many of the lasting myths

The Advertising Archives

EARLY PUBLIC RELATIONS
Originally called "P. T. Barnum's Great Traveling Museum, Menagerie, Caravan, and Hippodrome," Barnum's circus merged with Bailey's circus in 1881 and again with the Ringling Bros. in 1919. Even with the ups and downs of the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus over the decades, Barnum's original catchphrase, "The Greatest Show on Earth," endures to this day.

Tylenol Scare
After a criminal laces Tylenol capsules with cyanide in 1982, Johnson & Johnson responds with rapid and ethical PR crisis management, saving the Tylenol brand (pp. 432–433).

Video News Releases (VNRs)
Responding to citizen pressure, in 2005 the FCC mandates that the source of a VNR must be clearly disclosed when broadcast (p. 425).

1940 • 1960 • 1980 • 2000 • 2020

PRSA
To better its standing among the public and news media, the PR industry forms the Public Relations Society of America in 1948 to function as an internal watchdog group (p. 435).

Consumer Relations
In 1965, consumer activist Ralph Nader publishes *Unsafe at Any Speed*, a book that blasts the safety conditions of GM's Chevrolet Corvair. A consumer movement is ignited, and the PR industry develops new customer relations strategies (p. 429).

BP Oil Spill
A deadly explosion and gushing leak at a BP deep-sea oil well in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010 becomes the largest U.S. oil spill ever and annihilates BP's effort to cultivate an environmentally friendly image (p. 432).

The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY (left); AP Photo/Longview News-Journal, Kevin Green (right)

about rugged American individualism and frontier expansion that were later adopted by books, radio programs, and Hollywood films about the American West. Along with Barnum, they were among the first to use **publicity**—a type of PR communication that uses various media messages to spread information about a person, a corporation, an issue, or a policy—to elevate entertainment culture to an international level.

Big Business and Press Agents

As P. T. Barnum, Buffalo Bill, and John Burke demonstrated, utilizing the press brought with it enormous power to sway the public and to generate business. So it is not surprising that during the nineteenth century, America's largest industrial companies—particularly the railroads—also employed press agents to win favor in the court of public opinion.

The railroads began to use press agents to help them obtain federal funds. Initially, local businesses raised funds to finance the spread of rail service. Around 1850, however, the railroads began pushing for federal subsidies, complaining that local fund-raising efforts took too long. For example, Illinois Central was one of the first companies to use government *lobbyists* (people who try to influence the voting of lawmakers) to argue that railroad service between the North and the South was in the public interest and would ease tensions, unite the two regions, and prevent a war.

The railroad press agents successfully gained government support by developing some of the earliest publicity tactics. Their first strategy was simply to buy favorable news stories about rail travel from newspapers through direct bribes. Another practice was to engage in *deadheading*—giving reporters free rail passes with the tacit understanding that they would write glowing reports about rail travel. Eventually, wealthy railroads received the federal subsidies they wanted and increased their profits, while the American public shouldered much of the financial burden of rail expansion.

Having obtained construction subsidies, the larger rail companies turned their attention to bigger game—persuading the government to control rates and reduce competition, especially from smaller, aggressive regional lines. Railroad lobbyists argued that federal support would lead to improved service and guaranteed quality because the government would be keeping a close watch. These lobbying efforts, accompanied by favorable publicity, led to passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, the first federal law to regulate private industry, which required railroads to publicize their shipping rates, banned special lower rates to certain freights or passengers, and established a commission to oversee enforcement of the law.[6] Historians have argued that, ironically, the PR campaign's success actually led to the decline of the railroads: Artificially maintained higher rates and burdensome government regulations forced smaller firms out of business and eventually drove many customers to other modes of transportation.

Along with the railroads, utility companies such as Chicago Edison and AT&T used PR strategies in the late nineteenth century to derail competition and eventually attain monopoly status. In fact, AT&T's PR and lobbying efforts were so effective that they eliminated all telephone competition—with the government's blessing—until the 1980s. In addition to buying the votes of key lawmakers, the utilities hired third-party editorial services, which sent favorable articles about utilities to newspapers, assigned company managers to become leaders in community groups, produced ghostwritten articles (often using the names of prominent leaders and members of women's social groups, who were flattered to see their names in print), and influenced textbook authors to write histories favorable to the utilities.[7] The tactics of the 1880s and 1890s, however, would haunt public relations as it struggled to become a respected profession.

The Birth of Modern Public Relations

By the first decade of the twentieth century, reporters and muckraking journalists were investigating the promotional practices behind many companies. As an informed citizenry paid

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Photo courtesy of Princeton University. Reprinted by permission.

IVY LEE, a founding father of public relations (*above*), did more than just crisis work with large companies and business magnates. His PR work also included clients like transportation companies in New York City (*above right*) and aviator Charles Lindbergh.

more attention, it became increasingly difficult for large firms to fool the press and mislead the public. With the rise of the middle class, increasing literacy among the working classes, and the spread of information through print media, democratic ideals began to threaten the established order of business and politics—and the elite groups who managed them. Two pioneers of public relations—Ivy Lee and Edward Bernays—emerged in this atmosphere to popularize an approach that emphasized shaping the interpretation of facts and "engineering consent."

Ivy Ledbetter Lee

Most nineteenth-century corporations and manufacturers cared little about public sentiment. By the early 1900s, though, executives had realized that their companies could sell more products if they were associated with positive public images and values. Into this public space stepped Ivy Ledbetter Lee, considered one of the founders of modern public relations. Lee understood that the public's attitude toward big corporations had changed. He counseled his corporate clients that honesty and directness were better PR devices than the deceptive practices of the nineteenth century, which had fostered suspicion and an anti-big-business sentiment.

A minister's son, an economics student at Princeton University, and a former reporter, Lee opened one of the first PR firms in the early 1900s with George Park. Lee quit the firm in 1906 to work for the Pennsylvania Railroad, which, following a rail accident, hired him to help downplay unfavorable publicity. Lee's advice, however, was that Penn Railroad admit its mistake, vow to do better, and let newspapers in on the story. These suggestions ran counter to the then standard practice of hiring press agents to manipulate the media, yet Lee argued that an open relationship between business and the press would lead to a more favorable public image. In the end, Penn and subsequent clients, notably John D. Rockefeller, adopted Lee's successful strategies.

By the 1880s, Rockefeller controlled 90 percent of the nation's oil industry and suffered from periodic image problems, particularly after Ida Tarbell's powerful muckraking series about the ruthless business tactics practiced by Rockefeller and his Standard Oil Company appeared in *McClure's Magazine* in 1904. The Rockefeller and Standard Oil reputations reached a low point in April 1914, when tactics to stop union organizing erupted in tragedy at a coal

company in Ludlow, Colorado. During a violent strike, fifty-three workers and their family members died, including thirteen women and children.

Lee was hired to contain the damaging publicity fallout. He immediately distributed a series of "fact" sheets to the press, telling the corporate side of the story and discrediting the tactics of the United Mine Workers, who had organized the strike. As he had done for Penn Railroad, Lee also brought in the press and staged photo opportunities. John D. Rockefeller Jr., who now ran the company, donned overalls and a miner's helmet and posed with the families of workers and union leaders. This was probably the first use of a PR campaign in a labor-versus-management dispute. Over the years, Lee completely transformed the wealthy family's image, urging the discreet Rockefellers to publicize their charitable work. To improve his image, the senior Rockefeller took to handing out dimes to children wherever he went—a strategic ritual that historians attribute to Lee.

Called "Poison Ivy" by corporate foes and critics within the press, Lee had a complex understanding of facts. For Lee, facts were elusive and malleable, begging to be forged and shaped. "Since crowds do not reason," he noted in 1917, "they can only be organized and stimulated through symbols and phrases."[8] In the Ludlow case, for instance, Lee noted that the women and children who died while retreating from the charging company-backed militia had overturned a stove, which caught fire and caused their deaths. One of his PR fact sheets implied that they had, in part, been victims of their own carelessness.

Edward Bernays

The nephew of Sigmund Freud, former reporter Edward Bernays inherited the public relations mantle from Ivy Lee. Beginning in 1919, when he opened his own office, Bernays was the first person to apply the findings of psychology and sociology to public relations, referring to himself as a "public relations counselor" rather than a "publicity agent." Over the years, Bernays's client list included General Electric, the American Tobacco Company, General Motors, *Good Housekeeping* and *Time* magazines, Procter & Gamble, RCA, the government of India, the city of Vienna, and President Coolidge.

Bernays also worked for the Committee on Public Information (CPI) during World War I, developing propaganda that supported America's entry into that conflict and promoting the image of President Woodrow Wilson as a peacemaker. Both efforts were among the first full-scale governmental attempts to mobilize public opinion. In addition, Bernays made key contributions to public relations education, teaching the first class called "public relations"—at New York University in 1923—and writing the field's first textbook, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*. For many years, his definition of PR was the standard: "Public relations is the attempt, by information, persuasion, and adjustment, to engineer public support for an activity, cause, movement, or institution."[9]

In the 1920s, Bernays was hired by the American Tobacco Company to develop a campaign to make smoking more publicly acceptable for women (similar campaigns are under way today in countries like China). Among other strategies, Bernays staged an event: placing women smokers in New York's 1929 Easter parade. He labeled cigarettes "torches of freedom" and encouraged women to smoke as a symbol of their newly acquired suffrage and independence from men. He also asked the women he placed in the parade to contact newspaper and newsreel companies in advance—to announce their symbolic protest. The campaign received plenty of free publicity from newspapers and magazines. Within weeks of the parade, men-only smoking rooms in New York theaters began opening up to women.

Through much of his writing, Bernays suggested that emerging freedoms threatened the established hierarchical order. He thought it was important for experts and leaders to control the direction of American society: "The duty of the higher strata of society—the cultivated, the learned, the expert, the intellectual—is therefore clear. They must inject moral and spiritual motives into public opinion."[10] For the cultural elite to maintain order and control, they would have to win the consent of the larger public. As a result, he described the shaping of public

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The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

EDWARD BERNAYS with his business partner and wife, Doris Fleischman (*left*). Bernays worked on behalf of the American Tobacco Company to make smoking socially acceptable for women. For one of American Tobacco's brands, Lucky Strike, Bernays was also asked to change public attitudes toward the color green. (Women weren't buying the brand because surveys indicated that the forest green package clashed with their wardrobes.) Bernays and Fleischman organized events such as green fashion shows and sold the idea of a new trend in green to the press. By 1934, green had become the fashion color of the season, making Lucky Strike cigarettes the perfect accessory for the female smoker. Interestingly, Bernays forbade his own wife to smoke, flushing her cigarettes down the toilet and calling smoking a nasty habit.

opinion through PR as the "engineering of consent." Like Ivy Lee, Bernays thought that public opinion was malleable and not always rational: In the hands of the right experts, leaders, and PR counselors, public opinion could be shaped into forms people could rally behind.[11] However, journalists like Walter Lippmann, who wrote the famous book *Public Opinion* in 1922, worried that PR professionals with hidden agendas, rather than journalists with professional detachment, held too much power over American public opinion.

Throughout Bernays's most active years, his business partner and later his wife, Doris Fleischman, worked with him on many of his campaigns as a researcher and coauthor. Beginning in the 1920s, she was one of the first women to work in public relations, and she introduced PR to America's most powerful leaders through a pamphlet she edited called *Contact*. Because she opened up the profession to women from its inception, PR emerged as one of the few professions—apart from teaching and nursing—accessible to women who chose to work outside the home at that time. Today, women outnumber men by more than three to one in the profession.

The Practice of Public Relations

Today, there are more than seven thousand PR firms in the United States, plus thousands of additional PR departments within corporate, government, and nonprofit organizations.[12] Since the 1980s, the formal study of public relations has grown significantly at colleges and

universities. By 2014, the Public Relations Student Society of America (PRSSA) had more than eleven thousand members and over three hundred chapters in colleges and universities. As certified PR programs have expanded (often requiring courses or a minor in journalism), the profession has relied less and less on its traditional practice of recruiting journalists for its workforce. At the same time, new courses in professional ethics and issues management have expanded the responsibility of future practitioners. In this section, we discuss the differences between public relations agencies and in-house PR services and the various practices involved in performing PR.

Approaches to Organized Public Relations

The Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) offers this simple and useful definition of PR: "Public relations helps an organization and its publics adapt mutually to each other." To carry out this mutual communication process, the PR industry uses two approaches. First, there are independent PR agencies whose sole job is to provide clients with PR services. Second, most companies, which may or may not also hire independent PR firms, maintain their own in-house PR staffs to handle routine tasks, such as writing press releases, managing various media requests, staging special events, and dealing with internal and external publics.

Many large PR firms are owned by, or are affiliated with, multinational communications holding companies, such as Publicis, Omnicom, WPP, and Interpublic (see Table 12.1). Three of the largest PR agencies—Burson-Marsteller, Hill+Knowlton Strategies, and Ogilvy Public Relations—generated part of the $17.4 billion in revenue earned by their parent corporation, the WPP Group, in 2014. Founded in 1953, Burson-Marsteller has 158 offices and affiliate partners in 110 countries and lists Facebook, IKEA, Coca-Cola, Ford, Sony, and the United Arab Emirates among its clients. Hill+Knowlton, founded in 1927, has 90 offices in 52 countries and includes Johnson & Johnson, Nestlé, Proctor & Gamble, Canon, Splenda, and Latvia on its client list. Most independent PR firms are smaller and operate locally or regionally. New York–based Edelman, the largest independent firm, is an exception, with global operations and clients like Starbucks, Microsoft, Hewlett-Packard, Samsung, and Unilever.

In contrast to these external agencies, most PR work is done in-house at companies and organizations. Although America's largest companies typically retain external PR firms, almost every company involved in the manufacturing and service industries has an in-house PR department. Such departments are also a vital part of many professional organizations, such as the American Medical Association, the AFL-CIO, and the National Association of Broadcasters, as well as large nonprofit organizations, such as the American Cancer Society, the Arthritis Foundation, and most universities and colleges.

TABLE 12.1

THE TOP 10 PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS, 2013 (BY WORLDWIDE REVENUE, IN MILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS)

Data from: "CRM/Direct and PR," Advertising Age, April 28, 2014, p. 31.

Rank	Agency	Parent Firm	Headquarters	Revenue
1	Edelman	Independent	New York/Chicago	$741
2	Weber Shandwick	Interpublic	New York	$567
3	Fleishman-Hillard	Omnicom	St. Louis	$551
4	MSL Group	Publicis	Paris	$501
5	Burson-Marsteller	WPP	New York	$466
6	Ketchum	Omnicom	New York	$464
7	Hill+Knowlton Strategies	WPP	New York	$390
8	Ogilvy Public Relations	WPP	New York	$296
9	BlueDigital	BlueFocus Communication Group	Beijing	$271
10	Brunswick Group	Independent	London	$231

Performing Public Relations

Public relations, like advertising, pays careful attention to the needs of its clients—politicians, small businesses, industries, and nonprofit organizations—and to the perspectives of its targeted audiences: consumers and the general public, company employees, shareholders, media organizations, government agencies, and community and industry leaders. To do so, PR involves providing a multitude of services, including publicity, communication, public affairs, issues management, government relations, financial PR, community relations, industry relations, minority relations, advertising, press agentry, promotion, media relations, social networking, and propaganda. This last service, **propaganda**, is communication strategically placed, either as advertising or as publicity, to gain public support for a special issue, program, or policy, such as a nation's war effort.

In addition, PR personnel (both PR technicians, who handle daily short-term activities, and PR managers, who counsel clients and manage activities over the long term) produce employee newsletters, manage client trade shows and conferences, conduct historical tours, appear on news programs, organize damage control after negative publicity, analyze complex issues and trends that may affect a client's future, manage Twitter and other social media accounts, and much more. Basic among these activities, however, are formulating a message through research, conveying the message through various channels, sustaining public support through community and consumer relations, and maintaining client interests through government relations.

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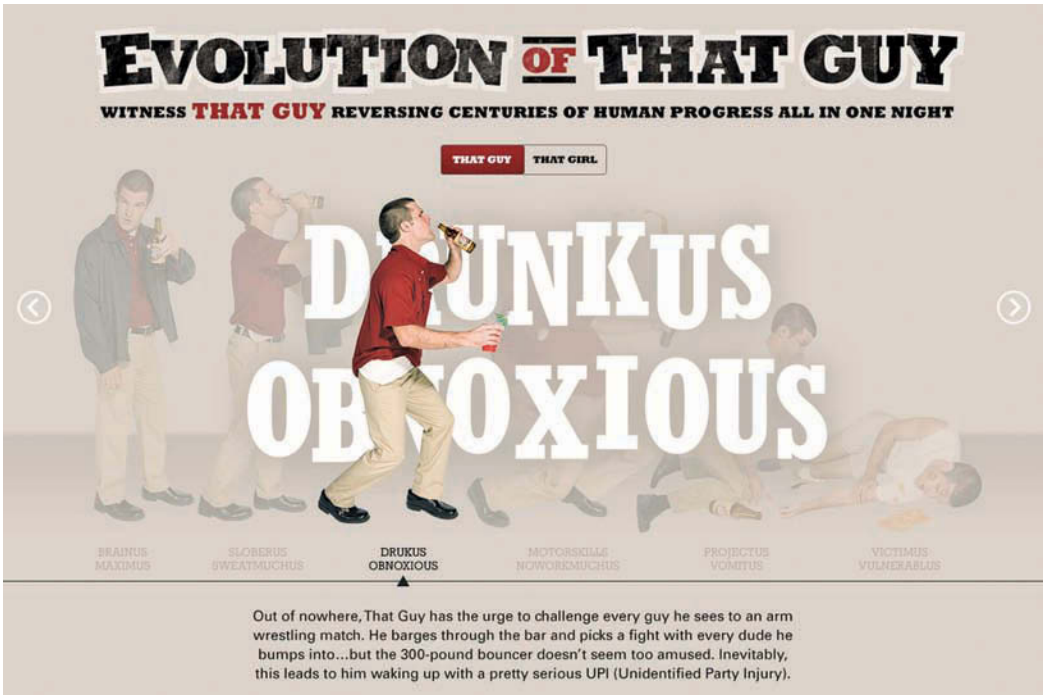
WORLD WAR II was a time when the U.S. government used propaganda and other PR strategies to drum up support for the war. One of the more iconic posters at the time asked women to join the workforce.

Research: Formulating the Message

One of the most essential practices in the PR profession is doing research. Just as advertising is driven today by demographic and psychographic research, PR uses similar strategies to project messages to appropriate audiences. Because it has historically been difficult to determine why particular PR campaigns succeed or fail, research has become the key ingredient in PR forecasting. Like advertising, PR makes use of mail, telephone, and Internet surveys and focus group interviews—as well as social media analytics tools, such as Google Analytics, Twtrland, and Twitter Analytics—to get a fix on an audience's perceptions of an issue, a policy, a program, or a client's image.

Research also helps PR firms focus the campaign message. For example, the Department of Defense hired the PR firm Fleishman-Hillard International Communications to help combat the rising rates of binge drinking among junior enlisted military personnel. The firm first verified its target audience by researching the problem, finding from the Department of Defense's triennial Health Related Behaviors Survey that eighteen- to twenty-four-year-old servicemen had the

MESSAGE FORMULATION
Appealing to the eighteen- to twenty-four-year-old target age group, the interactive Web site for the Department of Defense's "*That Guy!*" anti-binge-drinking campaign uses humorous terms like "Sloberus Sweatmuchus" and "Drunkus Obnoxious" to describe the stages of intoxication.



Courtesy of Defense Health Agency/Department of Defense

highest rates of binge drinking. It then conducted focus groups to refine the tone of its antidrinking message and developed and tested its Web site for usability. The finalized campaign concept and message—"Don't Be *That Guy*!"—has been successful: It has shifted binge drinkers' attitudes toward less harmful drinking behaviors through a Web site (www.thatguy.com) and multimedia campaign that combines humorous videos, mobile games, and cartoons with useful resources. By 2015, the award-winning campaign had been implemented in over eight hundred military locations across twenty-three countries, and had expanded to a poster series (including "That Girl"-specific materials), playing cards, magnets, and PSAs on a "That Guy" YouTube channel.[13]

Conveying the Message

One of the chief day-to-day functions in public relations is creating and distributing PR messages for the news media or the public. There are several possible message forms, including press releases, VNRs, and various online options.

Press releases, or news releases, are announcements written in the style of news reports that give new information about an individual, a company, or an organization and pitch a story idea to the news media. In issuing press releases, PR agents hope that their client information will be picked up by the news media and transformed into news reports. Through press releases, PR firms manage the flow of information, controlling which media get what material in which order. (A PR agent may even reward a cooperative reporter by strategically releasing information.) News editors and broadcasters sort through hundreds of releases daily to determine which ones contain the most original ideas or are the most current. Most large media institutions rewrite and double-check the releases, but small media companies often use them verbatim because of limited editorial resources. Usually, the more closely a press release resembles actual news copy, the more likely it is to be used. Twitter has also become a popular format for releasing information—140 characters or less—to the news media.

Since the introduction of portable video equipment in the 1970s, PR agencies and departments have also been issuing **video news releases (VNRs)**—thirty- to ninety-second visual

press releases designed to mimic the style of a broadcast news report. Although networks and large TV news stations do not usually broadcast VNRs, news stations in small TV markets regularly use material from VNRs. On occasion, news stations have been criticized for using video footage from a VNR without acknowledging the source. In 2005, the FCC mandated that broadcast stations and cable operators must disclose the source of the VNRs they air. As with press releases, VNRs give PR firms some control over what constitutes "news" and a chance to influence what the general public thinks about an issue, a program, or a policy.

David Sherman/Getty Images

The equivalent of VNRs for nonprofits are **public service announcements (PSAs)**: fifteen- to sixty-second audio or video reports that promote government programs, educational projects, volunteer agencies, or social reform. As part of their requirement to serve the public interest, broadcasters have been encouraged to carry free PSAs. Since the deregulation of broadcasting began in the 1980s, however, there has been less pressure and no minimum obligation for TV and radio stations to air PSAs. When PSAs do run, they are frequently scheduled between midnight and 6:00 a.m., a less commercially valuable time slot.

Today, the Internet is an essential avenue for distributing PR messages. Companies upload or e-mail press releases, press kits, and VNRs for targeted groups. Social media has also transformed traditional PR communications. For example, a social media press release pulls together "remixable" multimedia elements, such as text, graphics, video, podcasts, and hyperlinks, giving journalists ample material to develop their own stories.

TWITTER MAKES A NEWS STORY

Less than 10 percent of U.S. adults get their news directly from Twitter, but more than half of journalists follow Twitter to get news tips. A tweet can be just as successful as a complete press release in gaining news media coverage. In this example, Priority Sports, a leading sports management firm based in Chicago and Los Angeles, tweeted that its client, NBA forward Robbie Hummel, had just re-signed with the Minnesota Timberwolves. This resulted in dozens of news stories, including one by *Sports Illustrated* online that incorporates an image of the tweet in its story, as well as Robbie Hummel's tweet that he's "excited to be back in Minneapolis for another season."

Media Relations

PR managers specializing in media relations promote a client or an organization by securing publicity or favorable coverage in the news media. This often requires an in-house PR person to speak on behalf of an organization or to direct reporters to experts who can provide information. Media-relations specialists also perform damage control or crisis management when negative publicity occurs. Occasionally, in times of crisis—such as a scandal at a university or a safety recall by a car manufacturer—a PR spokesperson might be designated as the only source of information available to news media. Although journalists often resent being cut off from higher administrative levels and leaders, the institution or company wants to ensure that rumors and inaccurate stories do not circulate in the media. In these situations, a game often develops between PR specialists and the media in which reporters attempt to circumvent the spokesperson and induce a knowledgeable insider to talk off the record, providing background details without being named directly as a source.

PR agents who specialize in media relations also recommend advertising to their clients when it seems appropriate. Unlike publicity, which is sometimes outside a PR agency's control, paid advertising may help focus a complex issue or a client's image. Publicity, however, carries the aura of legitimate news and thus has more credibility than advertising. In addition, media specialists cultivate associations with editors, reporters, freelance writers, and broadcast news

CASE STUDY

The NFL's Concussion Crisis

The stylized violence of hard-hitting is a favored American football tradition. Broadcasts of games repeat the most violent tackles with instant replay, often using slow motion to enhance the drama of the hit. Over the years, NFL Films has created several video collections featuring hours of player collisions, with titles like *Crunch Course*, *Moment of Impact*, and *NFL's Hardest Hits*.

But this celebration of big hits has begun to seem callous and cruel, as decades of professional football popularity have produced retired players in their thirties, forties, fifties, and older who are experiencing the trauma of brain damage. The diagnosis is CTE, chronic traumatic encephalopathy, which can leave its victims with problems like hearing loss, memory loss, aggression, depression, and overall dementia. The concussion problem for football players is caused not only by the big concussions that knock them unconscious but also by what researchers call "subconcussions"—the hits to the head that happen many times during a game, and that can number in the hundreds and thousands over the course of a career.

CTE can best be confirmed upon death, when the interior of the brain can be examined to show the buildup of a protein that strangles neurons—not unlike what happens in much older patients with Alzheimer's disease. Several distraught players suffering the symptoms of CTE have committed suicide. Dave Duerson, who played in the NFL in the 1980s and 1990s, killed himself in 2011 at age fifty, leaving a message to his family requesting that his brain be studied for CTE; researchers verified that he had the condition. In 2012, just two years after he retired from the field, NFL star Junior Seau committed suicide at age forty-three; as with Duerson, researchers checked his brain and confirmed that he had CTE.

In the 2013 book *League of Denial: The NFL, Concussions, and the Battle for Truth*, ESPN investigative reporters (and brothers) Mark Fainaru-Wada and Steve Fainaru explain that the NFL spent years responding to the crisis of concussions with dubious public relations tactics: first covering it up, then denying it, and then generating their own scientific studies to dispute the independent research. The NFL's response mirrors the deceptive tactics used by big tobacco companies for decades to deny smoking's link to cancer.

The NFL has a lot to protect. Their business is a $10 billion industry, and the very nature of the game requires hulking players to knock their heads and bodies into other very large players, often running at full speed.[1] As a result, more than four thousand retired players are suing the NFL to cover their head trauma expenses. These stories have begun to change the country's attitude toward the game. News stories about the effects of football concussions are increasingly common, and youth football league participation has dropped nearly 10 percent in the past two years, as parents have grown scared of the impact of the game on their children's health.

More recently, the NFL has responded by trying to change the conversation, acknowledging a concussion problem but emphasizing that the game has always evolved toward more safety in rules and technology (suggesting, perhaps, that it's just a matter of time before this forward march solves the concussion crisis). Indeed, the NFL hired a public relations counsel to help develop the NFLevolution.com site (motto: Forever Forward Forever Football). NFL's Corporate Communications Department also courted "mommy bloggers" to promote football as a healthy, safe activity for their children.

Chris Sweda/Chicago Tribune/MCT via Getty Images

Yet as players continue to come forward with fears or diagnoses of CTE, and as long as the game (and business) of football continues to be played this way, the NFL's public relations crisis will likely persist. As Fainaru-Wada and Fainaru write, "There has never been anything like this in the history of sports: a public health crisis that emerged from the playing fields of our twenty-first-century pastime."[2]

directors to ensure that press releases or VNRs are favorably received (see "Examining Ethics: Public Relations and Bananas" on page 428).

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LEONARDO DICAPRIO established the nonprofit Leonardo DiCaprio Foundation in 1998 to raise awareness of, and donate money to, environmental causes. In addition to conservation, the foundation addresses humanitarian issues, such as access to clean water.

Special Events and Pseudo-Events

Another public relations practice involves coordinating *special events* to raise the profile of corporate, organizational, or government clients. Since 1967, for instance, the city of Milwaukee has run Summerfest, a ten-day music and food festival that attracts about a million people each year and now bills itself as "The World's Largest Music Festival." As the festival's popularity grew, various companies sought to become sponsors of the event. Today, Milwaukee's Miller Brewing Company sponsors one of the music festival's stages, which carries the Miller name and promotes Miller Lite as the "official beer" of the festival. Briggs & Stratton and Harley-Davidson are also among the local companies that sponsor stages at the event. In this way, all three companies receive favorable publicity by showing a commitment to the city in which their corporate headquarters are located.[14]

More typical of special-events publicity is a corporate sponsor's aligning itself with a cause or an organization that has positive stature among the general public. For example, John Hancock Financial has been the primary sponsor of the Boston Marathon since 1986 and funds the race's prize money. The company's corporate communications department also serves as the PR office for the race, operating the pressroom and creating the marathon's media guide and other press materials. Eighteen other sponsors, including Adidas, Gatorade, PowerBar, and JetBlue Airways, also pay to affiliate themselves with the Boston Marathon. At the local level, companies often sponsor a community parade or a charitable fund-raising activity.

In contrast to a special event, a **pseudo-event** is any circumstance created for the sole purpose of gaining coverage in the media. Historian Daniel Boorstin coined the term in his influential book *The Image* when pointing out the key contributions of PR and advertising in the twentieth century. Typical pseudo-events are press conferences, TV and radio talk-show appearances, or any other staged activity aimed at drawing public attention and media coverage. The success of such events depends on the participation of clients, sometimes on paid performers, and especially on the media's attention to the event. In business, pseudo-events extend back at least as far as P. T. Barnum's publicity stunts, such as parading Jumbo the Elephant across the Brooklyn Bridge in the 1880s. In politics, Theodore Roosevelt's administration set up the first White House pressroom and held the first presidential press conferences in the early 1900s. By the twenty-first century, presidential pseudo-events involved a multimillion-dollar White House Communications Office. One of the most successful pseudo-events in recent years was a record-breaking space-diving project. On October 14, 2012, a helium balloon took Austrian skydiver Felix Baumgartner twenty-four miles into the stratosphere. He jumped from the capsule and went into a free dive for about four minutes, reaching a speed of 833.9 mph before deploying his parachute. Red Bull sponsored the project, which took more than five years of preparation.

As powerful companies, savvy politicians, and activist groups became aware of the media's susceptibility to pseudo-events, these activities proliferated. For example, to get free publicity, companies began staging press conferences to announce new product lines. During the 1960s, antiwar and Civil Rights protesters began their events only when the news media were assembled. One anecdote from that era aptly illustrates the principle of a pseudo-event:

EXAMINING ETHICS

Public Relations and Bananas

Doing public relations on behalf of bananas doesn't sound particularly necessary. After all, bananas are the number-one fresh fruit eaten in the United States, having long ago displaced apples in the top position. Yet the seemingly uncomplicated banana figures into the history of public relations, and not always in a good way.

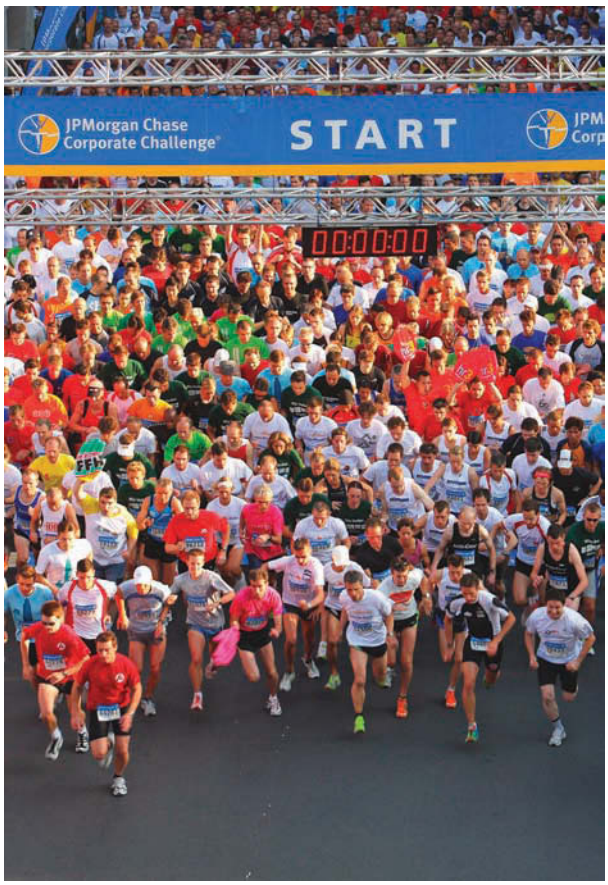
In the early twentieth century, huge banana plantations were established in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras. United Fruit (the predecessor of today's Chiquita Brands) was the dominant grower and importer of bananas, and was particularly powerful in the small nations of Central America—in fact, too powerful. In 1951, Jacobo Árbenz, the new democratically elected president of Guatemala, proposed a number of reforms to raise the status of poor agrarian Guatemalans. One of the reforms included redistributing idle, cultivatable lands to peasants to lift them from poverty. United Fruit owned some of those lands (which it had been given years earlier and on which it didn't pay property taxes). Unwilling to tolerate any limits on its control, United Fruit hired public relations pioneer Edward Bernays to work behind the scenes to build U.S. public opinion against the liberal Árbenz government, branding it as "communist." In one of the worst moments for public relations and U.S. foreign policy, the CIA led a covert operation that deposed Guatemala's democratically elected administration in 1954 and installed a right-wing military dictator that was more to United Fruit's liking. Guatemala then endured decades of war, while the CIA repeated similar covert interventions on behalf of U.S. business interests in several Latin American countries, giving rise to the term *banana republic*—a country in which a single dominant industry controls business and politics.

In another black eye for the banana industry, Dole and Del Monte, two of today's largest banana producers, were sued in 2012 by more than one thousand banana plantation workers for using a pesticide that had been banned in the United States in 1979. Bloomberg reported that the pesticide, dibromochloropropane (DBCP), "has been linked to sterility, miscarriages, birth defects, cancer, eye problems, skin disorders and kidney damage," and that workers argued they had not been informed of the dangers or issued protective equipment.[1]

Now the good news for bananas and public relations: In 2001, Dole Food Company responded to increasing consumer interest by producing organic bananas for the first time. Although it still produces bananas that are not certified as organic, it is now the leading producer of organic bananas in the world. In 2007, Dole improved communication of its organic program with the launch of doleorganic.com, and began labeling each bunch of organic bananas sold with a sticker that identifies the farm that produced the bananas. The sticker reads, "Visit the Farm at doleorganic.com," and includes the country of origin and a three-digit banana farm code. The Web site includes information about the farm in question; a Google map (viewers can zoom in on the satellite view to see the expanse of the farm); and photo albums containing shots of workers, plants, and facilities. The company says its doleorganic.com site "reflects Dole's dedication to transparency, sustainability and corporate responsibility."[2] Considering the lack of transparency in the history of public relations for bananas, this is a good thing—for the countries where Dole does business, the company's workers, and its consumers.

Romeo Gacad/AFP/Getty Images

A reporter asked a student leader about the starting time for a particular protest; the student responded, "When can you get here?" Today, politicians running for office are particularly adept at scheduling press conferences and interviews to take advantage of television's appetite for live remote feeds and breaking news.



EPA/Uwe Ansbach/Newscom

JP MORGAN organizes the JPMorgan Chase Corporate Challenge each year, a series of road races that raise money for several not-for-profit organizations around the world. Taking place in twelve major cities, including New York, Frankfurt, and Shanghai, these races, which are owned and operated by JPMorgan Chase, also allow the financial firm to gain valuable publicity.

Community and Consumer Relations

Another responsibility of PR is to sustain goodwill between an agency's clients and the public. The public is often seen as two distinct audiences: communities and consumers.

Companies have learned that sustaining close ties with their communities and neighbors not only enhances their image and attracts potential customers but also promotes the idea that the companies are good citizens. As a result, PR firms encourage companies to participate in community activities, such as hosting plant tours and open houses, making donations to national and local charities, and participating in town events like parades and festivals. In addition, more progressive companies may also get involved in unemployment and job-retraining programs, or donate equipment and workers to urban revitalization projects, such as Habitat for Humanity.

In terms of consumer relations, PR has become much more sophisticated since 1965, when *Unsafe at Any Speed*, Ralph Nader's groundbreaking book, revealed safety problems concerning the Chevrolet Corvair. Not only did Nader's book prompt the discontinuance of the Corvair line, but it also lit the fuse that ignited a vibrant consumer movement. After the success of Nader's book, along with a growing public concern over corporate mergers and corporations' lack of accountability to the public, consumers became less willing to readily accept the claims of corporations. As a result of the consumer movement, many newspapers and TV stations hired consumer reporters to track down the sources of customer complaints and embarrass companies by putting them in the media spotlight. Public relations specialists responded by encouraging companies to pay more attention to customers, establish product service and safety guarantees, and ensure that all calls and mail from customers were answered promptly. Today, PR professionals routinely advise clients that satisfied customers mean not only repeat business but also new business, based on a strong word-of-mouth reputation about a company's behavior and image.

Government Relations and Lobbying

While sustaining good relations with the public is a priority, so is maintaining connections with government agencies that have some say in how companies operate in a particular community, state, or nation. Both PR firms and the PR divisions within major corporations are especially interested in making sure that government regulation neither becomes burdensome nor reduces their control over their businesses.

Government PR specialists monitor new and existing legislation, create opportunities to ensure favorable publicity, and write press releases and direct-mail letters to persuade the public about the pros and cons of new regulations. In many industries, government relations has developed into **lobbying**: the process of attempting to influence lawmakers to support and vote for an organization's or industry's best interests. In seeking favorable legislation, some lobbyists contact government officials on a daily basis. In Washington, D.C., alone, there

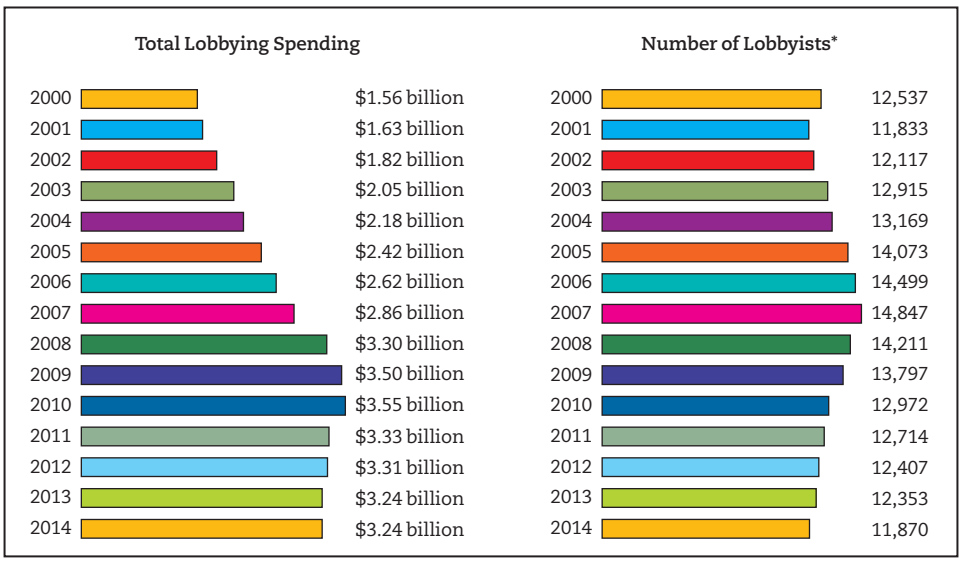


FIGURE 12.1

TOTAL LOBBYING SPENDING AND NUMBER OF LOBBYISTS (2000–2013)

Data from: Figures are calculations by the Center for Responsive Politics based on data from the Senate Office of Public Records, accessed August 20, 2015, www.opensecrets.org/lobby.

*The number of unique, registered lobbyists who have actively lobbied.

are about twelve thousand registered lobbyists—and thousands more government-relations workers who aren't required to register under federal disclosure rules. Lobbying expenditures targeting the federal government were at $3.24 billion in 2014, far above the $2.18 billion spent ten years earlier (see Figure 12.1).[15]

Lobbying can often lead to ethical problems, as in the case of earmarks and astroturf lobbying. *Earmarks* are specific spending directives that are slipped into bills to accommodate the interests of lobbyists and are often the result of political favors or outright bribes. In 2006, lobbyist Jack Abramoff (dubbed "the Man Who Bought Washington" in *Time*) and several of his associates were convicted of corruption related to earmarks, leading to the resignation of leading House members and a decline in the use of earmarks.

Astroturf lobbying is phony grassroots public affairs campaigns engineered by public relations firms. PR firms deploy massive phone banks and computerized mailing lists to drum up support and create the impression that millions of citizens back their client's side of an issue. For instance, the Center for Consumer Freedom (CCF), an organization that appears to serve the interests of consumers, is actually a creation of the Washington, D.C.–based PR firm Berman & Co. and is funded by the restaurant, food, alcohol, and tobacco industries. According to SourceWatch, which tracks astroturf lobbying, anyone who criticizes tobacco, alcohol, processed food, fatty food, soda pop, pharmaceuticals, animal testing, overfishing, or pesticides "is likely to come under attack from CCF."[16]

Public relations firms do not always work for the interests of corporations, however. They also work for other clients, including consumer groups, labor unions, professional groups, religious organizations, and even foreign governments. In 2005, for example, the California Center for Public Health Advocacy—a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization—hired Brown-Miller Communications, a small California PR firm, to rally support for landmark legislation that would ban junk food and soda sales in the state's public schools. Brown-Miller helped state legislators see obesity not as a personal choice issue but as a public policy issue, cultivated the editorial support of newspapers to compel legislators to sponsor the bills, and ultimately succeeded in getting a bill passed.

Presidential administrations also use public relations—with varying degrees of success—to support their policies. From 2002 to 2008, the Bush administration's Defense Department operated a "Pentagon Pundit" program, secretly cultivating more than seventy retired military officers to appear on radio and television talk shows and shape public opinion about the Bush agenda. In 2008, the *New York Times* exposed the unethical program, and its story earned a

Pulitzer Prize.[17] President Obama pledged to be more transparent on day one of his administration, but in 2014, an Associated Press analysis concluded that "the administration has made few meaningful improvements in the way it releases records."[18]

Public Relations Adapts to the Internet Age

Historically, public relations practitioners have tried to earn news media coverage (as opposed to buying advertising) to communicate their clients' messages to the public. While that is still true, the Internet, with its instant accessibility, offers public relations professionals a number of new routes for communicating with the public.

A company or an organization's Web site has become the home base of public relations efforts. Companies and organizations can upload and maintain their media kits (including press releases, VNRs, images, executive bios, and organizational profiles), giving the traditional news media access to the information at any time. And because everyone can access these corporate Web sites, the barriers between the organization and the groups that PR professionals ultimately want to reach are broken down.

The Web also enables PR professionals to have their clients interact with audiences on a more personal, direct basis through social media tools like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Wikipedia, and blogs. Now people can be "friends" and "followers" of companies and organizations. Corporate executives can share their professional and personal observations and seem downright chummy through a blog (e.g., Whole Foods Market's blog by CEO John Mackey). Executives, celebrities, and politicians can seem more accessible and personable through a Twitter feed. But social media's immediacy can also be a problem, especially for those who send messages into the public sphere without considering the ramifications.

Another concern about social media is that sometimes such communications appear without complete disclosure, which is an unethical practice. Some PR firms have edited Wikipedia entries for their clients' benefit, a practice Wikipedia founder Jimmy Wales has repudiated as a conflict of interest. A growing number of companies also compensate bloggers to subtly promote their products, unbeknownst to most readers. Public relations firms and marketers are particularly keen on working with "mom bloggers," who appear to be independent voices in discussions about consumer products but may receive gifts in exchange for their opinions. In 2009, the Federal Trade Commission instituted new rules requiring online product endorsers to disclose their connections to companies.

As noted earlier, Internet analytics tools enable organizations to monitor what is being said about them at any time. However, the immediacy of social media also means that public relations officials might be forced to quickly respond to a message or an image once it goes viral. For example, when one diner posted a review of a restaurant in Chicago that delivered her ginger salad with a small cockroach, the word spread quickly on Yelp, where she had more than eight hundred friends. The owner wisely apologized on Yelp (six months later—perhaps after he noticed a downturn in business), explained that the bug likely came from the paper bag that contained the order, not their kitchen, and urged the customer to contact the restaurant to make amends.

PR AND SOCIAL MEDIA
More companies are using social media tools like Twitter and Facebook to interact with their customers on a more personal level, which can be engaging but precarious. DiGiorno Pizza, for example, erred in 2014 by adopting the trending hashtag "#WhyIStayed" (used for a domestic violence conversation) for a promotional joke to promote its pizza on Twitter. DiGiorno then used its account to apologize to many outraged followers.

Kevin Winter/Getty Images for PCA

Public Relations during a Crisis

Since the Ludlow strike, one important duty of PR has been helping a corporation handle a public crisis or tragedy,

especially if the public assumes the company is at fault. Disaster management may reveal the best and the worst attributes of the company and its PR firm (see "Case Study: The NFL's Concussion Crisis" on page 426). Let's look at two contrasting examples of crisis management and the different ways they were handled.

One of the largest environmental disasters so far in the twenty-first century occurred in 2010. BP's Deepwater Horizon oil rig exploded on April 10 of that year, killing eleven workers. The oil gushed from the ocean floor for months, spreading into a vast area of the Gulf of Mexico, killing wildlife, and washing tar balls onto beaches. Although the company, formerly British Petroleum, officially changed its name to BP in 2001, adopting the motto Beyond Petroleum and a sunny new yellow and green logo in an effort to appear more "green-friendly," the disaster linked the company back to the hazards of its main business in oil. BP's many public relations missteps included its multiple underestimations of the amount of oil leaking, the chairman's reference to the "small people" of the Gulf region, the CEO's wish that he could "get his life back," and the CEO's attendance at an elite yacht race in England even as the oil leak persisted. In short, many people felt that BP failed to show enough remorse or compassion for the affected people and wildlife. BP tried to salvage its reputation by vowing to clean up the damaged areas, establishing a $20 billion fund to reimburse those economically affected by the spill, and creating a campaign of TV commercials to communicate its efforts. Nevertheless, harsh criticism persisted, and BP's ads were overwhelmed by online parodies and satires of its efforts. Years later, entire communities of fishermen and rig workers continue to be affected, and BP made its first $1 billion payment for Gulf restoration projects.

A decidedly different approach was taken in the 1982 tragedy involving Tylenol pain-relief capsules. Seven people died in the Chicago area after someone tampered with several bottles and laced them with poison. Discussions between the parent company, Johnson & Johnson, and its PR representatives focused on whether or not withdrawing all Tylenol capsules from store shelves might send a signal that corporations could be intimidated by a single deranged person. Nevertheless, Johnson & Johnson's chairman, James E. Burke, and the company's PR agency, Burson-Marsteller, opted for full disclosure to the media and the immediate recall of the capsules nationally, costing the company an estimated $100 million and cutting its market

Doug Mills/The New York Times/Redux Pictures

RALPH LAUREN attracted media scrutiny when it was discovered that the 2012 U.S. Olympic Team uniforms the company designed were manufactured in China. After lawmakers publicly chastised the decision to outsource the uniforms, Lauren released a statement promising to produce the 2014 U.S. Olympic Team's uniforms in the United States.

share in half. As part of its PR strategy to overcome the negative publicity and to restore Tylenol's market share, Burson-Marsteller tracked public opinion nightly through telephone surveys and organized satellite press conferences to debrief the news media. In addition, emergency phone lines were set up to take calls from consumers and health-care providers. When the company reintroduced Tylenol three months later, it did so with tamper-resistant bottles that were soon copied by almost every major drug manufacturer. Burson-Marsteller, which received PRSA awards for its handling of the crisis, found that the public thought Johnson & Johnson had responded admirably to the crisis and did not hold Tylenol responsible for the deaths. In less than three years, Tylenol recaptured its former (and dominant) share of the market.

Tensions between Public Relations and the Press

In 1932, Stanley Walker, an editor at the *New York Herald Tribune*, identified public relations agents as "mass-mind molders, fronts, mouthpieces, chiselers, moochers, and special assistants to the president."[19] Walker added that newspapers and PR firms would always remain enemies, even if PR professionals adopted a code of ethics (which they did in the 1950s) to "take them out of the red-light district of human relations."[20] Walker's tone captures the spirit of one of the most mutually dependent—and antagonistic—relationships in all of mass media.

Much of this antagonism, directed at public relations from the journalism profession, is historical. Journalists have long considered themselves part of a public service profession, but some regard PR as having emerged as a pseudo-profession created to distort the facts that reporters work hard to gather. Over time, reporters and editors developed the derogatory term **flack** to refer to a PR agent. The term, derived from the military word *flak*, meaning an antiaircraft artillery shell or a protective military jacket, symbolizes for journalists the protective barrier PR agents insert between their clients and the press. Today, the Associated Press manual for editors defines *flack* simply as "slang for *press agent*." Yet this antagonism belies journalism's dependence on public relations. Many editors, for instance, admit that more than half of their story ideas each day originate with PR people. In this section, we take a closer look at the relationship between journalism and public relations, which can be both adversarial and symbiotic.

Elements of Professional Friction

The relationship between journalism and PR is important and complex. Although journalism lays claim to independent traditions, the news media have become ever more reliant on public relations because of the increasing amount of information now available. Newspaper staff cutbacks, combined with television's need for local news events, have expanded the news media's need for PR story ideas.

Another cause of tension is that PR firms often raid the ranks of reporting for new talent. Because most press releases are written to imitate news reports, the PR profession has always sought good writers who are well connected to sources and savvy about the news business. For instance, the fashion industry likes to hire former style or fashion news writers for its PR staff, and university information offices seek reporters who once covered higher education. However, although reporters frequently move into PR, public relations practitioners seldom move into journalism; the news profession rarely accepts prodigal sons or daughters back into

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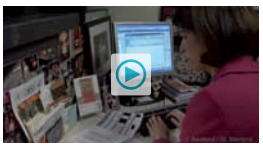


Give and Take: Public Relations and Journalism
This video debates the relationship between public relations and journalism.
Discussion: Are the similarities between public relations and journalism practices a good thing for the public? Why or why not?

the fold once they have left reporting for public relations. Nevertheless, the professions remain codependent: PR needs journalists for publicity, and journalism needs PR for story ideas and access.

Public relations, by making reporters' jobs easier, has often enabled reporters to become lazy. PR firms now supply what reporters used to gather for themselves. Instead of trying to get a scoop, many journalists are content to wait for a PR handout or a good tip before following up on a story. Some members of the news media, grateful for the reduced workload that occurs when they are provided with handouts, may be hesitant to criticize a particular PR firm's clients. Several issues shed light on this discord and on the ways in which different media professions interact.

Undermining Facts and Blocking Access

Journalism's most prevalent criticism of public relations is that it works to counter the truths reporters seek to bring to the public. Modern public relations redefined and complicated the notion of what "facts" are. PR professionals demonstrated that the facts can be spun in a variety of ways, depending on what information is emphasized and what is downplayed. As Ivy Lee noted in 1925: "The effort to state an absolute fact is simply an attempt to achieve what is humanly impossible; all I can do is to give you my interpretation of the facts."[21] With practitioners like Lee showing the emerging PR profession how the truth could be interpreted, the journalist's role as a custodian of accurate information became much more difficult.

Journalists have also objected that PR professionals block press access to key business leaders, political figures, and other newsworthy people. Before the prevalence of PR, reporters could talk to such leaders directly and obtain quotable information for their news stories. Now, however, journalists complain that PR agents insert themselves between the press and the newsworthy, thus disrupting the journalistic tradition in which reporters would vie for interviews with top government and business leaders. Journalists further argue that PR agents are now able to manipulate reporters by giving exclusives to journalists who are likely to cast a story in a favorable light or by cutting off a reporter's access to one of their newsworthy clients altogether if that reporter has written unfavorably about the client in the past.

Promoting Publicity and Business as News

Another explanation for the professional friction between the press and PR involves simple economics. As Michael Schudson noted in his book *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, PR agents help companies "promote as news what otherwise would have been purchased in advertising."[22] Accordingly, Ivy Lee wrote to John D. Rockefeller after he gave money to Johns Hopkins University: "In view of the fact that this was not really news, and that the newspapers gave so much attention to it, it would seem that this was wholly due to the manner in which the material was 'dressed up' for newspaper consumption. It seems to suggest very considerable possibilities along this line."[23] News critics worry that this type of PR is taking media space and time away from those who do not have the financial resources or the sophistication to become visible in the public eye. There is another issue: If public relations can secure news publicity for clients, the added credibility of a journalistic context gives clients a status that the purchase of advertising cannot offer.

Another criticism is that PR firms with abundant resources clearly get more client coverage from the news media than their lesser-known counterparts. For example, a business reporter at a large metro daily sometimes receives as many as a hundred press releases a day—far outnumbering the fraction of handouts generated by organized labor or grassroots organizations. Workers and union leaders have long argued that the money that corporations allocate to PR leads to more favorable coverage for management positions in labor disputes. Therefore, standard news reports may feature subtle language choices, with "rational,

coolheaded management making offers" and "hotheaded workers making demands." Walter Lippmann saw such differences in 1922 when he wrote, "If you study the way many a strike is reported in the press, you will find very often that [labor] issues are rarely in the headlines, barely in the leading paragraph, and sometimes not even mentioned anywhere."[24] This imbalance is particularly significant in that the great majority of workers are neither managers nor CEOs, and yet these workers receive little if any media coverage on a regular basis. Most newspapers now have business sections that focus on the work of various managers, but few have a labor, worker, or employee section.[25]

Shaping the Image of Public Relations

Dealing with both a tainted past and journalism's hostility has often preoccupied the public relations profession, leading to the development of several image-enhancing strategies. In 1948, the PR industry formed its own professional organization, the PRSA (Public Relations Society of America). The PRSA functions as an internal watchdog group that accredits PR agents and firms, maintains a code of ethics, and probes its own practices, especially those pertaining to its influence on the news media. Most PRSA local chapters and national conventions also routinely invite reporters and editors to speak to PR practitioners about the news media's expectations of PR. In addition to the PRSA, independent agencies devoted to uncovering shady or unethical public relations activities publish their findings in publications like *Public Relations Tactics*, *PR Week*, and *PRWatch*. Ethical issues have become a major focus of the profession, with self-examination of these issues routinely appearing in public relations textbooks as well as in various professional newsletters (see Table 12.2).

Over the years, as PR has subdivided itself into specialized areas, it has used more positive phrases—such as *institutional relations*, *corporate communications*, and *news and information services*—to describe what it does. Public relations' best press strategy, however, may be the limitations of the journalism profession itself. For most of the twentieth century, many reporters and editors clung to the ideal that journalism is, at its best, an objective institution that gathers information on behalf of the public. Reporters have only occasionally turned their pens, computers,

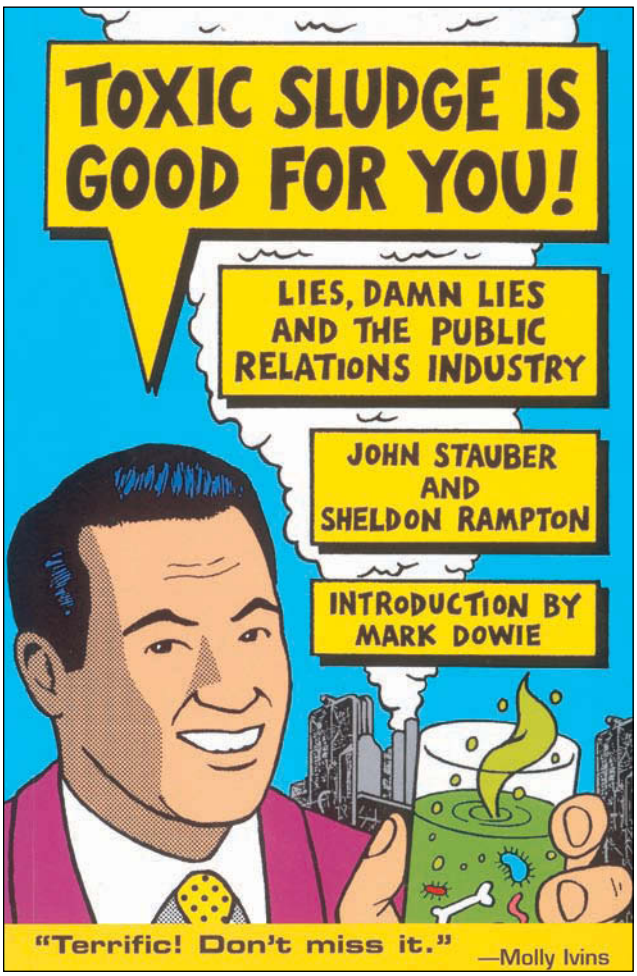
PRSA Member Statement of Professional Values
This statement presents the core values of PRSA members and, more broadly, of the public relations profession. These values provide the foundation for the Member Code of Ethics and set the industry standard for the professional practice of public relations. These values are the fundamental beliefs that guide our behaviors and decision-making process. We believe our professional values are vital to the integrity of the profession as a whole.
ADVOCACY We serve the public interest by acting as responsible advocates for those we represent. We provide a voice in the marketplace of ideas, facts, and viewpoints to aid informed public debate.
HONESTY We adhere to the highest standards of accuracy and truth in advancing the interests of those we represent and in communicating with the public.
EXPERTISE We acquire and responsibly use specialized knowledge and experience. We advance the profession through continued professional development, research, and education. We build mutual understanding, credibility, and relationships among a wide array of institutions and audiences.
INDEPENDENCE We provide objective counsel to those we represent. We are accountable for our actions.
LOYALTY We are faithful to those we represent, while honoring our obligation to serve the public interest.
FAIRNESS We deal fairly with clients, employers, competitors, peers, vendors, the media, and the general public. We respect all opinions and support the right of free expression.

TABLE 12.2

PUBLIC RELATIONS SOCIETY OF AMERICA ETHICS CODE

In 2000, the PRSA approved a completely revised Code of Ethics, which included core principles, guidelines, and examples of improper conduct. Here is one section of the code.

Data from: The full text of the PRSA Code of Ethics is available at www.prsa.org.



Courtesy of Common Courage Press. Reprinted by permission.

THE INVISIBILITY OF PUBLIC RELATIONS is addressed in a series of books by John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton.

and cameras on themselves to examine their own practices or their vulnerability to manipulation. Thus, by not challenging PR's more subtle strategies, many journalists have allowed PR professionals to interpret "facts" to their clients' advantage.

Alternative Voices

Because public relations professionals work so closely with the press, their practices are not often the subject of media reports or investigations. Indeed, the multibillion-dollar industry remains virtually invisible to the public, most of whom have never heard of Burson-Marsteller, Hill+Knowlton, or Edelman. The Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) in Madison, Wisconsin, is concerned about the invisibility of PR practices and has sought to expose the hidden activities of large PR firms since 1993. Its *PRWatch* publication reports on the PR industry, with the goal of "investigating and countering PR campaigns and spin by corporations, industries and government agencies."[26] (See "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: The Invisible Hand of PR" on page 437.)

CMD staff members have also written books targeting public relations practices having to do with the Republican Party's lobbying establishment (*Banana Republicans*), U.S. propaganda on the Iraq War (*The Best War Ever*), industrial waste (*Toxic Sludge Is Good for You!*), mad cow disease (*Mad Cow USA*), and PR uses of scientific research (*Trust Us, We're Experts!*). Their work helps bring an alternative angle to the well-moneyed battles over public opinion. "You know, we feel that in a democracy, it's very, very critical that everyone knows who the players are, and what they're up to," said CMD founder and book author John Stauber.[27]

Public Relations and Democracy

From the days of PR's origins in the early twentieth century, many people—especially journalists—have been skeptical of communications originating from public relations professionals. The bulk of the criticism leveled at public relations argues that the crush of information produced by PR professionals overwhelms traditional journalism. However, PR's most significant impact may be on the political process, especially when organizations hire spin doctors to favorably shape or reshape a candidate's media image. In one example, former president Richard Nixon, who resigned from office in 1974 to avoid impeachment hearings regarding his role in the Watergate scandal, hired Hill & Knowlton to restore his postpresidency image. Through the firm's guidance, Nixon's writings, mostly on international politics, began appearing in Sunday op-ed pages. Nixon himself started showing up on television news programs like *Nightline* and spoke frequently before such groups as the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Economic Club of New York. In 1984, after a media blitz by

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Test the so-called invisibility of the PR industry by seeing how often, and in what way, PR firms are discussed in the print media. Using LexisNexis, search U.S. newspapers—over the last six months—for any mention of three prominent PR firms: Edelman, Weber Shandwick, and Fleishman-Hillard.

2 ANALYSIS. What patterns emerge from the search? Possible patterns may have to do with personnel: Someone was hired or fired. (These articles may be extremely brief, with only a quick mention of the firms.) Or these personnel-related articles may reveal connections between politicians or corporations and the PR industry. What about specific PR campaigns or articles that quote "experts" who work for Edelman, Weber Shandwick, or Fleishman-Hillard?

The Invisible Hand of PR

John Stauber, founder of the Center for Media and Democracy and its publication *PRWatch*, has described the PR industry as "a huge, invisible industry . . . that's really only available to wealthy individuals, large multinational corporations, politicians and government agencies."[1] How true is this? Is the PR industry so invisible?

3 INTERPRETATION. What do these patterns tell you about how the PR industry is covered by the news media? Was the coverage favorable? Was it critical or analytical? Did you learn anything about how the industry operates? Is the industry itself, its influencing strategies, and its wide reach across the globe visible in your search?

4 EVALUATION. PR firms—such as the three major firms in this search—have enormous power when it comes to influencing the public image of corporations, government bodies, and public policy initiatives in the United States and abroad. PR firms also have enormous influence over news content. Yet the U.S. media are silent on this influence. Public relations firms aren't likely to reveal their power, but should journalism be more forthcoming about its role as a publicity vehicle for PR?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Visit the Center for Media and Democracy's Web site (prwatch.org) and begin to learn about the unseen operations of the public relations industry. (You can also visit SpinWatch.org for similar critical analyses of PR in the United Kingdom.) Follow the CMD's Twitter feed. Read some of the organization's books, join forum discussions, or attend a *PRWatch* event. Visit the organization's wiki site, SourceWatch (sourcewatch.org), and if you can, do some research of your own on PR and contribute an entry.

Nixon's PR handlers, the *New York Times* announced, "After a decade, Nixon is gaining favor," and *USA Today* trumpeted, "Richard Nixon is back." Before his death in 1994, Nixon, who never publicly apologized for his role in Watergate, saw a large portion of his public image shift from that of an arrogant, disgraced politician to that of a revered elder statesman.[28] Many media critics have charged that the press did not counterbalance this PR campaign and treated Nixon too reverently. In 2014, on the fortieth anniversary of the Watergate scandal, former CBS news anchor Dan Rather remembered Nixon's administration as a "criminal presidency" but added, "There has been an effort to change history, and in some ways it has been successful the last 40 years, saying well, it wasn't all that bad."[29]

In terms of its immediate impact on democracy, the information crush delivered by public relations is at its height during national election campaigns. The 2012 presidential election was the most expensive in history, with President Barack Obama's and Republican candidate Mitt Romney's campaigns spending a combined $2.34 billion. Although much of that money was spent on television advertising, public relations helped hone each campaign's message. PR professionals assembled by *PR Week* magazine generally agreed that Obama's reelection campaign succeeded because it was able to change the focus of the campaign from a referendum on Obama's first term (the Romney campaign's goal) to a choice between candidates with two very different philosophies. They also acknowledged that there were unexpected events that aided Obama with his message. One was Romney's infamous comment at a private

$50,000-a-person fund-raiser. Romney told his supporters, "There are 47 percent of the people who will vote for the president no matter what" because they are "dependent on government," "believe that they are victims," and "believe that they are entitled to health care, to food, to housing. . . . My job is not to worry about those people." His comments were secretly videotaped by a bartender, and when they became a viral sensation, Romney had difficulty recovering from it. As public relations firm owner Carolyn Grisko noted, "The words that come out of a candidate's own mouth are ultimately the ones that resonate."[30] The other unexpected event was Superstorm Sandy, a hurricane that hit the Atlantic coast a week before the election. As president and commander in chief, Obama dominated news headlines in responding to the storm and received praise for his actions from Republican New Jersey governor Chris Christie. Christie later experienced his own public relations nightmare with the George Washington Bridge lane closure scandal. Several of his staff members and appointees ended up losing their jobs for conspiring to close lanes on a busy New Jersey toll plaza for several days in 2013, creating huge traffic jams. Christie denied any involvement in the bridge lane closings and hired a law firm that produced a report exonerating him, but the continuing cloud of scandal followed him as he announced his 2016 presidential candidacy.

Another critical area for public relations and democracy is how organizations integrate environmental claims into their public communications. In 1992, the Federal Trade Commission first issued its "Green Guides"—guidelines to ensure that environmental marketing practices don't run afoul of its prohibition against unfair or deceptive acts or practices, sometimes called **greenwashing**. As concern about global warming has grown in recent years, green marketing and public relations now extend into nearly every part of business and industry: product packaging (buzzwords include *recyclable*, *biodegradable*, *compostable*, *refillable*, *sustainable*, and *renewable*), buildings and textiles, renewable energy certificates, carbon offsets (funding projects to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in one place to offset carbon emissions produced elsewhere), labor conditions, and fair trade. Although there have been plenty of companies that make claims of green products and services, only some have infused environmentally sustainable practices throughout their corporate culture, and being able to tell the difference is essential to the public's understanding of environmental issues.

Though public relations often provides political information and story ideas, the PR profession bears only part of the responsibility for "spun" news; after all, it is the job of a PR agency to get favorable news coverage for the individual or group it represents. PR professionals police their own ranks for unethical or irresponsible practices, but the news media should also monitor the public relations industry as they do other government and business activities. Journalism itself also needs to institute changes that will make it less dependent on PR and more conscious of how its own practices play into the hands of spin strategies. A positive example of change on this front is that many major newspapers and news networks now offer regular critiques of the facts and falsehoods contained in political advertising. This media vigilance should be on behalf of citizens, who are entitled to robust, well-rounded debates on important social and political issues.

Like advertising and other forms of commercial speech, PR campaigns that result in free media exposure raise a number of questions regarding democracy and the expression of ideas. Large companies and PR agencies, like well-financed politicians, have money to invest to figure out how to obtain favorable publicity. The question is not how to prevent that but how to ensure that other voices, less well financed and less commercial, also receive an adequate hearing. To that end, journalists need to become less willing conduits in the distribution of publicity. PR agencies, for their part, need to show clients that participating in the democratic process as responsible citizens can serve them well and enhance their image.

DIGITAL JOB OUTLOOK

Media Professionals Speak about Jobs in the Public Relations Industry

Alex T. Williams, Pew Research Center

One factor behind the increase in public relations jobs has been digital technology. Agencies and companies are now able to reach out directly to the public in any number of ways and are hiring public relations specialists to help them do so.

Lindsay Groepper, Vice President, Blastmedia

When I first began my career in PR more than a decade ago, we would e-mail or fax (gasp!) the full press release text to the press. What we see now is new methods of distributing the info, driven by social media. Rather than e-mailing a press release, PR people are sending journalists to custom landing pages created just for that specific announcement, contacting them via Twitter with a BudURL link to the release, or even directing them to a YouTube video with a message from the CEO making the announcement.

Cara Stewart, Founder and Principal, Remarx Media

The most important platforms for PR pros in the future will be the ones most targeted for their clients. Twitter, LinkedIn, and Facebook are "fun"; getting nitty-gritty into community sites that are industry-specific is less "fun," because PR pros have to really understand clients' technologies, business models, services, and more. Really, it's more about PR pros becoming better PR pros and understanding their clients' businesses, as well as what their clients do. . . . Social media is not a one-size-fits-all solution.

Erica Swallow, Owner, Southern Swallow Productions

There is also a growing demand for social platforms that make it easier for journalists and PR reps to contact one another. Help a Reporter Out (HARO), PRNewswire's ProfNet, NewsBasis, and Media Kitty are all enabling the communication lines to run in both directions. Rather than having PR reps make the first moves all the time, now members of the media can put out requests for pitches from particular types of experts.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads in Chapter 1 is the role that media play in a democracy. One key ethical contradiction that can emerge in PR is that (according to the PRSA Code of Ethics) PR should be honest and accurate in disclosing information while being loyal and faithful to clients and their requests for confidentiality and privacy. In this case, how does the general public know when public communications are the work of paid advocacy, particularly when public relations plays such a strong role in U.S. politics?

Public relations practitioners who are members of the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) are obligated to follow the PRSA Code of Ethics. Members are asked to sign a pledge to conduct themselves "professionally, with truth, accuracy, fairness, and responsibility to the public."

Yet the code is not enforceable, and many public relations professionals simply ignore the PRSA. For example, only 14 of PR giant Burson-Marsteller's 2,200 worldwide employees are PRSA members.[31] Most lobbyists in Washington have to register with the House and Senate, so that there is some public record of their activities to influence politics. Conversely, public relations professionals working to influence the political process don't have to register, so unless they act with the highest ethical standards and disclose what they are doing and who their clients are, they operate in relative secrecy.

According to National Public Radio (NPR), public relations professionals in Washington, D.C., work to engineer public opinion in advance of lobbying efforts to influence legislation. As NPR reported, "For PR folks, conditioning the legislative landscape means trying to shape public perception. So their primary target is journalists like Lyndsey Layton, who writes for the *Washington Post*. She says she gets about a dozen emails or phone calls in a day."[32]

Less ethical work includes assembling phony "astroturf" front groups to engage in communication campaigns to influence legislators, spreading unfounded rumors about an opposing side, and entertaining government officials in violation of government reporting requirements—all things the PRSA code prohibits. Yet these are all-too-frequent practices in the realm of political public relations.

PRSA CEO Rosanna Fiske decries this kind of unethical behavior in her profession. "It's not that ethical public relations equals good public relations," Fiske says. "It is, however, that those who do not practice ethical public relations affect all of us, regardless of the environment in which we work, and the causes we represent."[33]

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

public relations, 415
press agents, 416
publicity, 418
propaganda, 423
press releases, 424
video news releases (VNRs), 424
public service announcements (PSAs), 425
pseudo-event, 427
lobbying, 429
astroturf lobbying, 430
flack, 433
greenwashing, 438

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

Early Developments in Public Relations

1. What did people like P. T. Barnum and Buffalo Bill Cody contribute to the development of modern public relations in the twentieth century?
2. How did railroads and utility companies give the early forms of corporate public relations a bad name?
3. What contributions did Ivy Lee make toward the development of modern PR?
4. How did Edward Bernays affect public relations?

The Practice of Public Relations

5. What are two approaches to organizing a PR firm?
6. What are press releases, and why are they important to reporters?
7. What is the difference between a VNR and a PSA?
8. What is a pseudo-event? How does it relate to the manufacturing of news?
9. What special events might a PR firm sponsor to build stronger ties to its community?
10. Why have research and lobbying become increasingly important to the practice of PR?
11. How does the Internet change the way in which public relations communicates with an organization's many publics?
12. What are some socially responsible strategies that a PR specialist can use during a crisis to help a client manage unfavorable publicity?

Tensions between Public Relations and the Press

13. Explain the historical background of the antagonism between journalism and public relations.
14. How did PR change old relationships between journalists and their sources?
15. In what ways is conventional news like public relations?
16. How does journalism as a profession contribute to its own manipulation at the hands of competent PR practitioners?

Public Relations and Democracy

17. In what ways does the profession of public relations serve the process of election campaigns? In what ways can it impede election campaigns?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. What do you think of when you hear the term *public relations*? What images come to mind? Where did these impressions come from?
2. What might a college or university do to improve public relations with homeowners on the edge of a campus who have to deal with noisy student parties and a shortage of parking spaces?
3. What steps can reporters and editors take to monitor PR agents who manipulate the news media?
4. Overall, are social media platforms a good thing for practicing public relations, or do they present more problems than they are worth?
5. Considering the BP, Tylenol, and NFL concussion cases cited in this chapter, what are some key things an organization can do to respond effectively once a crisis hits?

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  Online video has changed political campaigning forever. In this video, Peggy Miles of Intervox Communications discusses how politicians use the Internet to reach out to voters.

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View Pictures/UIG via Getty Images

13

Media Economics and the Global Marketplace

445
Analyzing the Media Economy

448
The Transition to an Information Economy

455
Specialization, Global Markets, and Convergence

463
Social Issues in Media Economics

469
The Media Marketplace and Democracy

Some of today's biggest mass media corporations have long histories in which they adapted to various technological changes, including the mass media's recent digital turn. The Warner Brothers part of the current Time Warner conglomerate got its start in 1903, when three brothers established their first movie theater in Cascade, Pennsylvania. Disney started in the back area of a small Los Angeles real estate office in 1923, producing animated shorts as the Disney Brothers Studio. NBC started out in 1926 as a radio network formed by RCA (founded in 1919) and is currently a part of NBC Universal, which is a subsidiary of cable and broadband giant Comcast (founded with just over a thousand cable subscribers in Mississippi in 1963). CBS, another major media corporation, began as a small radio network—the United Independent Broadcasters—in 1927 and quickly became a formidable challenger to NBC in radio and later television.

There can be big advantages to having the resources, name recognition, and established political connections that come with being a long-time powerful member of mass media, like Time Warner,

Disney, Comcast, and CBS. But in the age of the Internet, the leap from start-up to digital media powerhouse can happen in a few years or less. Two prime examples of this are Google and YouTube.

Google traces its origins to 1995, when Stanford student Sergey Brin was assigned to show prospective student Larry Page around campus. A year later, the pair were collaborating on a prototype search engine; and in 1997, they registered the domain name "Google.com"—a play on the mathematical word *googol* (the number written out as a one followed by one hundred zeros). In 1998, the pair officially registered the company as an entity and hired their first employee. The company proceeded to grow at a startling pace, adding an increasing amount of services and features every few months, including AdWorks in 2000, Images in 2001, Google Shopping in 2002, Gmail in 2004, Google Maps and a mobile search app in 2005, the Android mobile operating system and Chrome browser in 2008, the first Nexus mobile device and Google TV in 2010, Chromebooks in 2011, Chromecast in 2013, and prototypes of self-driving cars in 2014. Google is now one of the leading digital conglomerates in the world.

If anything, YouTube is even more of a digital age success story in terms of speedy accomplishments. The three founders—Chad Hurley, Steve Chen, and Jawed Karim—say they got the idea for a video-sharing site during a dinner party, and on Valentine's Day in 2005 they registered the trademark, name, and logo for YouTube. The first video (of Karim at the zoo) was posted on April 23, and by September, the site got its first million-hit video (a Nike ad). By December, the company was getting major investment attention and was more widely available after upgrading bandwidth and servers. Google bought YouTube in October 2006, just a year and a half after the first video was posted, for $1.65 billion.

The economic impact of a video-sharing and social media site like YouTube goes well beyond the video and banner ads Google can sell on the site. The site has been used for various purposes—training, information, politics, film festivals, or as a way to launch music careers. Usher used YouTube to introduce Justin Bieber in 2009, and Psy hit it big with the "Gangnam Style" video in 2012, the first YouTube video to garner over one billion hits (see "Psy and the Meaning of 'Gangnam Style'" on page 142). YouTube is also challenging the traditional entertainment media. Some of the leading celebrities in the eyes of U.S. teens aren't mainstream stars but YouTube sensations like Smosh, KSI, Ryan Higa, and Jenna Marbles, all of whom have tens of millions of subscribers.[1] Google's acquisition of YouTube continues to be a good investment, with the amount of time people spend watching YouTube each month up 50 percent over the previous year.[2]

The logistics behind the rise of digital conglomerates like Google and its subsidiary may be different from those behind traditional mass media companies like Time Warner or Disney, especially in the speed with which they get results. But the enormous flow of money and substantial power over the media landscape make the economics of these relative newcomers just as important when studying the media.

THE MEDIA TAKEOVERS, MULTIPLE MERGERS, AND CORPORATE CONSOLIDATION

over the last two decades have made our modern world very distinct from that of earlier generations—at least in economic terms. What's at the heart of this "brave new media world" is a media landscape that has been forever altered by the emergence of the Internet and a changing of the guard, from traditional media giants like Comcast and Time Warner to new digital giants like Amazon, Apple, Facebook, Google, and Microsoft. As the Yahoo! and Netflix ventures demonstrate, the Internet is marked by shifting and unpredictable terrain. In usurping the classified ads of newspapers and altering distribution for music, movies, and TV programs, the Internet has forced almost all media businesses to rethink not only the content they provide but the entire economic structure within which our capitalist media system operates.

In this chapter, we examine the economic impact of business strategies on various media. We will:

- Explore the issues and tensions that are part of the current media economy
- Examine the rise of the Information Age, distinguished by flexible, specialized, and global markets
- Investigate the breakdown of economic borders, focusing on media consolidation, corporate mergers, synergy, deregulation, and the emergence of an economic global village
- Address ethical and social issues in media economics, investigating the limits of antitrust laws, the concept of consumer control, and the threat of cultural imperialism
- Examine the rise of new digital media conglomerates
- Consider the impact of media consolidation on democracy and on the diversity of the marketplace

As you read through this chapter, think about the different media you use on a daily basis. What media products or content did you consume over the past week? Do you know who owns them? How important is it to know this? Do you consume popular culture or read news from other countries? Why or why not? For more questions to help you understand the role of media economics in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

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Analyzing the Media Economy

Given the sprawling scope of the mass media, the study of their economic conditions poses a number of complicated questions:

- What role does the government need to play in determining who owns the mass media and what kinds of media products are manufactured? Should it be a strong role, or should the government step back and let competition and market forces dictate what happens to mass media industries?
- Should citizen groups play a larger part in demanding that media organizations help maintain the quality of social and cultural life?
- Does the influence of American popular culture worldwide smother or encourage the growth of democracy and local cultures?
- Does the increasing concentration of economic power in the hands of several international corporations too severely restrict the number of players and voices in the media?

Answers to such questions span the economic and social spectrums. On the one hand, critics express concerns about the increasing power and reach of large media conglomerates. On

the other hand, many free-market advocates maintain that as long as these structures ensure efficient operation and generous profits, they measure up as quality media organizations.

In order to probe these issues fully, we need to understand key economic concepts across two broad areas: media structure and media performance.[3]

The Structure of the Media Industry

Media industries are typically structured in one of three ways: as a **monopoly**, an **oligopoly** (the most common structure), or a **limited competition** (typical of the radio and newspaper industries).[4] For a detailed explanation of these structures, refer to Figure 13.1.

The Performance of Media Organizations

In analyzing the performance of media organizations, economists pay attention to a number of elements—from how media make money to how they set prices and live up to society's expectations.

Collecting Revenue

The media collect revenues in two ways: through direct and indirect payments. **Direct payment** involves media products supported primarily by consumers, who pay directly for a book, a movie, a music download, or an Internet or cable TV service. **Indirect payment** involves media products supported primarily by advertisers, who pay for the quantity or quality of audience members that a particular medium delivers. Over-the-air radio and TV broadcasting and most Web sites rely on indirect payments for the majority of their revenue.

Through direct payments, consumers communicate their preferences immediately. Through the indirect payments of advertising, "the client is the advertiser, not the viewer or listener or reader," according to media economist Douglas Gomery.[5] Advertisers, in turn, seek media channels that persuade customers to acquire new products or switch brand loyalties.

Many forms of mass media, of course, generate revenue both directly and indirectly, including newspapers, magazines, some video games, online services, and cable systems.

Media Economics and the Global Marketplace

Clayton Antitrust Act
Congress strengthens antitrust law in 1914 by prohibiting companies from selling only to dealers who agree to reject rival products (p. 449).

Disney Founded in Hollywood
The future media conglomerate begins as a small animation studio in 1923 (p. 456).

1880 1900 1920 1930

Sherman Antitrust Act
Congress passes an act in 1890 that outlaws monopoly practices and corporate trusts that fix prices (p. 449).

Busting the Big Boys
In 1911, the federal government uses the antimonopoly Sherman Antitrust Act to break up both American Tobacco Co. and Rockefeller's Standard Oil Co. into smaller firms (p. 449).

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© Walt Disney Pictures/Everett Collection (bottom)

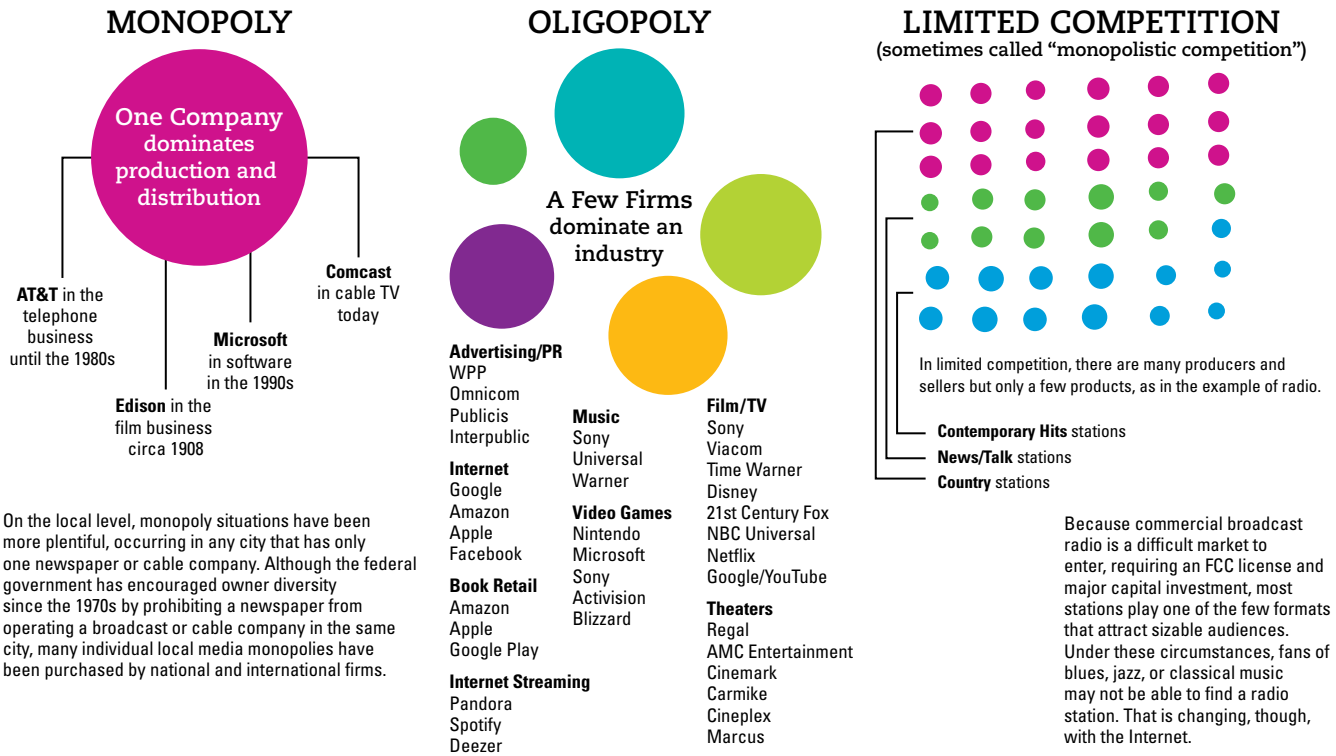
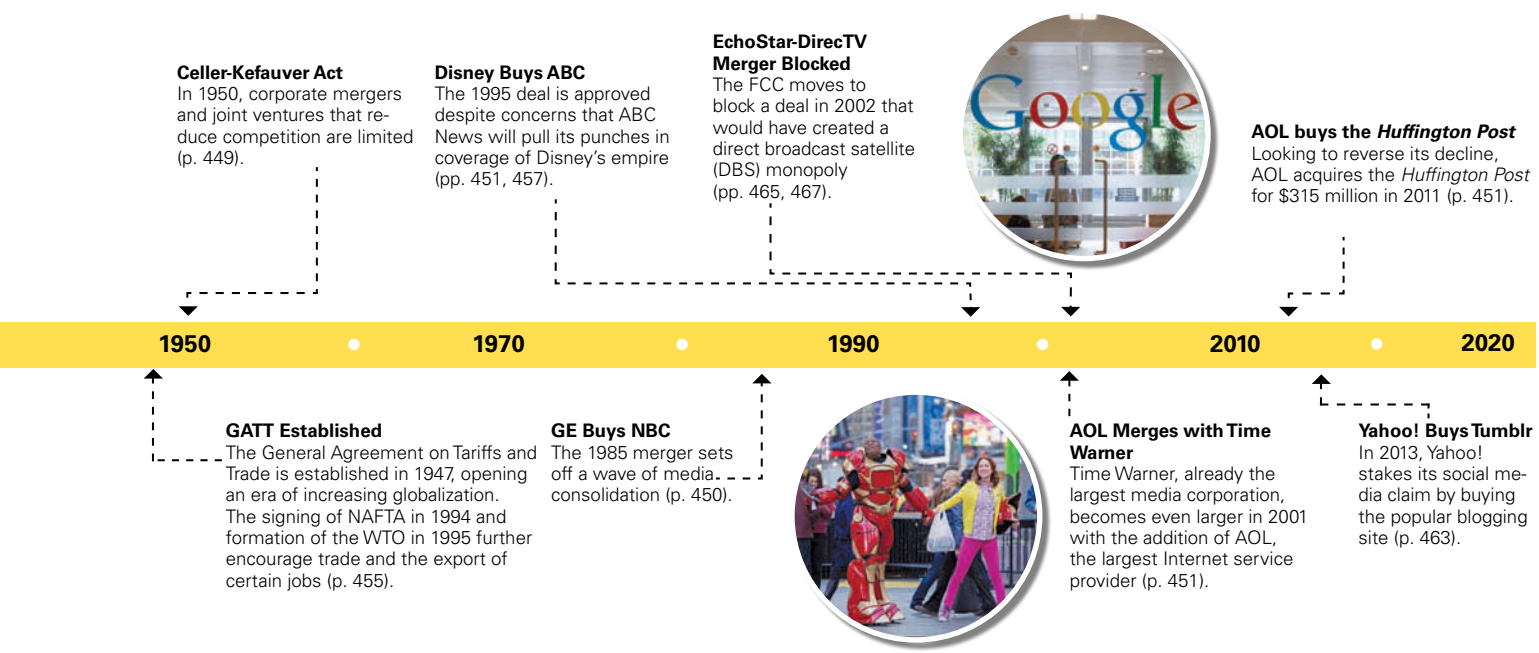


FIGURE 13.1

MEDIA INDUSTRY STRUCTURES

Commercial Strategies

When selling media content (and selling their audience to their advertising clients), media industry executives look to the most advantageous balance in the commercial process, including program or product costs, price setting, marketing strategies, and regulatory practices. Following are some common questions for every media industry.



View Pictures/UIG via Getty Images (top);
Eric Liebowitz/© Netflix/Everett Collection (bottom)

AP Photo/The Canadian Press, Frank Gunn

OPRAH WINFREY has built a remarkable media empire over the course of her long career. From book publishing to filmmaking and television, where she got her start, Oprah has established an expansive sphere of influence. After ending her talk show, she launched the cable TV network *OWN* in 2011, which after a slow start moved toward stability on the strength of scripted television programs.

- **Price.** How high can the price be raised of a book, movie, video game, music download, or Internet service before people won't buy it? How much can Netflix charge per month before its subscribers begin to switch to competing services?
- **Length, Frequency, and Tolerance.** How long will people tolerate a commercial break before they switch the channel or click on something else? For example, how many seconds should Google allow a commercial to run prior to a desired YouTube video before a user can "skip the ad"?
- **Data Mining and Privacy.** How much data can media companies such as Google or Facebook collect on customers before they find it an invasion of privacy?
- **Regulation.** For example, how much advertising of alcohol to underage audiences can a media company get away with before drawing the attention of media critics, consumer organizations, and regulatory boards?

Economists, media critics, and consumer organizations have also asked the mass media to meet certain performance criteria. Some key expectations of media organizations include:

- Introducing new technologies to the marketplace (e.g., improving the speed of broadband connections)
- Making media products and services available to people of all economic classes
- Facilitating free expression and robust political discussion
- Monitoring society in times of crisis
- Playing a positive role in education
- Maintaining the quality of culture[6]

Although media industries live up to some of these expectations better than others, economic analyses permit consumers and citizens to examine the instances when the mass media fall short. For example, when corporate executives trim news budgets or fire news personnel, or use one reporter to do multiple versions of a story for TV, radio, newspaper, and the Internet, such decisions ultimately reduce the total number of distinct news stories that cover a crucial topic and jeopardize the role of journalists as watchdogs of society. Media economic decisions thus affect the society in which we live.

The Transition to an Information Economy

The twentieth century can be divided in two. The first half of the century emphasized mass production, assembly lines, the rise of manufacturing plants, and the intense rivalry between U.S.-based businesses and businesses from other nations that produced competing products. By the 1950s, however, the U.S. economy was beginning a transition to a new cooperative global economy as the machines that drove the Industrial Age changed gears for the new Information Age. Offices slowly displaced factories as major work sites; centralized mass production declined and often gave way to internationalized, decentralized, and lower-paid service work; and the information-based economy became driven by computers and data.

As part of the shift to an information-based economy, various mass media industries began marketing music, movies, television programs, and computer software on a global level. The emphasis on mass production (e.g., television programs targeted to mass audiences, or magazines designed to appeal to a broad cross section of the U.S. population) slowly shifted to the cultivation of specialized niche media markets. The political and economic forces swung from regulating media industries (and industries in general) in the first half of the twentieth century to deregulating them in the second half. Decades of deregulation have led to media mergers and acquisitions, resulting in media powerhouses and more concentrated ownership in nearly every media sector.

Deregulation Trumps Regulation

During the rise of industry in the nineteenth century, entrepreneurs such as John D. Rockefeller in oil, Cornelius Vanderbilt in shipping and railroads, and Andrew Carnegie in steel created monopolies in their respective industries. There was so little regulation of these newly powerful industries that the companies became notorious for their exploitative labor practices (including child labor), corrupt corporate conduct, and manipulation of the competitive landscape. Corporations and their business partners were often organized as "trusts," but soon the word *trust* became equated with any large corporation—particularly large, unethical corporations that would try to drive out fair competition. Congress responded by enacting the first antitrust law in 1890, the Sherman Antitrust Act, which outlawed monopoly practices and corporate trusts that often fixed prices to force competitors out of business. Political progressives and muckraking journalists brought more anticompetitive trusts to light. In 1911, the government used the Sherman Antitrust Act to break up both the American Tobacco Company and Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company, which was divided into thirty smaller competing firms.

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ANTITRUST REGULATION During the late nineteenth century, John D. Rockefeller Sr., considered the richest businessman in the world, controlled more than 90 percent of the U.S. oil refining business. But antitrust regulations were used in 1911 to bust up Rockefeller's powerful Standard Oil into more than thirty separate companies. He later hired PR guru Ivy Lee to refashion his negative image as a greedy corporate mogul.

In 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Antitrust Act, prohibiting manufacturers from selling only to dealers and contractors who agree to reject the products of business rivals. The Celler-Kefauver Act of 1950 further strengthened antitrust rules by limiting any corporate mergers and joint ventures that reduced competition. Today, the Federal Trade Commission (established in 1914) and the antitrust division of the Department of Justice are responsible for enforcing these laws.

Deregulation Spurs Formation of Media Conglomerates

The corporate regulations introduced between 1890 and 1950 were meant to increase competition between companies and prevent any one company from having too much control over the market. However, corporations chafed under these economic rules, and with the rise of public relations tactics and aggressive lobbying campaigns from the 1920s onward, they worked to turn the anticorporate rhetoric so prominent throughout the first half of the twentieth century (particularly in light of the Great Depression) into a commonsense narrative that government

regulation was bad for business and bad for America.[7] Although the administration of President Jimmy Carter (1977–1981) actually initiated deregulation, most controls on business were drastically weakened under President Ronald Reagan (1981–1989). Deregulation led to easier mergers, corporate diversifications, and increased tendencies in some sectors toward oligopolies (especially in air travel, energy, finance, and communications).[8]

The Telecommunications Act of 1996 (signed by President Bill Clinton) brought unprecedented deregulation to a broadcast industry that had been closely regulated for more than sixty years. The act transformed the industry:

- A single company could now own an almost unlimited number of radio and TV stations.
- Telephone companies could now own TV and radio stations.
- Cable companies could now compete in the local telephone business.
- Cable companies could freely raise rates.

Prior to this, a company could own no more than twenty AM, twenty FM, and twelve TV stations. After the act, several corporations quickly grew to owning hundreds of stations. As a result, radio and television ownership became increasingly consolidated. At the time, some economists thought the new competition would lower consumer prices. Others predicted more mergers and an oligopoly in which a few megacorporations would control most of the wires entering a home and thus dictate pricing.

As it turned out, the latter group was right. Ever-larger corporations control cable, telephone, and broadband service to households, and they have charged ever-increasing prices. For example, the average monthly price of basic cable service grew to $64.41 by 2013, a price increase almost triple the rate of inflation since 1995.[9] Of course, cable, telephone, and satellite companies are delivering even more channels to consumers. But because the industry "bundles" channels, most consumers pay for far more channels than they watch. The average U.S. home was receiving 189 TV channels by 2013 but watched only about 17 of them.[10]

MEDIA ACQUISITIONS like Comcast's purchase of NBC Universal enable a distribution company (Comcast) to also control the production (by NBC Universal) of much of its content. Comcast, the largest cable and broadband provider in the United States, now owns many of the channels that appear on its cable systems. Yet this does not guarantee NBC Universal production a spot on one of those channels. *The Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt*, originally intended for NBC, was sold instead to Netflix, where it became a success for the streaming company. NBC Universal can make money even when it doesn't air its own shows.

Media Powerhouses: Consolidation, Partnerships, and Mergers

Despite their strength, the antitrust laws of the twentieth century have been unevenly applied, especially in terms of the media. When International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT) tried to acquire ABC in the 1960s, loud protests and government investigations sank the deal. But in the mid-1980s, just as the Justice Department was breaking up AT&T's century-old monopoly—creating telephone competition—the government was authorizing a number of mass media mergers that consolidated power in the hands of a few large companies. For example, when General Electric set out to purchase RCA/NBC in the 1980s, the FTC, the FCC, and the Justice Department had few objections. When NBC Universal changed hands again—in its 2011 purchase by cable giant Comcast, which created the nation's largest traditional media conglomerate—the *New York Times* reported that "Comcast said it faced few onerous restrictions" from federal regulatory agencies and no requirements to sell any assets.[11]

Eric Liebovitz/© Netflix/Everett Collection

In 1995, Disney acquired ABC for $19 billion. To ensure its rank as the world's largest media conglomerate, Time Warner countered and bought Turner Broadcasting in 1995 for $7.5 billion. In 2001, AOL acquired Time Warner for $164 billion—the largest media merger in history at the time. The company was originally called AOL–Time Warner. However, when the online giant saw its subscription service decline in the face of new high-speed broadband services from cable firms, the company went back to the Time Warner name and spun off AOL in 2009. Time Warner's failed venture in the volatile world of the Internet proved disastrous. The companies together were valued at $350 billion in 2000 but only at $50 billion in 2010. After suffering losses of over $700 million in 2010, AOL in 2011 bought the *Huffington Post*, a popular news and analysis Web site, for $315 million in an attempt to reverse its decline. AOL itself was bought by Verizon in 2015 for $4.4 billion.

Also in 2001, the federal government approved a $72 billion deal uniting AT&T's cable division with Comcast, creating a cable company twice the size of its nearest competitor. (AT&T quickly left the merger, selling its cable holdings to Comcast for $47 billion in late 2001.) In 2009, Comcast struck a deal with GE to purchase a majority stake in NBC Universal, stirring up antitrust complaints from some consumer groups. In 2010, Congress began hearings on whether uniting a major cable company and a major broadcasting network under a single owner would decrease healthy competition between cable and broadcast TV and thus hurt consumers. In 2011, the FCC approved the deal.

Until the 1980s, antitrust rules attempted to ensure diversity of ownership among competing businesses. Sometimes this happened, as in the breakup of AT&T, and sometimes it did not, as in the cases of cable monopolies and the mergers just discussed. What has occurred consistently, however, is media competition being usurped by media consolidation. Today, the same anticompetitive mind-set exists that allowed a few utility and railroad companies to control their industries in the days before antitrust laws.

Most media companies have skirted monopoly charges by purchasing diverse types of mass media rather than trying to control just one medium. For example, Disney, rather than trying to dominate one area, provides programming to TV, cable, and movie theaters. In 1995, then CEO Michael Eisner defended the company's practices, arguing that as long as large companies remain dedicated to quality—and as long as Disney did not try to buy the phone lines and TV cables running into homes—such mergers benefit America.

But Eisner's position raises questions: How is the quality of cultural products determined? If companies cannot make money on quality products, what happens? If ABC News cannot make a substantial profit, should Disney's managers cut back its national or international news staff? What are the potential effects of such layoffs on the public mission of news media and consequently on our political system? How should the government and citizens respond?

Business Tendencies in Media Industries

In addition to the consolidation trend, a number of other factors characterize the economics of mass media businesses. These are general trends or tendencies that cut across most business sectors and demonstrate how contemporary global economies operate.

Flexible Markets and the Decline of Labor Unions

Geographer David Harvey has observed that today's information culture is characterized by what business executives call flexibility—a tendency to emphasize "the new, the fleeting . . . and the contingent in modern life, rather than the more solid values implanted" during Henry Ford's day, when relatively stable mass production drove mass consumption.[12] The new elastic economy features the expansion of the service sector (most notably in health care, banking, real estate, fast food, Internet ventures, and computer software) and the need to serve individual consumer preferences. This type of economy has relied on cheap labor—sometimes exploiting poor workers in sweatshops—and on quick, high-volume sales to offset the costs of making so many niche products for specialized markets.

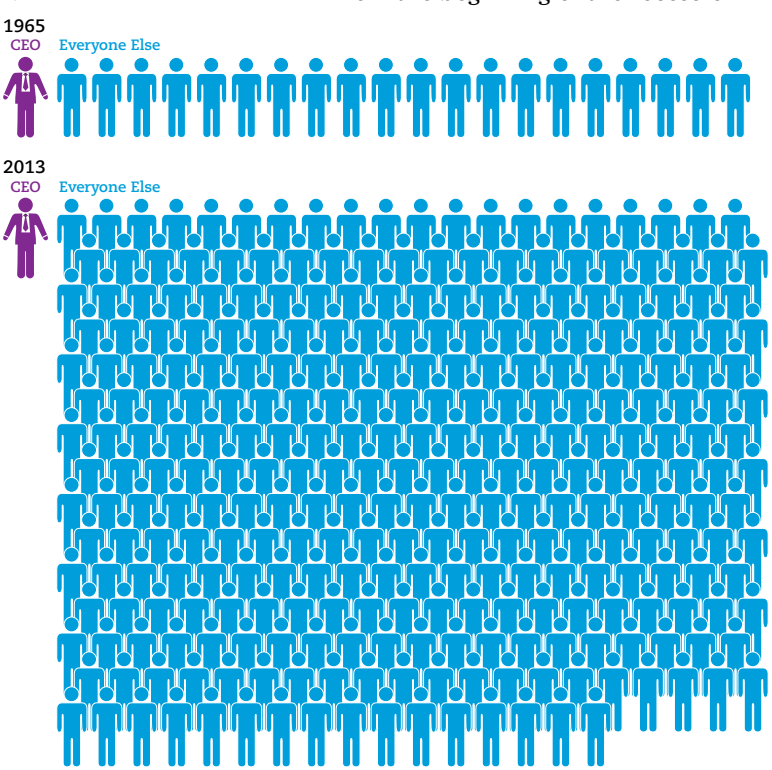
Given that 80 to 90 percent of new consumer and media products typically fail, a flexible economy has demanded rapid product development and efficient market research. Companies need to score a few hits to offset investments in failed products. For instance, during the peak summer movie season, studios premiere dozens of new feature films, such as *Jurassic World*, *San Andreas*, and *Trainwreck* in 2015. A few are big hits but many more miss, and studios hope to recoup their losses via merchandising tie-ins and movie rentals and sales. Similarly, TV networks introduce scores of new programs each year but quickly replace those that fail to attract a large audience or the "right" kind of affluent viewers. Of course, this flexible media system heavily favors large companies with greater access to capital over small businesses that cannot easily absorb the losses incurred from failed products.

The era of flexible markets also coincided with the decline in the number of workers who belong to labor unions. Having made strong gains on behalf of workers after World War II, labor unions, at their peak in 1954, represented 34.8 percent of U.S. workers. Then manufacturers and other large industries began to look for ways to cut labor costs, which had increased as then-powerful labor unions successfully bargained for middle-class wages. With the shift to an information economy, many jobs—such as manufacturing computers, stereo systems, TV sets, and DVD players—were exported to avoid the high price of U.S. unionized labor. (See "Global Village: Designed in California, Assembled in China," in Chapter 2, which describes the conditions in which the Chinese company Foxconn currently makes electronic devices for Apple, Amazon, Microsoft, Sony, and a number of other electronics brands.) As large companies bought up small companies across national boundaries, commerce developed rapidly at the global level. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, union membership fell to 20.1 percent in 1983 and 11.3 percent three decades later, flattening out at the lowest rate in more than seventy years.[13]

FIGURE 13.2

CEO-TO-WORKER WAGE GAP, 1965 AND 2013

Data from: Lawrence Mishel and Alyssa Davis, "CEO Pay Continues to Rise as Typical Workers Are Paid Less," Economic Policy Institute, June 12, 2014, www.epi.org/publication/ceo-pay-continues-to-rise/.



Downsizing and the Wage Gap

With the apparent advantage to large companies in this flexible age, who is disadvantaged? From the beginning of the recession in December 2007 through 2009, the United States lost more than 8.4 million jobs (affecting 6.1 percent of all employers), creating the highest unemployment contraction since the Great Depression.[14] The unemployment rate started to recede in 2009, but from 2009 to 2012, as the economy slowly recovered, 95 percent of postrecession income growth was captured by the top 1 percent—those Americans with the greatest income.[15]

Inequality in the United States between the richest and everyone else has been growing since the 1970s. This is apparent in the skyrocketing rate of executive compensation and the growing ratio between executive pay and the typical pay of workers in corresponding industries. In 1965, the CEO-to-worker compensation ratio was 20:1 (i.e., the typical CEO earned 20 times the salary of the typical worker in that industry). By 2013, the ratio had climbed to 295.9:1 (see Figure 13.2).[16] Media corporations are among those with the highest wage gaps. In 2014, Robert Iger of Disney ($46.5 million), Philippe P. Dauman of Viacom ($44 million), and Rupert Murdoch of News

Corp. ($29.2 million) were among the highest paid CEOs of publicly traded companies in the United States.[17]

Corporate downsizing, which is supposed to make companies more flexible and more profitable, has served CEOs well but has not served workers well. This trend, spurred by government deregulation and a decline in worker protections, means that many employees today scramble for jobs, often working two or three part-time positions. Increasingly, the available positions have substandard pay. The National Employment Law Project reported that "more than one in four private sector jobs (26 percent) were low-wage positions paying less than $10 per hour."[18] This translates to a salary of about $20,000 a year or less. And the flexible economy keeps moving in that direction. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimated in 2012 that 70 percent of the leading growth occupations for the next decade are low-wage ones.[19] Even as most big businesses had recovered from the recession and experienced record profits by 2011, their low-wage workers' wages still suffered. For example, at the top fifty low-wage employers, including Target, McDonald's, Panera, Macy's, and Abercrombie & Fitch, the highest-paid executives earned an average of $9.4 million a year. At that rate, they earned about $4,520 an hour, an amount it would take more than six hundred minimum-wage employees to earn in the same time period.[20] Based on Robert Iger's 2014 annual compensation of $46.5 million, it would take over 3,000 minimum-wage Disney employees to earn as much as he earns in a year.

Economics, Hegemony, and Storytelling

To understand why our society hasn't (until recently) participated in much public discussion about wealth disparity and salary gaps, it is helpful to understand the concept of hegemony. The word *hegemony* has roots in ancient Greek, but in the 1920s and 1930s, Italian philosopher and activist Antonio Gramsci worked out a modern understanding of hegemony: how a ruling class in a society maintains its power—not simply by military or police force but more commonly by citizens' consent and deference to power. He explained that people who are without power—the disenfranchised, the poor, the disaffected, the unemployed, the exploited workers—do not routinely rise up against those in power because "the rule of one class over another does not depend on economic or physical power alone but rather on persuading the ruled to accept the system of beliefs of the ruling class and to share their social, cultural, and moral values."[21] **Hegemony**, then, is the acceptance of the dominant values in a culture by those who are subordinate to those who hold economic and political power.

How, then, does this process actually work in our society? How do lobbyists, the rich, and our powerful two-party political system convince regular citizens that they should go along with the status quo? Edward Bernays, one of the founders of modern public relations (see Chapter 12), wrote in his 1947 article "The Engineering of Consent" that companies and rulers couldn't lead people—or get them to do what the ruling class wanted—until the people consented to what those companies or rulers were trying to do, whether it was convincing the public to support women smoking cigarettes or to go to war. To pull this off, Bernays would convert a client's goals into "common sense"; that is, he tried to convince consumers and citizens that his clients' interests were the "natural" way things worked.

So if companies or politicians convinced consumers and voters that the interests of the powerful were common sense and therefore normal or natural, they also created an atmosphere and context in which there was less chance for challenge and criticism. Common sense, after all, repels self-scrutiny ("that's just plain common sense—end of discussion"). In this case, status quo values and conventional wisdom (e.g., hard work and religious belief are rewarded with economic success) and political arrangements (e.g., the traditional two-party system serves democracy best) become accepted as normal and natural ways to organize and see the world.

To argue that a particular view or value is common sense is often an effective strategy for stopping conversation and debate. Yet common sense is socially and symbolically constructed

and shifts over time. For example, it was once common sense that the world was flat and that people who were not property-owning white males shouldn't be allowed to vote. Common sense is particularly powerful because it contains no analytical strategies for criticizing elite or dominant points of view and therefore certifies class, race, or sexual orientation divisions or mainstream political views as natural and given.

To buy uncritically into concepts presented as common sense inadvertently serves to maintain such concepts as natural, shutting down discussions about the ways in which economic divisions or political hierarchies are *not* natural and given. So when Democratic and Republican candidates run for office, the stories they tell about themselves espouse their connection to Middle American common sense and down-home virtues—for example, a photo of Mitt Romney eating a Subway sandwich or a video of Barack Obama playing basketball in a small Indiana high school gym. These ties to ordinary commonsense values and experience connect the powerful to the everyday, making their interests and ours appear to be seamless.

To understand how hegemony works as a process, let's examine how common sense is practically and symbolically transmitted. Here it is crucial to understand the central importance of storytelling to culture. The narrative—as the dominant symbolic way we make sense of experience and articulate our values—is often a vehicle for delivering common sense. Therefore, ideas, values, and beliefs can be carried in our mainstream stories—the stories we tell and find in daily conversations, in the local paper, in political ads, on the evening news, in books, magazines, movies, and favorite TV shows, and online. The narrative, then, is the normal and familiar structure that aids in converting ideas, values, and beliefs to common sense—normalizing them into "just the way things are."

The reason that common narratives work is that they identify with a culture's dominant values; Middle American virtues include allegiances to family, honesty, hard work, religion, capitalism, health, democracy, moderation, loyalty, fairness, authenticity, modesty, and so forth. These kinds of Middle American virtues are the ones that our politicians most frequently align themselves with in the political ads that tell their stories. These virtues lie at the heart of powerful American Dream stories that for centuries have told us that if we work hard and practice such values, we will triumph and be successful. Hollywood, too, distributes these shared narratives, celebrating characters and heroes who are loyal, honest, and hardworking. Through this process, the media (and the powerful companies that control them) provide the commonsense narratives that keep the economic status quo relatively unchallenged and leave little room for alternatives.

AMERICAN DREAM STORIES are distributed through our media. This is especially true of television shows in the 1950s and 1960s like *The Donna Reed Show*, which idealized the American nuclear family as central to the American Dream.

Everett Collection

In the end, hegemony helps explain why we occasionally support economic plans and structures that may not be in our best interest. We may do this out of altruism, as when wealthy people or companies favor higher taxes because of a sense of obligation to support those who are less fortunate. But more often, the American Dream story is so powerful in our media and popular culture that many of us believe that we have an equal chance of becoming rich and therefore successful and happy. So why would we do anything to disturb the economic structures that the dream is built on? In fact, in many versions of our American Dream story—from Hollywood films to political ads—the government often plays the role of villain, seeking to raise our taxes or undermine rugged individualism and

hard work. Pitted against the government in these stories, the protagonist is the little guy, at odds with burdensome regulations and bureaucratic oversight. However, many of these stories are produced and distributed by large media corporations and political leaders who rely on the rest of us to consent to the American Dream narrative in order to keep their privileged place in the status quo and reinforce this "commonsense" story as the way the world works.

Specialization, Global Markets, and Convergence

In today's complex and often turbulent economic environment, global firms have sought greater profits by moving labor to less economically developed countries that need jobs but have poor health and safety regulations for workers. The continuous outsourcing of many U.S. jobs and the breakdown of global economic borders accompanied this transformation. Bolstered by the passage of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) in 1947, the signing of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) in 1994, and the formation of the WTO (World Trade Organization, which succeeded GATT in 1995), global cooperation fostered transnational media corporations and business deals across international terrain.

But in many cases, this global expansion by U.S. companies ran counter to America's early-twentieth-century vision of itself. Henry Ford, for example, followed his wife's suggestion to lower prices so workers could afford Ford cars. In many countries today, however, most workers cannot even afford the computers and TV sets they are making primarily for U.S. and European markets.

The Rise of Specialization and Synergy

The new globalism coincided with the rise of specialization. The magazine, radio, and cable industries sought specialized markets both in the United States and overseas, in part to counter television's mass appeal. By the 1980s, however, even television—confronted with the growing popularity of home video and cable—began niche marketing, targeting affluent eighteen- to thirty-four-year-old viewers, whose buying habits are not as stable or predictable as those of older consumers. Younger and older audiences, abandoned by the networks, were sought by other media outlets and advertisers. Magazines such as *J-14* and *AARP The Magazine* now flourish. Cable channels such as Nickelodeon and the Cartoon Network serve the under-eighteen market, while the Hallmark Channel and Lifetime address female viewers over age fifty; in addition, cable channel BET targets young African Americans, helping define them as a consumer group (see "Case Study: Minority and Female Media Ownership: Why It Matters" on pages 458–459).

Beyond specialization, though, what really distinguishes current media economics is the extension of **synergy** to international levels. *Synergy* typically refers to the promotion and sale of different versions of a media product across the various subsidiaries of a media conglomerate (e.g., a Weather Channel segment on NBC's *Today Show*, or an NBC News reporter appearing on MSNBC for election coverage—all part of Comcast and its NBC Universal subsidiary). However, it also refers to global companies like Sony buying up popular culture—in this case, movie studios and record labels—to play on its various electronic products. Today, synergy is an important goal for large media corporations and is often the reason given for expensive mergers and acquisitions. But historically, half of all mergers and acquisitions are failures, and synergies are never realized.[22] (Consider, for example, the disastrous AOL–Time Warner merger of 2001 or News Corp.'s expensive bad bet on the success of MySpace in 2005.)

Disney: A Postmodern Media Conglomerate

The Walt Disney Company is one of the most successful companies in leveraging its many properties to create synergies. For example, in 2014, ABC broadcast the prime-time special *The Story of* Frozen: *Making a Disney Animated Classic* to promote the Disney movie studio's enormous hit movie and soundtrack—and to hype ABC's *Once Upon a Time* series (which would soon feature a character from *Frozen*) along with Disney's next animated film, *Big Hero 6. Frozen* (as noted in Chapter 7) also taps into a huge array of licensed merchandise and even *Frozen*-themed vacation trips by Disney's tour company and cruise line. To fully understand the contemporary story of media economics and synergy, we need only examine the transformation of Disney from a struggling cartoon creator to one of the world's largest media conglomerates.

The Early Years

After Walt Disney's first cartoon company, Laugh-O-Gram, went bankrupt in 1922, Disney moved to Hollywood and found his niche. He created Mickey Mouse (originally named Mortimer) for the first sound cartoons in the late 1920s and developed the first feature-length cartoon, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, completed in 1937.

For much of the twentieth century, the Disney company set the standard for popular cartoons and children's culture. The *Silly Symphonies* series (1929–1939) established the studio's reputation for high-quality hand-drawn cartoons. Although Disney remained a minor studio, *Fantasia* and *Pinocchio*—the two top-grossing films of 1940—each made more than $40 million. Nonetheless, the studio barely broke even because cartoon projects took time—four years for *Snow White*—and commanded the company's entire attention.

Around the time of the demise of the cartoon film short in movie theaters, Disney expanded into other areas with its first nature documentary short, *Seal Island* (1949); its first live-action feature, *Treasure Island* (1950); and its first feature documentary, *The Living Desert* (1953).

Disney was also among the first film studios to embrace television, launching a long-running prime-time show in 1954. Then, in 1955, Disneyland opened in Southern California. Eventually, Disney's theme parks would produce the bulk of the studio's revenues. (Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida, began operation in 1971.)

In 1953, Disney started Buena Vista, a distribution company. This was the first step in making the studio into a major player. The company also began exploiting the power of its early cartoon features. *Snow White*, for example, was successfully rereleased in theaters to new generations of children before eventually going to videocassette and much later to DVD.

Global Expansion

The death of Walt Disney in 1966 triggered a period of decline for the studio. But in 1984, a new management team, led by Michael Eisner, initiated a turnaround. The newly created Touchstone movie division reinvented the live-action cartoon for adults as well as for children in *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* (1988). A string of hand-drawn animated hits followed, including *The Little Mermaid* (1989), *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *The Lion King* (1994), *Mulan* (1998), and *Lilo & Stitch* (2002). Disney also distributed a string of computer-animated blockbusters from Pixar Animation Studios, including *Toy Story* (1995), *Monsters, Inc.* (2001), *Finding Nemo* (2003), and *The Incredibles* (2004); it later acquired Pixar outright and released movies including *Up* (2009), *Toy Story 3* (2010), and *Brave* (2012). Disney's in-house animation studio eventually got into the computer-animation business and had several major successes with *Wreck-It Ralph* (2012), *Frozen* (2013), and *Big Hero 6* (2014).

Disney also came to epitomize the synergistic possibilities of media consolidation. It can produce an animated feature for both theatrical release and DVD distribution. With its ABC

LaunchPad
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Disney's Global Brand
Watch a clip from *Frozen,* one of Disney's biggest movies ever.
Discussion: What elements of *Frozen* might have contributed to its global popularity?

© Walt Disney Pictures/Everett Collection

FOR ABOUT A DECADE, DISNEY ANIMATION WAS DEFINED more by Pixar, the computer-animation studio it purchased in 2006, than by its original in-house animation studio. But Disney's original studio has seen a resurgence in recent years with movies like *Tangled* (2010), *Wreck-It Ralph* (2012), and *Frozen* (2013). The latter became an international phenomenon, grossing over $1 billion worldwide, and won the Academy Award for Best Animated Feature. Dolls of the *Frozen* characters sold out at stores around the world.

network (purchased in 1995), it can promote Disney movies and television shows on programs like *Good Morning America*. A book version can be released through Disney's publishing arm, Disney Publishing Worldwide, and "the-making-of" versions can appear on cable's Disney Channel or ABC Family. Characters can become attractions at Disney's theme parks, which themselves have spawned Hollywood movies, such as the lucrative *Pirates of the Caribbean* franchise.

Throughout the 1990s, Disney continued to find new sources of revenue in both entertainment and distribution. Through its purchase of ABC, Disney also became the owner of the cable sports channels ESPN and ESPN2, and later expanded the brand with ESPNEWS, ESPN Classic, and ESPNU channels; *ESPN The Magazine*; ESPN Radio; and ESPN.go.com. In New York City, Disney renovated several theaters and launched versions of *Beauty and the Beast*, *The Lion King*, and *Spider-Man* as successful Broadway musicals.

Building on the international appeal of its cartoon features, Disney extended its global reach by opening Tokyo Disney Resort in 1983 and Disneyland Paris in 1991. On the home front, a proposed historical park in Virginia—Disney's America—suffered defeat at the hands of citizens who raised concerns about Disney misinterpreting or romanticizing American history. In 1995, shortly after the company purchased ABC, the news division was criticized for running a flattering profile about Disney on ABC's evening news program.

Despite criticism, little slowed Disney's global expansion. Orbit—a Saudi-owned satellite relay station based in Rome—introduced Disney's twenty-four-hour premium cable channel to twenty-three countries in the Middle East and North Africa in 1997. Disney opened more venues in Asia, with Hong Kong Disneyland Resort in 2005 and Shanghai Disney Resort, which broke ground in 2011. Disney exemplifies the formula for becoming a "great media conglomerate" as defined in the book *Global Dreams*: "Companies able to use visuals to sell sound, movies to sell books, or software to sell hardware would become the winners in the new global commercial order."[23]

Disney Today

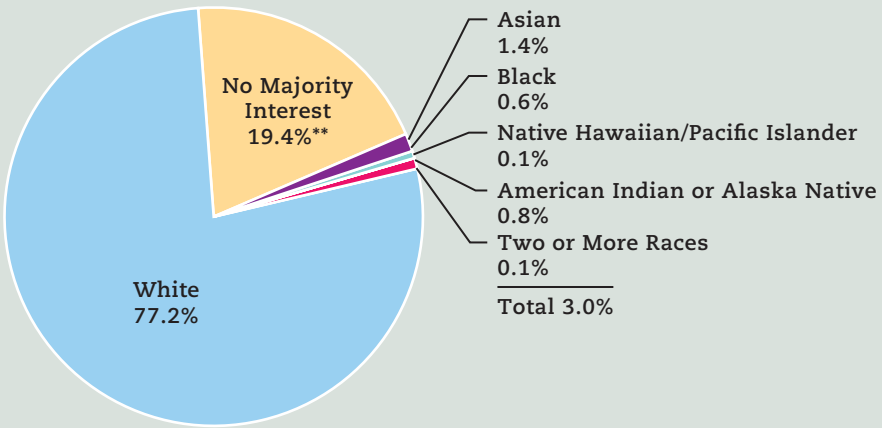
Even as Disney grew into the world's No. 2 media conglomerate by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the cartoon pioneer experienced the multiple shocks of a recession, failed films and Internet ventures, and declining theme park attendance. By 2005, Disney had fallen to No. 5 among movie studios in U.S. box-office sales—down from No. 1 in 2003. In 2006, new CEO Robert Iger merged Disney and Pixar, and made Pixar and Apple Computer founder and CEO Steve Jobs a Disney board member. In 2009, Disney also signed a long-term deal to distribute movies from Steven Spielberg's DreamWorks Studios. But in 2010, Disney, still reeling from the economic recession, sold its independent film studio Miramax for $660 million to an investor group.

CASE STUDY

Minority and Female Media Ownership: Why It Matters

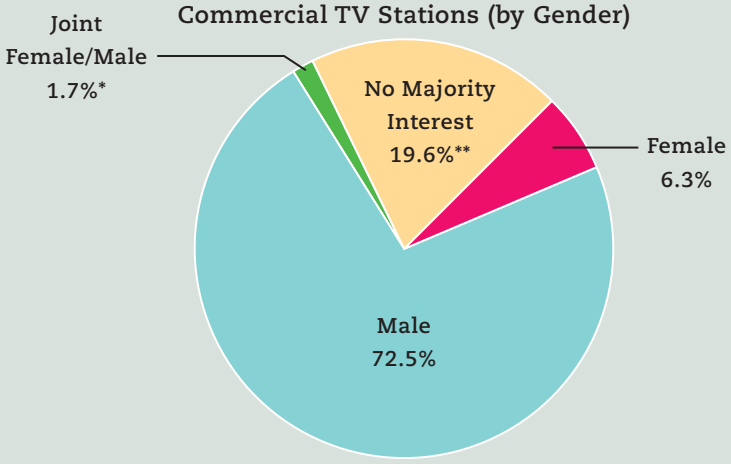
The giant merger in 2010 between "Big Network" (NBC) and "Big Cable" (Comcast) signaled a key economic strategy for traditional media industries in the age of the Internet. By claiming that "Big Internet" companies like Google and Amazon (especially as they moved into content development) posed enough of a threat to old media, traditional media companies pushed for the dissolution of remaining ownership restrictions. However, the big NBC-Comcast merger also brought to the forefront concerns about diminishing diversity in media ownership.

Majority Ownership of Full-Power Commercial TV Stations (by Race)



Since the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which made it easier for big media companies to consolidate, minority and female media owners have declined precipitously. For example, the FCC reported in 2014 that racial or ethnic minorities own just 41, or 3.0 percent of the 1386 full-power commercial broadcast television stations in the United States." That breaks down to just nineteen stations owned by Asian owners, nine stations owned by black or African American owners (and only one of those in a Top-50 market), one station owned by a Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, eleven stations owned by American Indian or Alaskan Natives, and one TV station owned by a multiracial owner.[1] Critics fear that larger media conglomerations and more consolidation will mean even less diversity in media ownership.

Majority Ownership of Full-Power Commercial TV Stations (by Gender)

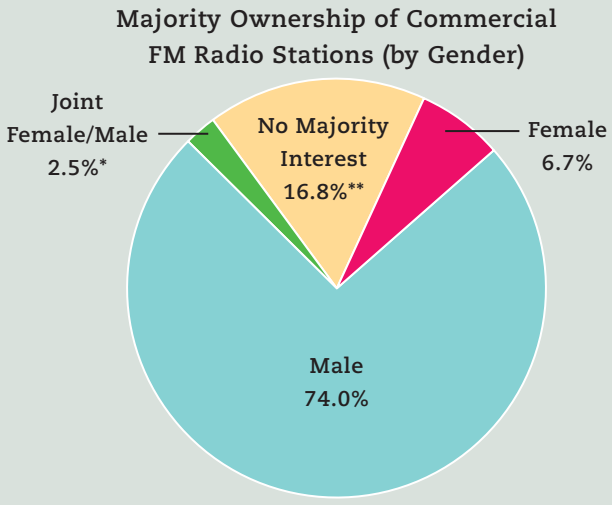


All chart data from: Federal Communications Commission, "Report on Ownership of Commercial Broadcast Stations," DA 12-1667, November 14, 2012.

*"Joint female/male" cases are those in which a female and a male each control a 50 percent interest in the station.

**"No majority interest" cases are those in which no party owns 50 percent (a majority) or more controlling interest in a station.

Back in the 1970s, the FCC enacted rules that prohibited a single company from owning more than seven AM radio stations, seven FM radio stations, and seven TV stations (called "the 7-7-7 rule"). These restrictions were first put in place to encourage diverse and alternative owners—and, therefore, diverse and alternative viewpoints. However, the rules were relaxed throughout the 1980s, and when almost all ownership restrictions were lifted in 1996, big media companies often bought up smaller radio and TV stations formerly controlled by minority and female owners. For example, by 2015, radio



behemoth Clear Channel owned 858 radio stations, Cumulus owned 460, and Townsquare Media controlled 311. On the television side, by 2015, Maryland-based Sinclair Broadcast Group had grown to 162 television stations (and 375 channels, including digital multiplex channels) in 79 markets across the United States.

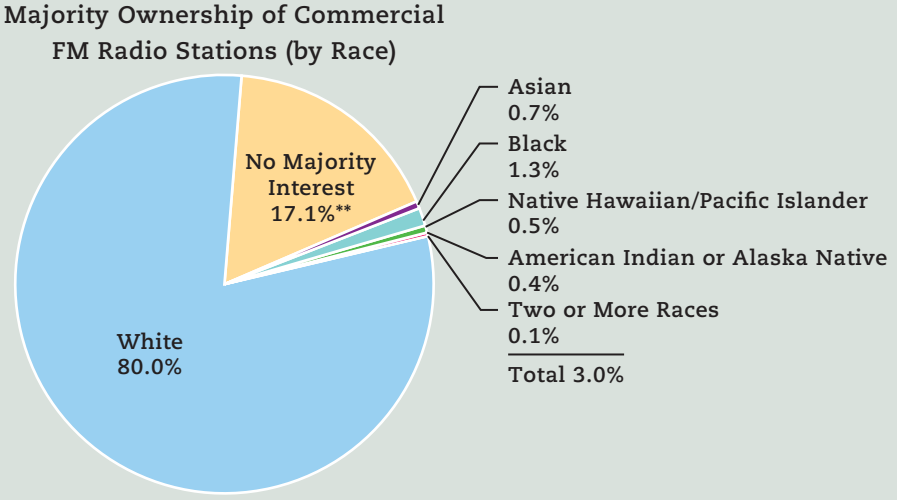
In a country in which women constitute slightly more than 50 percent of the population, blacks are about 13 percent of the population, and Hispanics/Latinos are about 17 percent of the population, television and radio broadcasting ownership diversity in the United States is poor by any measure. The nonpartisan media activist group the Free Press has argued that "the level of female and minority ownership in the broadcast marketplace is disproportionately and embarrassingly low," with "a nearly 20 percent decline in the level of minority ownership since 2006."[2] The group criticized the FCC for not taking its obligations to serve the public interest seriously by not fully studying the impact that relaxed ownership rules have on minority and female broadcast station ownership.

The Free Press contends that large chains have enormous power in the marketplace and ultimately harm minority and female ownership:

As markets become more concentrated, artificial economies of scale are created. This drives away potential new entrants in favor of existing large chains. Concentration also has the effect of diminishing the ability of existing smaller station groups and single-station owners to compete for both advertising and programming contracts. These effects combine to create immense pressure for smaller owners to sell their stations. And this destructive cycle disproportionately impacts women and minority owners, as they are far more likely to own just a single station in comparison to their white-male and corporate counterparts. Current female and minority owners are driven out of markets; and discrimination in access to deals, capital and equity, combined with the higher barriers to entry created by consolidation, shut out new female and minority owners.[3]

The only means at the FCC's disposal to prevent further erosion of diversity in media are limitations on station ownership. The FCC moved in 2014 to tighten rules to prevent broadcasting companies from evading local ownership rules by operating additional local stations through shell companies that concealed their true ownership. Craig Aaron, president of the Free Press, applauded the FCC on removing such loopholes that enabled media conglomerates to grow even larger. "It's time for conglomerates to start playing by the rules. Divesting some of their stations could open the door for truly independent and diverse owners to enter a marketplace conglomerates have controlled for years."[4]

The point of diversity in ownership is to increase the variety of voices in the public sphere, which the FCC is required to do as part of its mission to serve the public interest. Yet there is continuing pressure applied to the FCC and Congress by the National Association of Broadcasters on behalf of large media conglomerates—like the Sinclair Broadcast Group—that want to grow even larger, so battle over ownership deregulation continues to be an issue worthy of close public attention.



The Pixar deal showed that Disney was ready to embrace the digital age. In an effort to focus on television, movies, and its online initiatives, Disney sold its twenty-two radio stations and the ABC Radio Network in 2007. Disney also made its movies and TV programs available at Apple's iTunes store and announced it would become a partner with NBC and Fox in the popular video site Hulu. In 2009, Disney purchased Marvel Entertainment for $4 billion, bringing Iron Man, Spider-Man, and X-Men into the Disney family; in 2012, it purchased Lucasfilm and, with it, the rights to the *Star Wars* and *Indiana Jones* movies and characters. This means that Disney now has access to whole casts of "new" characters—not just for TV programs, feature films, and animated movies but also for its multiple theme parks.

Global Audiences Expand Media Markets

As Disney's story shows, international expansion has allowed media conglomerates some advantages, including secondary markets in which to earn profits and advance technological innovations. First, as media technologies get cheaper and more portable (think Walkman to iPod), American media proliferate both inside and outside national boundaries. Today, greatly facilitated by the Internet, media products easily reach the eyes and ears of the world. Second, this globalism permits companies that lose money on products at home to profit abroad. Roughly 80 percent of U.S. movies, for instance, do not earn back their costs in U.S. theaters and depend on foreign circulation and video revenue to make up for losses.

In addition, satellite transmission has made North American and European TV available at the global level. Cable services such as CNN and MTV quickly took their national acts to the international stage, and by the twenty-first century, CNN and MTV were available in more than two hundred countries. Today, of course, the streaming of music, TV shows, and movies on the Internet through services like Spotify and Netflix (and through illegal file-sharing) has expanded the global flow of popular culture even further. (See "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Cultural Imperialism and Movies" on page 461 for more on the dominance of the American movie industry.)

HBO GO AND HBO NOW
Acclaimed HBO original programming, including *True Detective* and a variety of other TV series and movies, is available online through the company's HBO Go online service. Initially, it was available only to those who already subscribed to the premium channel through their cable company, but in 2015, HBO introduced the standalone subscription service HBO Now, which offers HBO content through non-cable providers like Apple.

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The Internet and Convergence Change the Game

For much of their history, media companies have been part of usually discrete or separate industries—that is, the newspaper business stood apart from book publishing, which was different from radio, which was different from the film industry. But the Internet and convergence have changed that—not only by offering a portal to view or read older media forms but also by requiring virtually all older media companies to establish an online presence. Today, newspapers, magazines, book publishers, music companies, radio and TV stations, and film studios all have Web sites that offer online versions of their product or Web services that enhance their original media form.

The Rise of the New Digital Media Conglomerates

The digital turn marks a shift in the media environment, from the legacy media powerhouses like

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Using international box-office revenue listings (www.boxofficemojo.com/intl is a good place to start), compare the recent weekly box-office rankings of the United States to those of five other countries. (Your sample could extend across several continents or focus on a specific region, like Southeast Asia.) Limit yourself to the top ten or fifteen films in box-office rank. Note where each film is produced (some films are joint productions of studios from two or more countries), and put your results in a table for comparison.

2 ANALYSIS. What patterns emerged in each country's box-office rankings? What percentage of films came from the United States? What percentage of films were domestic productions in each country? What percentage of films came from countries other than the United States? In the United States, what percentage of films originated with studios from other countries?

3 INTERPRETATION. So what do your discoveries mean? Can you make an argument for or against the existence of cultural imperialism by the United States? Are there film industries in other countries that dominate movie theaters in their region of the world? How would you critique the reverse of cultural imperialism, wherein films from other countries rarely break into the Top 10 box-office list? Does this happen in any countries you sampled?

4 EVALUATION. Given your interpretation, is cultural dominance by one country a good thing or a bad thing? Consider the potential advantages of creating a global village of shared popular culture versus the potential disadvantages of cultural imperialism. Also, is there any potential harm in a country's Top 10 box-office list being filled by domestic productions and rarely having international films featured?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Contact managers of your local movie theater (or executives at the headquarters of the chain that owns it). Ask them how they decide which films to screen. If they don't show many international films, ask them why not. Be ready to provide a list of three to five international films released in the United States (see the full list of current U.S. releases at www.boxofficemojo.com) that haven't yet been screened in the theater.

Cultural Imperialism and Movies

In the 1920s, the U.S. film industry became the leader in the worldwide film business. The images and stories of American films are well known in nearly every corner of the world. But with major film production centers in places like India, China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Russia, and Nigeria, to what extent do U.S. films dominate international markets today? Conversely, how often do international films get much attention in the United States?

Time Warner and Disney to the new digital media conglomerates. Five companies—Amazon, Apple, Facebook, Google, and Microsoft—reign in digital media, as detailed in Figure 13.3.

Each of the five leading companies has become powerful for different reasons. Amazon's entrée is that it has grown into the largest e-commerce site in the world. In recent years, Amazon has begun shifting from delivering physical products (e.g., bound books) to distributing digital products (e-books and downloadable music, movies, television shows, and more) on its digital devices (Kindle, Fire TV, and Fire Phone). Apple's strength has been creating the technology and the infrastructure to bring any media content to users' fingertips. When many traditional media companies didn't have the means to distribute online content easily, Apple developed the shiny devices (the iPod, iPhone, and iPad) and easy-to-use systems (the iTunes store) to do it, immediately transforming the media industries. Today, Apple has a hand in every media industry, as it offers the premiere platforms of the digital turn.

Facebook's strength has been its ability to become central to communication and social media. As Facebook's number of users surpassed one billion worldwide in 2012, the company still struggled to fully leverage those users (and the massive amounts of data they share about themselves) into advertising sales, particularly as its users moved to accessing Facebook via

FIGURE 13.3
RISE OF THE NEW DIGITAL MEDIA CONGLOMERATES

mobile phones. Unlike the other four digital companies, Facebook lacks hardware devices to access the Internet and digital media, although it began to remedy that problem with the purchase of the Oculus Rift virtual reality gaming headset for $2 billion in 2014. Google, which draws its huge numbers of users through its search function, has much more successfully translated those users (and the information provided by their search terms) into an advertising business worth more than $59 billion a year. Google is also moving into the same digital media distribution business that Apple and Amazon offer, via its Android phone operating system, Nexus 7 tablet, Chromebook, and Chromecast. Microsoft, one of the wealthiest digital companies in the world, is making the transition from being the top software company (a business that is slowly in decline) to competing in the digital media world with its Bing search engine and devices like its successful Xbox game console, Surface tablet, and Windows phone. Microsoft also owns Yammer, a business social network, and holds a small ownership share in Facebook.

Given how technologically adept these five digital corporations have proven to be, they still need to provide compelling narratives to attract people (to repeat a point from the beginning of the chapter). All five companies are weak in this regard, as they rely on other companies' media narratives (e.g., the sounds, images, words, and pictures) or the stories that their own users provide (as in Facebook posts or YouTube videos). Amazon is leading the other companies in content development, though, with its own publishing divisions (to compete with publishing companies) and its own original television series and online channels like Twitch (to compete with Netflix, Hulu, and YouTube). It's likely that the other digital companies will eventually do the same. The history of mass communication suggests that it is the content—the narratives—that endures, while the devices and distribution systems do not.

The Digital Age Favors Small, Flexible Start-Up Companies

All the leading digital companies of today were once small start-ups that emerged at important junctures of the digital age. The earliest, Microsoft and Apple, were established in the mid-1970s with the rise of the personal computer. Amazon began in 1995 with the popularization of the Web and the beginnings of e-commerce. Google was established in 1998, as search engines became the best way of navigating the Web. And Facebook, beginning in 2004, proved to be the best social media site to emerge in the 2000s. For each success story, though, hundreds of other firms failed or flamed out quickly (e.g., MySpace).

Today, the juncture in the digital era is the growing importance of social media and mobile devices. Like in the earlier periods, the strategy for start-up companies is to find a niche market, connect with consumers, and get big fast, swallowing up or overwhelming competitors. Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, and Zynga are recent examples of this. The successful start-ups then take one of two paths—either be acquired by a larger company (e.g., Google buying YouTube, Facebook buying Instagram) or go it alone and try to get even bigger (e.g., Twitter). Either way, success might not last long, especially in an age when people's interests can move on very quickly. Witness Zynga, which had the top social media game when FarmVille debuted in 2009, but started to fizzle out a few years later without another hit game.

Social Issues in Media Economics

As the Disney-ABC merger demonstrates, recent years have brought a surplus of billion-dollar takeovers and mergers, including those between Time Inc. and Warner Communication, Time Warner and Turner, AOL and Time Warner, UPN and WB, Comcast and NBC Universal, Sirius and XM, Universal Music Group and EMI, Yahoo! and Tumblr, and a proposed merger between AT&T and DirecTV (see Figure 13.4). This mergermania has accompanied stripped-down regulation, which has virtually suspended most ownership limits on media industries. As a result, a number of consumer advocates and citizen groups have raised questions about deregulation and ownership consolidation. Still, the 2008 financial crisis saw many of these megamedia firms overleveraged—that is, not making enough from stock investments to offset the debt they took on to add more companies to their empires. So in recent years we have seen Time Warner send AOL adrift, the New York Times Company sell the *Boston Globe*, the Washington

FIGURE 13.4

MAJOR MEDIA MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS

MERGER AND ACQUISITION	PRICE	OUTCOME
New York Times + *Boston Globe* (1993)	$1.1 billion	The *Times* sells the *Globe* to the owner of the Boston Red Sox for $70 million in 2013.
Disney + ABC (1995)	$19 billion	The television network and ESPN become huge profit centers for Disney.
Time Warner + Turner Broadcasting (1995)	$7.5 billion	Time Warner grows even bigger than the combined Disney and ABC and adds CNN, TBS, and other cable channels.
Tribune Media Company + Times Mirror Company (2000)	$8.3 billion	Biggest newspaper merger ever combines the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and several others. The company files for bankruptcy in 2008 and spins off its newspaper division in 2014 (like several other newspaper conglomerates).
AOL + Time Warner (2001)	$164 billion	Biggest media merger failure ever. Time Warner spins off AOL in 2009.
Google + YouTube (2006)	$1.65 billion	One of Google's best acquisitions—YouTube makes several billion dollars each year.
Sirius + XM (2008)	$13 billion	A merger of equals makes a bigger company but reduces the number of satellite radio companies to one.
Google + Motorola (2011)	$12.5 billion	Google sells the Motorola mobile phone business to Lenovo in 2014 for $2.91 billion.
Comcast + NBC Universal (2011)	$28 billion	The biggest cable company becomes even bigger with a TV network, a movie studio, and more—though some of the media holdings are not at peak performance.
Universal Music Group + EMI (2012)	$1.3 billion	Universal becomes the biggest music company in the world, leaving only three major sound recording corporations.
Comcast + Time Warner Cable (2014)	$45.2 billion	A merger creating the most dominant wired broadband network in the United States is abandoned by Comcast in the face of regulatory opposition.
AT&T + DirecTV (2014)	$48.5 billion	Under review. The merger of the largest mobile phone service and the largest satellite television provider would potentially create a giant telecommunication company.

ELSEWHERE IN
MEDIA & CULTURE

ARE NEW TV SHOWS UNKILLABLE?

p. 222

28.4M

number of tweets by viewers of Super Bowl XLIX

p. 55

76.8%

amount of *Furious 7* grosses that came from outside North America

p. 257

$327,885

THE COST OF A THIRTY-SECOND ADVERTISEMENT DURING *THE BIG BANG THEORY*

p. 216

HOW MUCH MONEY DO MUSICIANS MAKE FROM SPOTIFY?

p. 141

Post Company sell *Newsweek*, Disney unload Miramax, News Corp. spin off its newspaper and publishing divisions, and the Tribune Company and Gannett split off their newspaper divisions.

One longtime critic of media mergers, Ben Bagdikian, author of *The Media Monopoly*, has argued that although there are abundant products in the market—thousands of daily and weekly newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, and book publishers—only a limited number of companies are in charge of those products.[24] Bagdikian and others fear that this represents a dangerous antidemocratic tendency, in which a handful of media moguls wield a disproportionate amount of economic control (see "Case Study: From Fifty to a Few: The Most Dominant Media Corporations" on page 466). The News Corp. phone hacking scandal that came to light in 2011 in the United Kingdom illustrates media power gone awry, with corruption involving top company executives, police, and government officials.[25]

The Limits of Antitrust Laws

Although meant to ensure multiple voices and owners, American antitrust laws have been easily subverted since the 1980s, as companies expanded by diversifying holdings and merging product lines with other big media firms. Large media firms have also become among the most active and powerful lobbyists in Washington, D.C., and other political capitals. The resulting consolidation of media owners has limited the number of independent voices in the market and reduced the number of owners who might be able to innovate and challenge established economic powers, leading to renewed interest in enforcing antitrust laws.

Diversification

Most media companies diversify among media products (such as television stations and film studios), never fully dominating a particular media industry. Time Warner, for example, spreads its holdings among its television programming, film, publishing, cable, and Internet divisions. However, the media giant actually competes with only a few other big companies, like Disney, Viacom, and 21st Century Fox (the cable, broadcast, and satellite company created in the 2013 split of News Corp.).

Such diversification promotes oligopolies in which a few behemoth companies control most media production and distribution. This kind of economic arrangement makes it difficult for products offered outside an oligopoly to compete in the marketplace. For instance, in broadcast TV, the few networks that control prime time—all of them now owned by or in league with film studios—offer programs that are selected from known production companies that the networks either contract with regularly or own outright. Thus, even with a very good program or series idea, an independent production company—especially one that operates outside Los Angeles or New York—has a very difficult time entering the national TV market. The film giants even prefer buying from each other before dealing with independents. For example, in 2009, CBS sold syndication rights for its popular crime show *The Mentalist* to the TNT cable channel for over $2 million per episode. And for years, CBS's *Without a Trace* and NBC's *Law and Order* were both running in syndication on cable's TNT channel, owned by Time Warner, which also co-owns the CW network with CBS.

Applying Antitrust Laws Today

Occasionally, independent voices raise issues that aid the Justice Department and the FTC in their antitrust cases. For example, when EchoStar (now the Dish Network) proposed to purchase DirecTV in 2001, a number of rural, consumer, and Latino organizations spoke out against the merger for several reasons. Latino organizations opposed the merger because in many U.S. markets, direct broadcast satellite (DBS) service offers the only available Spanish-

LaunchPad

macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate

The Impact of Media Ownership
Media critics and professionals debate the pros and cons of media conglomerates.
Discussion: This video argues that it is the drive for bottom-line profits that leads to conglomerates. What solution(s) might you suggest to make the media system work better?

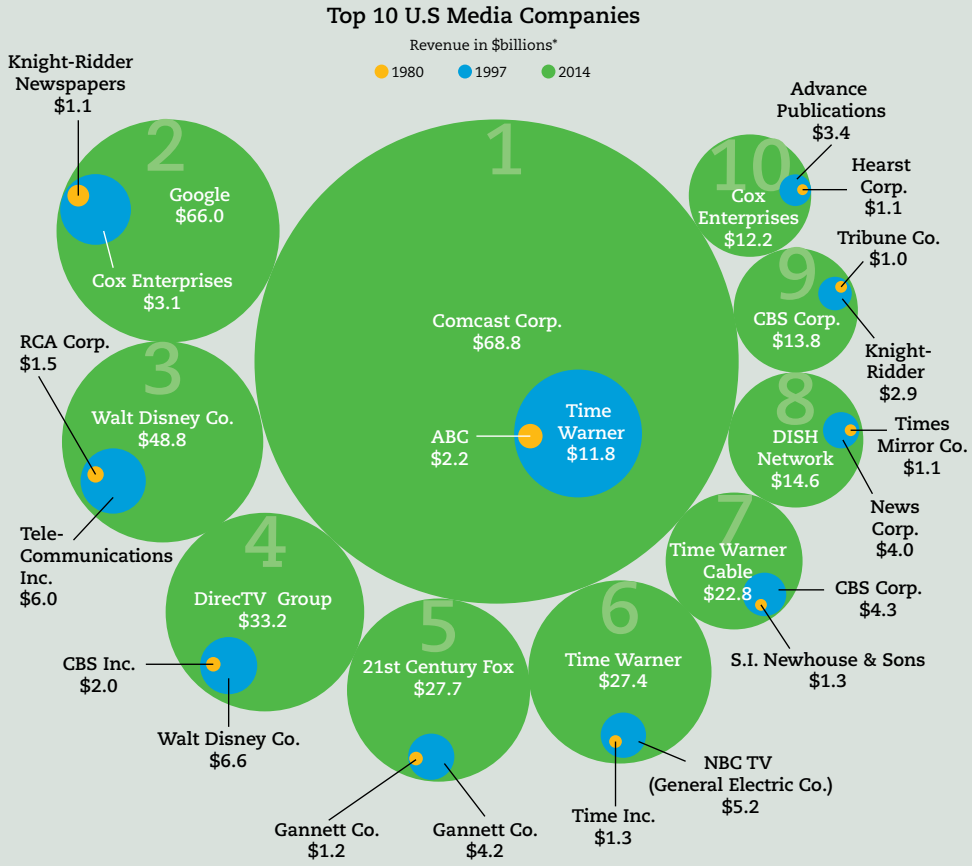
CASE STUDY

From Fifty to a Few: The Most Dominant Media Corporations

In this graphic that lists the Top 10 media companies for 1980, 1997, and 2014, what patterns do you notice? How do these patterns reflect larger trends in the media? For example, seven of the major companies in 1980 were mostly print businesses, but what about in 2014? Should we trust how NBC News covers Comcast or how ABC News covers Disney? Should we be wary if *Time* magazine hypes a Warner Brothers film? More important, what actions can we take to ensure that the mass media function not just as successful businesses for stockholders but also as a necessary part of our democracy? Most of the large media companies have been profiled here and in Chapters 2 to 10 (illustrating their principal holdings). Although the subsidiaries of these companies often change, the graphic demonstrates the wide reach of today's large conglomerations. To get a better understanding of how the largest media corporations relate to one another and the larger world, see the folded insert at the beginning of the book.

Data from: Ad Age's 100 Leading Media Companies, *December 7, 1981; "100 Companies by Media Revenue,"* Advertising Age, *August 18, 1997; various annual reports, 2014.*

*The revenue in $billions is based on total net U.S. media revenue and does not include nonmedia and international revenue.



language television programming. The merger would have left the United States with just one major DBS company and created a virtual monopoly for EchoStar, which had fewer Spanish-language offerings than DirecTV. In 2002, the FCC declined to approve the merger, saying it would not serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity.

In 2011, AT&T moved to acquire T-Mobile, another wireless telecom giant (with more than thirty-three million customers), for $39 billion. The Justice Department opposed the merger on antitrust grounds (media watchdog groups said it would have left the country with just three major mobile phone companies, giving consumers far fewer options), leading AT&T to eventually scrap the deal. The proposed merger between AT&T and DirecTV will be an even bigger test of the U.S. government's enforcement of antitrust laws.

But antitrust laws have no teeth globally. Although international copyright laws offer some protection to musicians and writers, no international antitrust rules exist to prohibit transnational companies from buying up as many media companies as they can afford. Still, as legal scholar Harry First points out, antitrust concerns are "alive and well and living in Europe."[26] For example, when Sony and Bertelsmann's BMG unit merged their music businesses, only the European Union (EU) raised questions about the merger on behalf of independent labels and musicians worried about the oligopoly structure of the music business. The EU repeatedly reviewed the merger, beginning in 2004, but decided in late 2008 to withdraw its opposition.

The Fallout from a Free Market

Since the wave of media mergers began with gusto in the 1980s, a number of consumer critics have pointed to the lack of public debate surrounding the tightening oligopoly structure of international media. Economists and media critics have traced the causes and history of this void to two major issues: a reluctance to criticize capitalism, and the debate over how much control consumers have in the marketplace.

Equating Free Markets with Democracy

In the 1920s and 1930s, commercial radio executives, many of whom had befriended FCC members, succeeded in portraying themselves as operating in the public interest while labeling their noncommercial radio counterparts in education, labor, or religion as mere voices of propaganda. In these early debates, corporate interests succeeded in aligning the political ideas of democracy, misleadingly, with the economic structures of capitalism.

Throughout the Cold War period in the 1950s and 1960s, it became increasingly difficult to criticize capitalism, which had become a synonym for democracy in many circles. In this context, any criticism of capitalism became an attack on the free marketplace. This, in turn, appeared to be a criticism of free speech, because the business community often sees its right to operate in a free marketplace as an extension of its right to buy commercial speech in the form of advertising. As longtime CBS chief William Paley told a group of educators in 1937, "He who attacks the fundamentals of the American system" of commercial broadcasting "attacks democracy itself."[27]

Broadcast historian Robert McChesney, discussing the rise of commercial radio during the 1930s, has noted that leaders like Paley "equated capitalism with the free and equal marketplace, the free and equal marketplace with democracy, and democracy with 'Americanism.'"[28] The collapse of the former Soviet Union's communist economy in the 1990s is often portrayed as a triumph for democracy. As we now realize, however, it was primarily a victory for capitalism and free-market economies.

Consumer Choice versus Consumer Control

As many economists point out, capitalism is not structured democratically but arranged vertically, with powerful corporate leaders at the top and hourly wage workers at the bottom. But

democracy, in principle, is built on a more horizontal model, in which each individual has an equal opportunity to have his or her voice heard and vote counted. In discussing free markets, economists distinguish between similar types of consumer power: *consumer control* over marketplace goods and freedom of *consumer choice*.[29] Most Americans and the citizens of other economically developed nations clearly have *consumer choice*: options among a range of media products. Yet consumers and even media employees have limited *consumer control*: power in deciding what kinds of media get created and circulated.

One recurring place for democratic production is the work of independent and alternative producers, artists, writers, and publishers. Despite the movement toward economic consolidation, the fringes of media industries still offer a diversity of opinions, ideas, and alternative products. In fact, when independent companies become even marginally popular, they are often pursued by large companies that seek to make them subsidiaries. For example, alternative music often taps into social concerns that are not normally discussed in the recording industry's corporate boardrooms. Moreover, business leaders "at the top" depend on independent ideas "from below" to generate new product lines. A number of transnational corporations encourage the development of local artists—talented individuals who might have the capacity to transcend the regional or national level and become the next global phenomenon.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM
Ever since Hollywood gained an edge in film production and distribution during World War I, U.S. movies have dominated the box office in Europe, in some years accounting for more than 80 percent of the revenues taken in by European theaters. Hollywood's reach has since extended throughout the world, including previously difficult markets such as China.

Cultural Imperialism

The influence of American popular culture has created considerable debate in international circles. On the one hand, the notion of freedom that is associated with innovation and rebellion in American culture has been embraced internationally. The global spread of media and increased access to media have made it harder for political leaders to secretly repress dissident groups, as police and state activity (such as the torture of illegally detained citizens) can now be documented digitally and easily dispatched by satellite, the Internet, and cell phones around the world.

© Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures/Everett Collection

On the other hand, American media are shaping the cultures and identities of other nations. American styles in fashion and food, as well as media fare, dominate the global market—a process known as **cultural imperialism**. Today, many international observers contend that the idea of consumer control or input is even more remote in countries inundated by American movies, music, television, and images of beauty. For example, consumer product giant Unilever sells Dove soap with its "Campaign for Real Beauty" in the United States, but markets Fair & Lovely products—a skin-lightening line—to poor women in India.

Although many indigenous forms of media culture—such as Brazil's telenovela (a TV soap opera), Jamaica's reggae, and Japan's anime—are extremely popular, U.S. dominance in producing and distributing mass media puts a severe burden on countries attempting to produce their own cultural products. For example, American TV producers have generally recouped their production costs by the time their TV shows are exported. This enables American distributors to offer these programs to other countries at bargain rates, undercutting local production companies that are trying to create original programs.

Defenders of American popular culture argue that because some aspects of our culture challenge authority, national boundaries, and outmoded traditions, they create an arena in which citizens can raise questions. Supporters also argue that a universal popular culture creates a global village and fosters communication across national boundaries.

Critics, however, such as the authors of the book *Global Dreams*, believe that although American popular culture often contains protests against social wrongs, such protests "can be turned into consumer products and lose their bite. Protest itself becomes something to sell."[30] The harshest critics have also argued that American cultural imperialism both hampers the development of native cultures and negatively influences teenagers, who abandon their own rituals to adopt American tastes. The exportation of U.S. entertainment media is sometimes viewed as "cultural dumping," because it discourages the development of original local products and value systems.

Perhaps the greatest concern regarding a global village is the cultural disconnection for people whose standards of living are not routinely portrayed in contemporary media. About two-thirds of the world's population cannot afford most of the products advertised on American, Japanese, and European television. Yet more and more of the world's populations are able to glimpse consumer abundance and middle-class values through television, magazines, and the Internet.

As early as the 1950s, media managers feared political fallout—a backlash of rising expectations—in that ads and products would raise the hopes of poor people but not keep pace with their actual living conditions.[31] Furthermore, the conspicuousness of consumer culture makes it difficult for many of us to imagine other ways of living that are not heavily dependent on the mass media and brand-name products.

The Media Marketplace and Democracy

In the midst of today's major global transformations of economies, cultures, and societies, the best way to monitor the impact of transnational economies is through vigorous news attention and lively public discussion. Clearly, however, this process is being hampered. Starting in the 1990s, for example, news organizations, concerned about the bottom line, severely cut back the number of reporters assigned to cover international developments. This occurred—especially after 9/11—just as global news became more critical than ever to an informed citizenry.

We live in a society in which often superficial or surface consumer concerns, stock market quotes, and profit aspirations, rather than broader social issues, increasingly dominate the media agenda. In response, critics have posed some key questions: As consumers, do we care who owns the media as long as most of us have a broad selection of products? Do we care who owns the media as long as multiple voices *seem* to exist in the market?

AP Photo/Jeff Chiu

THE PRESIDENT AND COFOUNDER of Free Press, a national nonpartisan organization dedicated to media reform, Robert McChesney is one of the foremost scholars of media economics in the United States. For ten years he hosted *Media Matters*, a radio call-in show in Central Illinois that discussed the relationship between politics and media. McChesney (*left*) most recently published *Dollarocracy: How the Money and Media Election Complex Is Destroying America* (2013) with journalist and Free Press cofounder John Nichols (*right*).

The Effects of Media Consolidation on Democracy

Merged and multinational media corporations will continue to control more aspects of production and distribution. Of pressing concern is the impact of mergers on news operations, particularly the influence of large corporations on their news subsidiaries. These companies have the capacity to use major news resources to promote their products and determine national coverage.

Because of the growing consolidation of mass media, it has become increasingly difficult to sustain a public debate on economic issues. From a democratic perspective, the relationship of our mass media system to politics has been highly dysfunctional. Politicians in Washington, D.C., have regularly accepted millions of dollars in contributions from large media conglomerates and their lobbying groups to finance their campaigns. This changed in 2008 when the Obama campaign raised much of its financing from small donors. Still, corporations got a big boost from the Supreme Court in early 2010 in the *Citizens United* case. In a five-to-four vote, the court "ruled that the government may not ban political spending by corporations in candidate elections," the *New York Times* reported.[32] Justice Anthony Kennedy, writing for the majority, said, "If the First Amendment has any force, it prohibits Congress from fining or jailing citizens, or associations of citizens, for simply engaging in political speech." The ruling overturned two decades of precedents that had limited direct corporate spending on campaigns, including the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (often called the McCain-Feingold Act, after the senators who sponsored the bill), which placed restrictions on buying TV and radio campaign ads.

As unfettered corporate political contributions count as "political speech," some corporations are experiencing backlash (or praise) once their customers discover their political positions. For example, in 2012, fast-food outlet Chick-fil-A's charitable foundation "was revealed to be funneling millions to groups that oppose gay marriage and, until recently, promoted gay 'cure' therapies," resulting in a firestorm of criticism but also a wave of support from others, the *Daily Beast* reported. In the same year, Amazon founder and CEO Jeff Bezos and his wife donated $2.5 million of their own money to support a same-sex marriage referendum in Washington State, gaining praise and criticism from some Amazon customers.[33]

Politicians have often turned to local television stations, spending record amounts during each election period to get their political ads on the air. In 2004, spending on the federal elections in the United States totaled $4.14 billion, with a large portion of that going to local broadcasters for commercials for congressional candidates and (in swing states like Ohio, Iowa, and Florida) for presidential candidates. In 2008, spending on federal elections topped $5.28 billion, and in 2012, it surpassed $6.28 billion.[34] But although local television stations have been happy to get part of the ever-increasing bounty of political ad money, the actual content of their news broadcasts has become less and less substantial, particularly when it comes to covering politics.

The Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism reported that from 2005 to 2013, the amount of airtime given to weather, traffic, and sports on local news broadcasts expanded from 32 percent to 40 percent. Meanwhile, over that same period, the amount of time spent on politics and government stories slipped from 7 percent to 3 percent. The study's authors noted, "For some time, television consultants have been advising local television stations that viewers aren't interested in politics and government, and it appears that advice is being taken."[35]

Although television consultants might have concluded that local viewers aren't interested in politics and government, political consultants are only increasing the onslaught of political television ads every campaign season. Thus there is little news content to provide a counterpoint to all the allegations that might be hurled in the barrage of political ads.

The Media Reform Movement

Robert McChesney and John Nichols described the state of concern about the gathering consolidation of mainstream media power: "'Media Reform' has become a catch-all phrase to describe the broad goals of a movement that says consolidated ownership of broadcast and cable media, chain ownership of newspapers, and telephone and cable-company colonization of the Internet pose a threat not just to the culture of the Republic but to democracy itself."[36] While our current era has spawned numerous grassroots organizations that challenge media to do a better job for the sake of democracy, there has not been a large outcry from the general public for the kinds of concerns described by McChesney and Nichols. There is a reason for that. One key paradox of the Information Age is that for such economic discussions to be meaningful and democratic, they must be carried out in the popular media as well as in educational settings. Yet public debates and disclosures about the structure and ownership of the media are often not in the best economic interests of media owners.

Still, in some places, local groups and consumer movements are trying to address media issues that affect individual and community life. Such movements—like the National Conference for Media Reform—are usually united by geographic ties, common political backgrounds, or shared concerns about the state of the media. The Internet has also made it possible for media reform groups to form globally, uniting around such issues as contesting censorship or monitoring the activities of multinational corporations. The movement was also largely responsible for the success of preserving "net neutrality," which prevents Internet service providers from censoring or penalizing particular Web sites and online services (see Chapter 2).

With this reform victory and the 2008–09 economic crisis, perhaps we are more ready than ever to question some of the hierarchical and undemocratic arrangements of what McChesney, Nichols, and other reform critics call "Big Media." Even in the face of so many media mergers, the general public today seems open to such examinations, which might improve the global economy, improve worker conditions, and serve the public good. By better understanding media economics, we can play a more knowledgable role in critiquing media organizations and evaluating their impact on democracy.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the commercial nature of mass media. In thinking about media ownership regulations, it is important to consider how the media wield their influence.

During the 2000 presidential election, two marginal candidates—Pat Buchanan on the Right and Ralph Nader on the Left—shared a common view that both major-party candidates largely ignored. Buchanan and Nader warned of the increasing power of corporations to influence the economy and our democracy. In fact, between 2000 and 2012, total spending on lobbying in the nation's capital grew from $1.57 billion to more than $3 billion.[37] (See Chapter 12 for more on lobbyists.)

These warnings have generally gone unnoticed and unreported by mainstream media, whose reporters, editors, and pundits often work for the giant media corporations that not only are well represented by Washington lobbyists but also contribute generously to the campaigns of the major parties to influence legislation that governs media ownership and commercial speech.

Fast-forward to 2012. While politicians spoke of transparency and truth-telling, their campaign-funding process had few of those characteristics. In the aftermath of the U.S. Supreme Court's *Citizens United* (2010) decision, new Super PACs (political action committees) formed that can channel unlimited funds into political races as long as the Super PACs don't officially "coordinate" with the political campaigns. With his own Super PAC (named Americans for a Better Tomorrow, Tomorrow), comedian Stephen Colbert satirized the lax standards of Super PAC rules that enable hundreds of millions of dollars to be channeled into politics while obscuring disclosure of the contributors' identities. By December 2012, Super PACs had spent more than $644 million on the 2012 election cycle (mostly in negative attack ads), with the majority of contributions coming from a few dozen elite ultrawealthy donors. For example, Las Vegas casino magnate Sheldon Adelson and his wife donated in excess of $54 million to candidates and Super PACs in the 2012 election cycle.[38] In the 2014 midterm elections, billionaire Tom Steyer surpassed the Adelsons by donating at least $58 million, mostly through the NextGen Climate Action Super PAC. NPR noted that liberal climate activist Steyer was the "election's biggest donor—that we know of," a testament to the fact that most big donors, like conservative billionaire brothers David and Charles Koch, opt not to disclose most of their campaign expenditures because they aren't required to do so.[39] The huge influx of money was a boon for media advertising profits.

What both Buchanan and Nader argued in 2000 was that corporate influence is a bipartisan concern that we have in common and that all of us in a democracy need to be vigilant about how powerful and influential corporations become. This is especially true for the media companies that report the news and distribute many of our cultural stories. As media-literate consumers, we need to demand that the media serve as watchdogs over the economy and our democratic values. And when they fall down on the job, we need to demand accountability (through alternative media channels or the Internet), especially from those mainstream media—radio, television, and cable—that are licensed to operate in the public interest.

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

monopoly, 446
oligopoly, 446
limited competition, 446
direct payment, 446
indirect payment, 446
hegemony, 453
synergy, 455
cultural imperialism, 468

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Analyzing the Media Economy

1. How are the three basic structures of mass media organizations—monopoly, oligopoly, and limited competition—different from one another?
2. What are the differences between direct and indirect payments for media products?
3. What are some of society's key expectations of its media organizations?

The Transition to an Information Economy

4. Why has the federal government emphasized deregulation at a time when so many media companies are growing so large?
5. How have media mergers changed the economics of mass media?

Specialization, Global Markets, and Convergence

6. How do global and specialized markets factor into the new media economy? How are regular workers affected?
7. Using Disney as an example, what is the role of synergy in the current climate of media mergers?
8. Why have Amazon, Apple, Facebook, Google, and Microsoft emerged as the leading corporations of the digital era?

Social Issues in Media Economics

9. What are the differences between consumer choice and consumer control?
10. What is cultural imperialism, and what does it have to do with the United States?

The Media Marketplace and Democracy

11. What do critics and activists fear most about the concentration of media ownership? How do media managers and executives respond to these fears?
12. What are some promising signs regarding the relationship between media economics and democracy?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. Why are consumers more likely to pay to download some digital content, like music and books, and less likely to pay for other content, like sports and news?
2. Why are narratives—media content—crucial to the success of a media corporation?
3. How does the concentration of media ownership limit the number of voices in the marketplace? Do we need rules limiting media ownership?
4. Is there such a thing as a global village? What does this concept mean to you?

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- VIDEO: THE MONEY BEHIND THE MEDIA
  Producers, advertisers, and advocates discuss how ownership systems and profits shape media production.

PART 5

Democratic Expression and the Mass Media

Jim Watson/AFP/
Getty Images

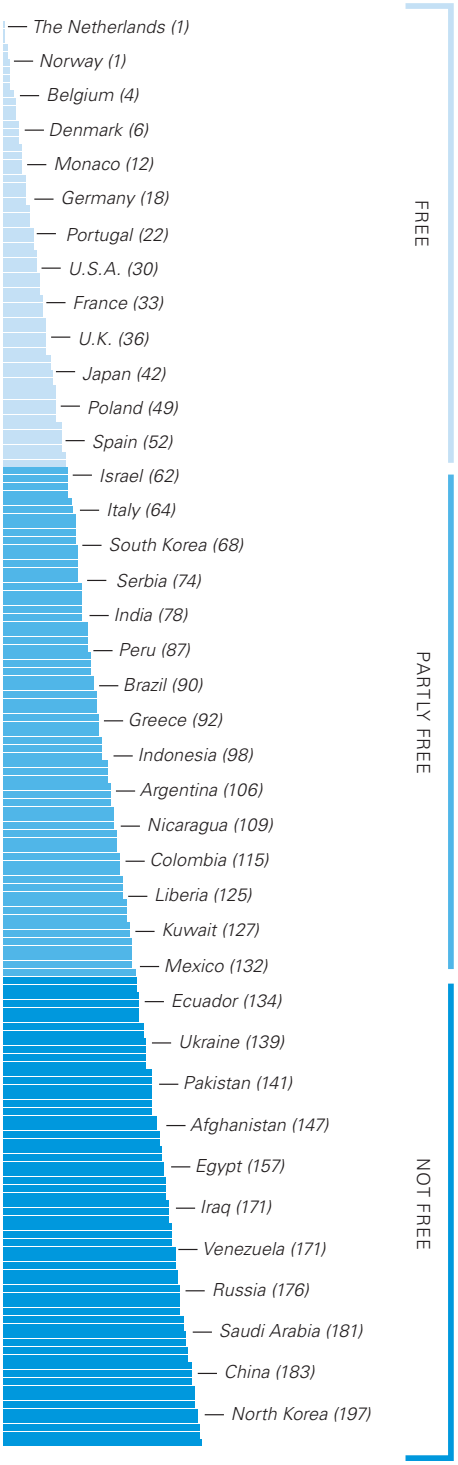
The freedom and openness of the Internet is a double-edged sword. In a digital world overloaded with data and news, it has become much easier to obtain information. With so many people paying attention to the details of everyday life, it is also easier to uncover wrongdoing by business and government, and even to hold these institutions to higher levels of transparency. The news media are helping to do this, but the digital turn and online outlets—particularly Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube—have provided new methods that allow ordinary citizens and nonprofit groups to do some of the work once performed by investigative journalists. The lack of centralized control over the Internet also means that people have been able to use digital technologies and our interconnectedness as a way to be heard and to effect change—especially in countries where press freedom has been limited or compromised. Both the Arab Spring uprisings in the Middle East and the Occupy Wall Street movement serve as examples.

At the same time, though, this ease of getting information has led to more situations involving ethically gray practices. For example, "hacktivists" like WikiLeaks and Anonymous and whistleblowers like Edward Snowden have raised issues regarding whether some government and business documents should remain secret—to protect national security, volatile economic markets, or vulnerable diplomats or other individuals at work in difficult areas of the world—or if all information should be made available to the public at all times. The fragmented and accessible nature of the Internet has led to concerns about how to best police the online world and control its overwhelming array of voices and traffic. There are also concerns that as traditional news media shrink, they might become subservient divisions of massive corporations that are able to dictate news content (the infographic on the right shows how overall news media revenue compares to some other well-known companies). We may be seeing similar conflicts, changes, and compromises in the years ahead as we continue to explore how powerful mass media fit into a democracy.

EXPRESSION AND THE MASS MEDIA

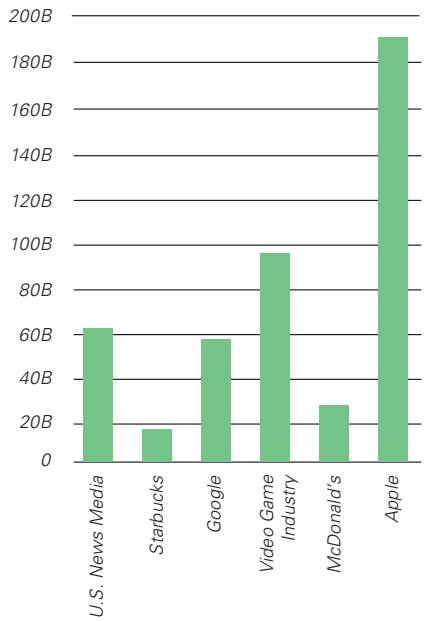
PRESS FREEDOM RANKINGS

*Ranking from 1 to 200

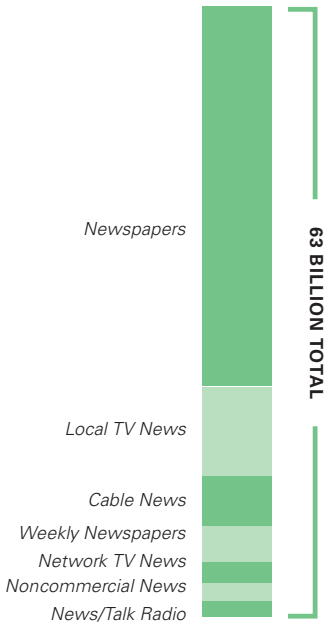


THE NEWS MEDIA

2013 Revenue



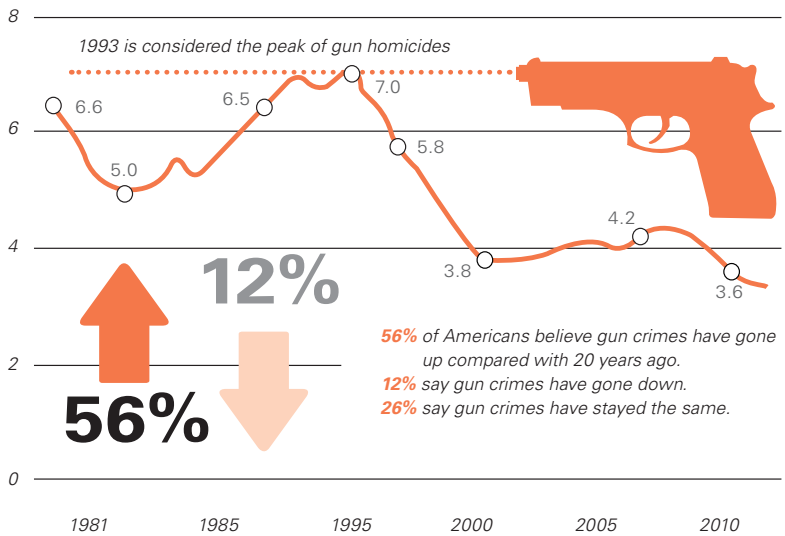
Where that news revenue comes from



MEDIA EFFECTS AND VIOLENCE

Rate of Firearm Homicide Deaths, 1981–2010

* Number of homicides per 100,000 people



56% of Americans believe gun crimes have gone up compared with 20 years ago.
12% say gun crimes have gone down.
26% say gun crimes have stayed the same.

14

The Culture of Journalism

Values, Ethics, and Democracy

479
Modern Journalism in the Information Age

485
Ethics and the News Media

490
Reporting Rituals and the Legacy of Print Journalism

495
Journalism in the Age of TV and the Internet

500
Alternative Models: Public Journalism and "Fake" News

505
Democracy and Reimagining Journalism's Role

The Granger Collection

In 1887, a young reporter left her job at the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* to seek her fortune in New York City. Only twenty-three years old, Elizabeth "Pink" Cochrane had grown tired of writing for the society pages and answering letters to the editor. She wanted to be on the front page. But at that time, it was considered "unladylike" for women journalists to use their real names, so the *Dispatch* editors, borrowing from a Stephen Foster song, had dubbed her "Nellie Bly."

After four months of persistent job-hunting and freelance writing, Nellie Bly earned a tryout at Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, the nation's biggest paper. Her assignment: to investigate the deplorable conditions at the Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's Island. Her method: to get herself declared mad and committed to the asylum. After practicing the look of a disheveled lunatic in front of mirrors, wandering city streets unwashed and seemingly dazed, and terrifying her fellow boarders in a New York rooming house by acting crazy, she succeeded in convincing doctors and officials to commit her. Other New York

newspapers reported her incarceration, speculating on the identity of this "mysterious waif," this "pretty crazy girl" with the "wild, hunted look in her eyes."[1]

Her two-part story appeared in October 1887 and caused a sensation. She was the first reporter to pull off such a stunt. In the days before so-called objective journalism, Nellie Bly's dramatic first-person accounts documented harsh cold baths ("three buckets of water over my head—ice cold water—into my eyes, my ears, my nose and my mouth"); attendants who abused and taunted patients; and newly arrived immigrant women, completely sane, who were committed to this "rat trap" simply because no one could understand them. After the exposé, Bly was famous. Pulitzer gave her a permanent job, and New York City committed $1 million toward improving its asylums.

Within a year, Nellie Bly had exposed a variety of shady scam artists, corrupt politicians and lobbyists, and unscrupulous business practices. Posing as an "unwed mother" with an unwanted child, she uncovered an outfit trafficking in newborn babies. And disguised as a sinner in need of reform, she revealed the appalling conditions at a home for "unfortunate women." A lifetime champion of women and the poor, Nellie Bly pioneered what was then called *detective* or *stunt* journalism. Her work inspired the twentieth-century practice of investigative journalism—from Ida Tarbell's exposés of oil corporations in 1902–1904 to the Pulitzer Prizes for investigative reporting, awarded in 2014 to Chris Hamby of the Center for Public Integrity in Washington, D.C., "for his reports on how some lawyers and doctors rigged a system to deny benefits to coal miners stricken with black lung disease, resulting in remedial legislative efforts."[2]

One problem facing journalism today is that in the last few years, traditional print and broadcast newsrooms have dramatically cut back on news investigations, which are expensive and time-consuming, even though readers and viewers want more of them, not fewer. Mary Walton, writing about the state of investigative reporting for *American Journalism Review*, made this point in 2010: "Kicked out, bought out or barely hanging on, investigative reporters are a vanishing species in the forests of dead tree media and missing in action on Action News. I-Teams are shrinking or, more often, disappearing altogether. Assigned to cover multiple beats, multitasking backpacking reporters no longer have time to sniff out hidden stories, much less write them." She reported that Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) membership "fell more than 30 percent, from 5,391 in 2003, to a 10-year low of 3,695 in 2009."[3] But encouragingly, the slack has been picked up, at least partially, by nontraditional and online media. In 2013, Jason Stverak, writing for Watchdog.org, noted, "Today, nonprofit news groups across the country are providing the 'unsexy and repetitive' coverage that the old-guard press began abandoning at the turn of the century. . . . Nonprofit news groups will lead the way in conducting investigative reports and keeping elected officials open and honest."[4] And in 2014, IRE reported that its membership had climbed again to more than five thousand.

JOURNALISM IS THE ONLY MEDIA ENTERPRISE that democracy absolutely requires—and it is the only media practice and business that is specifically mentioned and protected by the U.S. Constitution. However, with the major decline in investigative reporting and traditional news audiences, the collapse of many newspapers, and the rise of twenty-four-hour cable news channels and Internet news blogs, mainstream journalism is searching for new business models and better ways to connect with the public.

In this chapter, we examine the changing news landscape and definitions of journalism. We will:

- Explore the values underlying news and ethical problems confronting journalists
- Investigate the shift from more neutral news models to partisan cable and online news
- Study the legacy of print-news conventions and rituals
- Investigate the impact of television and the Internet on news
- Consider contemporary controversial developments in journalism and democracy—specifically, the public journalism movement and satirical forms of news

As you read this chapter, think about how often you look at the news in a typical day. What are some of the recent events or issues you remember reading about in the news? Where is the first place you go to find information about a news event or issue? If you start with a search engine, what newspapers or news organizations do you usually end up looking at? Do you prefer opinion blogs over news organizations for your information? Why or why not? Do you pay for news—either by buying a newspaper or newsmagazine or by going online? For more questions to help you understand the role of journalism in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

Modern Journalism in the Information Age

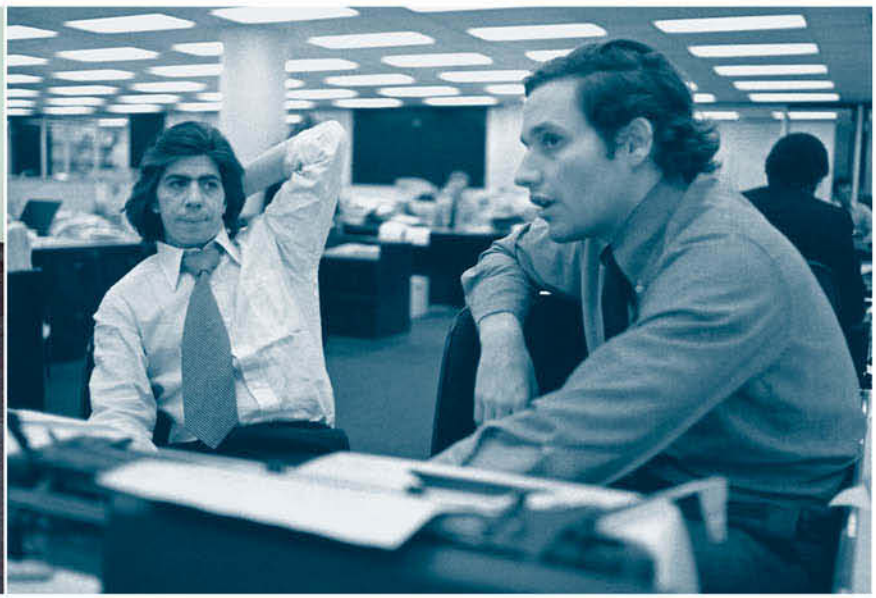
In modern America, serious journalism has sought to provide information that enables citizens to make intelligent decisions. Today, this guiding principle faces serious threats. Why? First, we may just be producing too much information. According to social critic Neil Postman, as a result of developments in media technology, society has developed an "information glut" that transforms news and information into "a form of garbage."[5] Postman believed that scientists, technicians, managers, and journalists merely pile up mountains of new data, which add to the problems and anxieties of everyday life. As a result, too much unchecked data—especially on the Internet—and too little thoughtful discussion emanate from too many channels of communication.

A second, related problem suggests that the amount of data the media now provide has questionable impact on improving public and political life. Many people feel cut off from our major institutions, including journalism. As a result, some citizens are looking to take part in public conversations and civic debates—to renew a democracy in which many voices participate. For example, one benefit of the controversial *Bush v. Gore* 2000 post–presidential election story was the way its legal and political complications engaged the citizenry at a much deeper level than the predictable, staged campaigns did.

What Is News?

In a 1963 staff memo, NBC news president Reuven Frank outlined the narrative strategies integral to all news: "Every news story should . . . display the attributes of fiction, of drama.

AP Photo/Ben Margot



AP Images

"DEEP THROAT"
The major symbol of twentieth-century investigative journalism, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward's (*above right*) coverage of the Watergate scandal for the *Washington Post* helped topple the Nixon White House. In *All the President's Men*, the newsmen's book about their investigation, a major character is Deep Throat, the key unidentified source for much of Woodward's reporting. Deep Throat's identity was protected by the two reporters for more than thirty years. Then, in summer 2005, he revealed himself as Mark Felt (*above*), the former No. 2 official in the FBI during the Nixon administration. (Felt died in 2008.)

It should have structure and conflict, problem and denouement, rising and falling action, a beginning, a middle, and an end."[6] Despite Frank's candid insights, many journalists today are uncomfortable thinking of themselves as storytellers. Instead, they tend to describe themselves mainly as information-gatherers.

News is defined here as the process of gathering information and making narrative reports—edited by individuals for news organizations—that offer selected frames of reference; within those frames, news helps the public make sense of important events, political issues, cultural trends, prominent people, and unusual happenings in everyday life.

Characteristics of News

Over time, a set of conventional criteria for determining **newsworthiness**—information most worthy of transformation into news stories—has evolved. Journalists are taught to select and develop news stories relying on one or more of these criteria: timeliness, proximity, conflict, prominence, human interest, consequence, usefulness, novelty, and deviance.

Most issues and events that journalists select as news are *timely*, or *new*. Reporters, for example, cover speeches, meetings, crimes, and court cases that have just happened. In addition, most of these events have to occur close by, or in *proximity* to, readers and viewers. Although local TV news and papers offer some national and international news, readers and viewers expect to find the bulk of news devoted to their own towns and communities.

Most news stories are narratives and thus contain a healthy dose of *conflict*—a key ingredient in narrative writing. In developing news narratives, reporters are encouraged to seek contentious quotes from those with opposing views. For example, stories on presidential elections almost always feature the most dramatic opposing Republican and Democratic positions. And many stories in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, pitted the values of other cultures against those of Western culture—for example, Islam versus Christianity or premodern traditional values versus contemporary consumerism.

Reader and viewer surveys indicate that most people identify more closely with an individual than with an abstract issue. Therefore, the news media tend to report stories that feature *prominent*, powerful, or influential people. Because these individuals often play a role in shaping the rules and values of a community, journalists have traditionally been responsible for keeping a watchful eye on them and relying on them for quotes.

But reporters also look for *human-interest* stories: extraordinary incidents that happen to "ordinary" people. In fact, reporters often relate a story about a complicated issue (such as unemployment, war, tax rates, health care, or homelessness) by illustrating its impact on one "average" person, family, or town.

Two other criteria for newsworthiness are *consequence* and *usefulness*. Stories about isolated or bizarre crimes, even though they might be new, near, or notorious, often have little impact on our daily lives. To balance these kinds of stories, many editors and reporters believe that some news must also be of consequence to a majority of readers or viewers. For example, stories about issues or events that affect a family's income or change a community's laws have consequence. Likewise, many people look for stories with a practical use: hints on buying a used car or choosing a college, strategies for training a pet or removing a stain.

Finally, news is often about the *novel* and the *deviant*. When events happen that are outside the routine of daily life, such as a seven-year-old girl trying to pilot a plane across the country or an ex-celebrity involved in a drug deal, the news media are there. Reporters also cover events that appear to deviate from social norms, including murders, rapes, fatal car crashes, fires, political scandals, and gang activities. For example, as the war in Iraq escalated, any suicide bombing in the Middle East represented the kind of novel and deviant behavior that qualified as major news.

Values in American Journalism

Although newsworthiness criteria are a useful way to define news, they do not reveal much about the cultural aspects of news. News is both a product and a process. It is both the morning paper or evening newscast and a set of subtle values and shifting rituals that have been adapted to historical and social circumstances, such as the partisan press values of the eighteenth century or the informational standards of the twentieth century.

For example, in 1841, Horace Greeley described the newly founded *New York Tribune* as "a journal removed alike from servile partisanship on the one hand and from gagged, mincing neutrality on the other."[7] Greeley feared that too much neutrality would make reporters into wimps who stood for nothing. Yet the neutrality Greeley warned against is today a major value of conventional journalism, with mainstream reporters assuming they are acting as detached and all-seeing observers of social experience.

Neutrality Boosts Credibility—and Sales

As former journalism professor and reporter David Eason notes, "Reporters . . . have no special method for determining the truth of a situation nor a special language for reporting their findings. They make sense of events by telling stories about them."[8]

Even though journalists transform events into stories, they generally believe that they are—or should be—neutral observers who present facts without passing judgment on them. Conventions such as the inverted-pyramid news lead, the careful attribution of sources, the minimal use of adverbs and adjectives, and a detached third-person point of view all help reporters perform their work in an apparently neutral way.

Like lawyers, therapists, and other professionals, many modern journalists believe that their credibility derives from personal detachment. Yet the roots of this view reside in less noble territory. Jon Katz, media critic and former CBS News producer, discusses the history of the neutral pose:

The idea of respectable detachment wasn't conceived as a moral principle so much as a marketing device. Once newspapers began to mass market themselves in the mid-1880s, . . . publishers ceased being working, opinionated journalists. They mutated instead into businessmen eager to reach the broadest number of readers and antagonize the fewest. . . . Objectivity works well for publishers, protecting the status quo and keeping journalism's voice militantly moderate.[9]

To reach as many people as possible across a wide spectrum, publishers and editors realized as early as the 1840s that softening their partisanship might boost sales.

Partisanship Trumps Neutrality, Especially Online and on Cable

Since the rise of cable and the Internet, today's media marketplace has offered a fragmented world where appealing to the widest audience no longer makes the best economic sense. More options than ever exist, with newspaper readers and TV viewers embracing cable news, social networks, blogs, and Twitter. The old "mass" audience has morphed into smaller niche audiences who embrace particular hobbies, story genres, politics, and social networks. News media outlets that hope to survive appeal no longer to mass audiences but to interest groups—from sports fans and history buffs to conservatives or liberals. So, mimicking the news business of the eighteenth century, partisanship has become good business. For the news media today, muting political leanings to reach a mass audience makes no sense because such an audience no longer exists in the way it once did, especially in the days when only three major TV networks offered evening news for a half hour, once a day. Instead, news media now make money by targeting and catering to niche groups on a 24/7 news cycle.

In such a marketplace, we see the decline of a more neutral journalistic model that promoted fact-gathering, documents, and expertise and held up "objectivity" as the ideal for news practice. Rising in its place is a new era of partisan news—what Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel call a "journalism of assertion"—marked partly by a return to journalism's colonial roots and partly by the downsizing of the "journalism of verification" that kept watch over our central institutions.[10] This transition is symbolized by the rise of the cable news pundit on Fox News or MSNBC as a kind of "expert," with more standing than verified facts, authentic documents, and actual experts. Today, the new partisan fervor found in news, both online and on cable, has been a major catalyst for the nation's intense political and ideological divide.

Other Cultural Values in Journalism

Even the neutral journalism model, which most reporters and editors still aspire to, remains a selective and uneven process. Reporters and editors turn some events into reports and discard many others. This process is governed by a deeper set of subjective beliefs that are not neutral. Sociologist Herbert Gans, who studied the newsroom cultures of CBS, NBC, *Newsweek*, and *Time* in the 1970s, generalized that several basic "enduring values" have been shared by most American reporters and editors. The most prominent of these values, which persist to this day, are ethnocentrism, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, and individualism.[11]

OCCUPY WALL STREET
On September 17, 2011, a group of protesters gathered in Zuccotti Park in New York's financial district and officially launched the Occupy Wall Street protest movement. Their slogan, "We are the 99 percent," addressed the growing income disparity in the United States, furthering the idea that the nation's wealth is unfairly concentrated among the top-earning 1 percent. Although forced out of Zuccotti Park on November 15, 2011, the movement resonated with people across the country and around the world. By the end of 2011, Occupy protests had spread to over 951 cities in eighty-two countries.

Lucas Jackson/Reuters/Landov

By **ethnocentrism**, Gans meant that in most news reporting, especially foreign coverage, reporters judge other countries and cultures on the basis of how "they live up to or imitate American practices and values." Critics outside the United States, for instance, point out that CNN's international news channels portray world events and cultures primarily from an American point of view rather than through some neutral, global lens.

Gans also identified **responsible capitalism** as an underlying value, contending that journalists sometimes naïvely assume that

businesspeople compete with one another not primarily to maximize profits but "to create increased prosperity for all." Gans pointed out that although most reporters and editors condemn monopolies, "there is little implicit or explicit criticism of the oligopolistic nature of much of today's economy."[12] In fact, during the major economic recession of 2008–09, many journalists did not fully understand the debt incurred by media oligopolies and other financial conditions that led to the bankruptcies and shutdowns of numerous newspapers during this difficult time.

Another value that Gans found was the romanticization of **small-town pastoralism**: favoring the small over the large and the rural over the urban. Many journalists equate small-town life with innocence and harbor suspicions of cities, their governments, and urban experiences. Consequently, stories about rustic communities with crime or drug problems have often been framed as if the purity of country life had been contaminated by "mean" big-city values.

Finally, **individualism**, according to Gans, remains the most prominent value underpinning daily journalism. Many idealistic reporters are attracted to this profession because it rewards the rugged tenacity needed to confront and expose corruption. Beyond this, individuals who overcome personal adversity are the subjects of many enterprising news stories.

Often, however, journalism that focuses on personal triumphs neglects to explain how large organizations and institutions work or fail. Many conventional reporters and editors are unwilling or unsure of how to tackle the problems raised by institutional decay. In addition, because they value their own individualism and are accustomed to working alone, many journalists dislike cooperating on team projects or participating in forums in which community members discuss their own interests and alternative definitions of news.[13]

Facts, Values, and Bias

Traditionally, reporters have aligned facts with an objective position and values with subjective feelings.[14] Within this context, news reports offer readers and viewers details, data, and description. It then becomes the citizen's responsibility to judge and take a stand about the social problems represented by the news. Given these assumptions, reporters are responsible only for adhering to the tradition of the trade—"getting the facts." As a result, many reporters view themselves as neutral "channels" of information rather than selective storytellers or citizens actively involved in public life.

Still, most public surveys have shown that while journalists may work hard to stay neutral, the addition of partisan cable channels such as Fox News and MSNBC has undermined reporters who try to report fairly. So while conservatives tend to see the media as liberally biased, liberals tend to see the media as favoring conservative positions (see "Case Study: Bias in the News" on page 484). But political bias is complicated. During the early years of Barack Obama's presidency, many pundits on the political Right argued that Obama got much more favorable media coverage than did former president George W. Bush. But left-wing politicians and critics maintained that the right-wing media—especially news analysts associated with conservative talk radio and Fox's cable channel—rarely reported evenhandedly on Obama, painting him as a "socialist" or as "anti-American."

According to Evan Thomas of *Newsweek* magazine, "the suspicion of press bias" comes from two assumptions or beliefs that the public holds about news media: "The first is that reporters are out to get their subjects. The second is that the press is too close to its subjects."[15] Thomas argues that the "press's real bias is for conflict." He says that mainstream editors and reporters traditionally value scandals, "preferably sexual," and "have a weakness for war, the ultimate conflict." Thomas claims that in the end, journalists "are looking for narratives that reveal something of character. It is the human drama that most compels our attention."[16]

CASE STUDY

Bias in the News

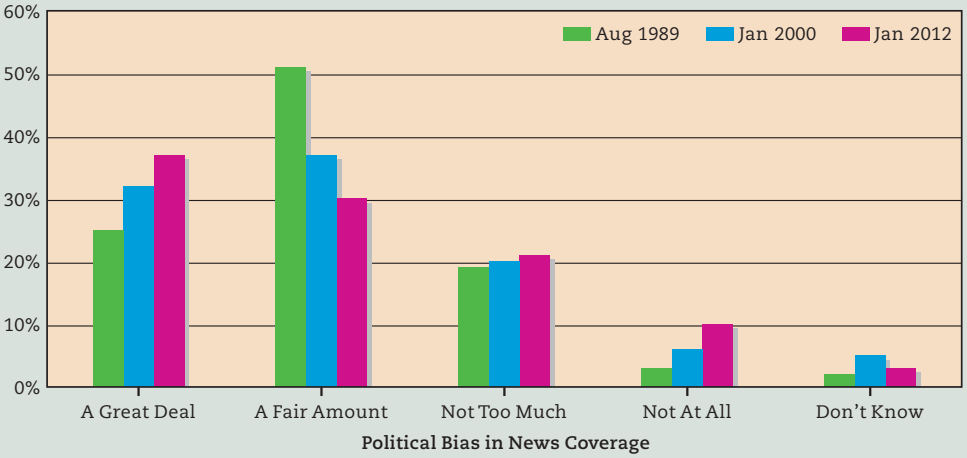
All news is biased. News, after all, is primarily selective storytelling, not objective science. Editors choose certain events to cover and ignore others; reporters choose particular words or images to use and reject others. The news is also biased in favor of storytelling, drama, and conflict; in favor of telling "two sides of a story"; in favor of powerful and well-connected sources; and in favor of practices that serve journalists' space and time limits.

In terms of political bias, a 2012 Pew Research Center study reported that 37 percent of Americans see "a great deal of political bias" in the news—up from 31 percent in 2000 and 25 percent back in 1989 (see the figure below). In terms of political party affiliation, 49 percent of Republicans in this 2012 survey reported "a great deal" of bias, while only 32 percent of Democrats and 35 percent of Independents reported high levels of political bias. Since the late 1960s, the public perception has been that mainstream news media operate mostly with a liberal bias. This would seem to be supported by a 2004 Pew Research Center survey that found that 34 percent of national journalists self-identify as liberal, 7 percent as conservative, and 54 percent as moderate.[1]

Given primary dictionary definitions of *liberal* (adj., "favorable to progress or reform, as in political or religious affairs") and *conservative* (adj., "disposed to preserve existing conditions, institutions, etc., or to restore traditional ones, and to limit change"), it is not surprising that a high percentage of liberals and moderates gravitate to mainstream journalism.[2] A profession that honors documenting change, checking power, and reporting wrongdoing would attract fewer conservatives, who are predisposed to "limit change." As sociologist Herbert Gans demonstrated in *Deciding What's News*, most reporters are socialized into a set of work rituals—especially getting the story first and telling it from "both sides" to achieve a kind of balance.[3] In fact, this commitment to political "balance" mandates that if journalists interview someone on the Left, they must also interview someone on the Right. Ultimately, such balancing acts require reporters to take middle-of-the-road or moderate positions.

Still, the "liberal bias" narrative persists. In 2001, Bernard Goldberg, a former producer at CBS News, wrote *Bias*. Using anecdotes from his days at CBS, he maintained that national news slanted to the Left.[4] In 2003, Eric Alterman, a columnist for the *Nation*, countered with *What Liberal Media?* Alterman admitted that mainstream news media do reflect more liberal views on social issues but argued that they had become more conservative on politics and economics—as displayed in their support for deregulated media and concentrated ownership.[5] Alterman said that the liberal bias tale persists because conservatives keep repeating it in the major media. Conservative voices have been so successful that one study in *Communication Research* reported "a fourfold increase over the past dozen years in the number of Americans telling pollsters that they discerned a liberal bias in the news. But a review of the media's actual ideological content, collected and coded over a 12-year period, offered no corroboration whatever for this view."[6] However, a 2010 study in the *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* reported that both Democratic and Republican leaders are able "to influence perceptions of bias" by attacking the news media.[7]

Since journalists are primarily storytellers, and not scientists, searching for liberal or conservative bias should not be the main focus of our criticism. Under time and space constraints, most journalists serve the routine practices of their profession, which call on them to moderate their own political agendas. News reports, then, are always "biased," given human imperfection in storytelling and in communicating through the lens of language, images, and institutional values. Fully critiquing news stories must depend, then, on whether they are fair, represent an issue's complexity, provide verification and documentation, represent multiple views, and serve democracy.



Political Bias in News Coverage

Data from: Pew Research Center Survey, January 5–8, 2012.
Note: Figures may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding.

Ethics and the News Media

National journalists occasionally face a profound ethical dilemma, especially in the aftermath of 9/11: When is it right to protect government secrets, and when should those secrets be revealed to the public? How must editors weigh such decisions when national security bumps up against citizens' need for information?

In 2006, Dean Baquet, then editor of the *Los Angeles Times* (in 2014, he became the executive editor of the *New York Times*), and Bill Keller, then executive editor of the *New York Times*, wrestled with these questions in a coauthored editorial:

Finally, we weigh the merits of publishing against the risks of publishing. There is no magic formula. . . . We make our best judgment.

When we come down on the side of publishing, of course, everyone hears about it. Few people are aware when we decide to hold an article. But each of us, in the past few years, has had the experience of withholding or delaying articles when the administration convinces us that the risk of publication outweighed the benefits. . . .

We understand that honorable people may disagree . . . to publish or not to publish. But making those decisions is a responsibility that falls to editors, a corollary to the great gift of our independence. It is not a responsibility we take lightly. And it is not one we can surrender to the government.[17]

What makes the predicament of these national editors so tricky is that in the war against terrorism, some politicians maintain that one value terrorists truly hate is "our freedom." At the same time, some of these same politicians criticized the *Times* for carefully editing and then publishing the WikiLeaks documents. There is irony here: What is more integral to liberty than the freedom of an independent press—so independent that for more than two hundred years U.S. courts have protected the news media's right to criticize our political leaders and, within boundaries, reveal government secrets?

Ethical Predicaments

What is the moral and social responsibility of journalists, not only for the stories they report but also for the actual events or issues they are shaping for millions of people? Wrestling with such media ethics involves determining the moral response to a situation through critical reasoning. Although national security issues raise problems for a few of our largest news organizations, the most frequent ethical dilemmas encountered in most newsrooms across the United States involve intentional deception, privacy invasions, and conflicts of interest.

Deploying Deception

Ever since Nellie Bly faked insanity to get inside an asylum in the 1880s, investigative journalists have used deception to get stories. Today, journalists continue to use disguises and assume false identities to gather information on social transgressions. Beyond legal considerations, though, a key ethical question comes into play: Does the end justify the means? For example, can a newspaper or TV newsmagazine use deceptive ploys to go undercover and expose a suspected fraudulent clinic that promises miracle cures at a high cost? Are news professionals justified in posing as clients desperate for a cure?

In terms of ethics, there are at least two major positions and multiple variations. At one end of the spectrum, *absolutist ethics* suggests that a moral society has laws and codes, including honesty, that everyone must live by. This means citizens, including members of the news media, should tell the truth at all times and in all cases. In other words, the ends (exposing a phony clinic) never justify the means (using deception to get the story). An editor who is an absolutist would cover this story by asking a reporter to find victims who have been ripped off by the clinic and then telling the story through their eyes. At the other end of the spectrum is *situational ethics*, which promotes ethical decisions on a case-by-case basis. If a greater public good could be served by using deceit, journalists and editors who believe in situational ethics would sanction deception as a practice.

Should a journalist withhold information about his or her professional identity to get a quote or a story from an interview subject? Many sources and witnesses are reluctant to talk with journalists, especially about a sensitive subject that might jeopardize a job or hurt another person's reputation. Journalists know they can sometimes obtain information by posing as someone other than a journalist, such as a curious student or a concerned citizen.

Most newsrooms frown on such deception. In particular situations, though, such a practice might be condoned if reporters and their editors believed that the public needed the information. The ethics code adopted by the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) is mostly silent on issues of deception. The code does say that "journalists should be honest, fair and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information," and it also calls on journalists to "seek truth and report it" (see Figure 14.1 on page 487). So is it being "honest" for reporters to use deceptive tactics in the pursuit of truth?

Invading Privacy

To achieve "the truth" or to "get the facts," journalists routinely straddle a line between "the public's right to know" and a person's right to privacy. For example, journalists may be sent to hospitals to gather quotes from victims who have been injured. Often there is very little the public might gain from such information, but journalists worry that if they don't get the quote, a competitor might. In these instances, have the news media responsibly weighed the protection of individual privacy against the public's right to know? Although the latter is not constitutionally guaranteed, journalists invoke the public's right to know as justification for many types of stories.

One infamous example is the phone hacking scandal involving News Corp.'s now-shuttered U.K. newspaper, *News of the World*. In 2011, the *Guardian* reported that *News of the World* reporters had hired a private investigator to hack into the voice mail of thirteen-year-old murder victim Milly Dowler and had deleted some messages. Although there had been past allegations that reporters from *News of the World* had hacked into the private voice mails of the British royal family, government officials, and celebrities, this revelation on the extent of *News of the World*'s phone hacking activities caused a huge scandal and led to the arrests and resignations of several senior executives. Today, in the digital age, when reporters can gain access to private e-mail messages, Twitter accounts, and Facebook pages, as well as voice mail, such practices raise serious questions about how far a reporter should go to get information.

In the case of privacy issues, media companies and journalists should always ask these ethical questions: What public good is being served here? What significant public knowledge will be gained through the exploitation of a tragic private moment? Although journalism's code of ethics says, "The news media must guard against invading a person's right to privacy," this clashes with another part of the code: "The public's right to know of events of public importance and interest is the overriding mission of the mass media."[18] When these two ethical standards collide, should journalists err on the side of the public's right to know?

FIGURE 14.1

SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS' CODE OF ETHICS

Data from: Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ).

Code of Ethics

SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS.

Preamble

Members of the Society of Professional Journalists believe that public enlightenment is the forerunner of justice and the foundation of democracy. The duty of the journalist is to further those ends by seeking truth and providing a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues. Conscientious journalists from all media and specialties strive to serve the public with thoroughness and honesty. Professional integrity is the cornerstone of a journalist's credibility.

Members of the Society share a dedication to ethical behavior and adopt this code to declare the Society's principles and standards of practice.

Seek Truth and Report It

Journalists should be honest, fair and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information.

Journalists should:

- Test the accuracy of information from all sources and exercise care to avoid inadvertent error. Deliberate distortion is never permissible.
- Diligently seek out subjects of news stories to give them the opportunity to respond to allegations of wrongdoing.
- Identify sources whenever feasible. The public is entitled to as much information as possible on sources' reliability.
- Always question sources' motives before promising anonymity. Clarify conditions attached to any promise made in exchange for information. Keep promises.
- Make certain that headlines, news teases and promotional material, photos, video, audio, graphics, sound bites and quotations do not misrepresent. They should not oversimplify or highlight incidents out of context.
- Never distort the content of news photos or video. Image enhancement for technical clarity is always permissible. Label montages and photo illustrations.
- Avoid misleading re-enactments or staged news events. If re-enactment is necessary to tell a story, label it.
- Avoid undercover or other surreptitious methods of gathering information except when traditional open methods will not yield information vital to the public. Use of such methods should be explained as part of the story.
- Never plagiarize.
- Tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of the human experience boldly, even when it is unpopular to do so.
- Examine their own cultural values and avoid imposing those values on others.
- Avoid stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status.
- Support the open exchange of views, even views they find repugnant.
- Give voice to the voiceless; official and unofficial sources of information can be equally valid.
- Distinguish between advocacy and news reporting. Analysis and commentary should be labeled and not misrepresent fact or context.
- Distinguish news from advertising and shun hybrids that blur the lines between the two.
- Recognize a special obligation to ensure that the public's business is conducted in the open and that government records are open to inspection.

Minimize Harm

Ethical journalists treat sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect.

Journalists should:

- Show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage. Use special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced sources or subjects.
- Be sensitive when seeking or using interviews or photographs of those affected by tragedy or grief.
- Recognize that gathering and reporting information may cause harm or discomfort. Pursuit of the news is not a license for arrogance.
- Recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence or attention. Only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy.
- Show good taste. Avoid pandering to lurid curiosity.
- Be cautious about identifying juvenile suspects or victims of sex crimes.
- Be judicious about naming criminal suspects before the formal filing of charges.
- Balance a criminal suspect's fair trial rights with the public's right to be informed.

Act Independently

Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know.

Journalists should:

- Avoid conflicts of interest, real or perceived.
- Remain free of associations and activities that may compromise integrity or damage credibility.
- Refuse gifts, favors, free travel and special treatment, and shun secondary employment, political involvement, public office and service in community organizations if they compromise journalistic integrity.
- Disclose unavoidable conflicts.
- Be vigilant and courageous about holding those with power accountable.
- Deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence news coverage.
- Be wary of sources offering information for favors or money; avoid bidding for news.

Be Accountable

Journalists are accountable to their readers, listeners, viewers and each other.

Journalists should:

- Clarify and explain news coverage and invite dialogue with the public over journalistic conduct.
- Encourage the public to voice grievances against the news media.
- Admit mistakes and correct them promptly.
- Expose unethical practices of journalists and the news media.
- Abide by the same high standards to which they hold others.

Conflict of Interest

Journalism's code of ethics also warns reporters and editors not to place themselves in positions that produce a **conflict of interest**—that is, any situation in which journalists may stand to benefit personally from stories they produce. "Gifts, favors, free travel, special treatment or privileges," the code states, "can compromise the integrity of journalists and their employers. Nothing of value should be accepted."[19] Although small newspapers with limited resources and poorly paid reporters might accept such "freebies" as game tickets for their sportswriters and free meals for their restaurant critics, this practice does increase the likelihood of a conflict of interest that produces favorable or uncritical coverage.

On a broader level, ethical guidelines at many news outlets attempt to protect journalists from compromising positions. For instance, in most cities, U.S. journalists do not actively participate in politics or support social causes. Some journalists will not reveal their political affiliations, and some even decline to vote.

For these journalists, the rationale behind their decision is straightforward: Journalists should not place themselves in a situation in which they might have to report on the misdeeds of an organization or a political party to which they belong. If a journalist has a tie to any group, and that group is later suspected of involvement in shady or criminal activity, the reporter's ability to report on that group would be compromised—along with the credibility of the news outlet for which he or she works. Conversely, other journalists believe that not actively participating in politics or social causes means abandoning their civic obligations. They believe that fairness in their reporting, not total detachment from civic life, is their primary obligation.

In the digital age, conflict of interest cases surrounding opinion blogging have grown more complicated, especially when those opinion blogs run under the banner of traditional news media. For example, in 2010 David Weigel, whom the *Washington Post* hired to blog about the conservative movement, was forced to resign after private e-mails and Listserv messages were exposed in which he had used inflammatory rhetoric to vent about well-known conservatives like Matt Drudge, Ron Paul, and Rush Limbaugh. A *Post* editor commented at the time, "We can't have any tolerance for the perception that people are conflicted or bring a bias to their work. . . . There's abundant room on our Web site for a wide range of viewpoints, and we should be transparent about everybody's viewpoint."[20] Critics afterward noted that mainstream news media sites should make clear to their readers whether the bloggers are actually opinion writers or professional journalists trying to write fairly on subjects about which they may not agree. In this case, Weigel's credibility regarding his ability to blog fairly about right-wing politicians and pundits was compromised when his personal exchanges ridiculing conservatives came to light. This case illustrates the increasingly blurry line between the old journalism of verification and the new journalism of assertion.

MICHAEL FINKEL was let go from the *New York Times* in 2001, after it was revealed that he created composite characters for a story. His subsequent experiences with an accused murderer who had used Finkel's name while on the lam were documented in his memoir *True Story*, which was made into a 2015 movie (below) starring Jonah Hill as Finkel alongside James Franco as Christian Longo, eventually convicted of murder.

Barry Wetcher/TM and © copyright Fox Searchlight Pictures. All rights reserved/Everett Collection

Resolving Ethical Problems

When a journalist is criticized for ethical lapses or questionable reporting tactics, a typical response might be "I'm just doing my job" or "I was just getting the facts." Such explanations are troubling, though, because in responding this way, reporters are transferring personal responsibility for the story to a set of institutional rituals.

There are, of course, ethical alternatives to self-justifications such as "I'm just doing my job" that force journalists to think through complex issues. With the crush of deadlines and daily duties, most media professionals deal with ethical situations only on a case-by-case basis as issues arise. However, examining major ethical models and theories is a common strategy for addressing ethics on a general rather than a situational basis. The most well-known ethical standard, the Judeo-Christian command to "love your neighbor as yourself," provides one foundation for constructing ethical guidelines. Although we cannot address all major moral codes here, a few key precepts can guide us.

Aristotle, Kant, and Bentham and Mill

The Greek philosopher Aristotle offered an early ethical concept, the "golden mean"—a guideline for seeking balance between competing positions. For Aristotle, this was a desirable middle ground between extreme positions, usually with one regarded as deficient and the other as excessive. For example, Aristotle saw ambition as the balance between sloth and greed.

Another ethical principle entails the "categorical imperative" developed by German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). This idea maintains that a society must adhere to moral codes that are universal and unconditional, applicable in all situations at all times. For example, the Golden Rule ("Do unto others as you would have them do unto you") is articulated in one form or another in most of the world's major religious and philosophical traditions and operates as an absolute moral principle. The First Amendment, which prevents Congress from abridging free speech and other rights, could be considered an example of an unconditional national law.

British philosophers Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) promoted an ethical principle derived from "the greatest good for the greatest number," directing us "to distribute a good consequence to more people rather than to fewer, whenever we have a choice."[21]

Developing Ethical Policy

Arriving at ethical decisions involves several steps. These include laying out the case; pinpointing the key issues; identifying involved parties, their intents, and their competing values; studying ethical models; presenting strategies and options; and formulating a decision.

One area that requires ethics is covering the private lives of people who have unintentionally become prominent in the news. Consider Richard Jewell, the Atlanta security guard who, for eighty-eight days, was the FBI's prime suspect in the city park bombing at the 1996 Olympics. The FBI never charged Jewell with a crime, and he later successfully sued several news organizations for libel. The news outlets competed to be the first to report important developments in the case, and with the battle for newspaper circulation and broadcast ratings adding fuel to a complex situation, editors were reluctant to back away from the story once it began circulating.

At least two key ethical questions emerged: (1) Should the news media have named Jewell as a suspect even though he was never charged with a crime? (2) Should the media have camped out daily in front of his mother's house in an attempt to interview him and his mother? The Jewell case pitted the media's right to tell stories and earn profits against a person's right to be left alone.

Working through the various ethical stages, journalists formulate policies grounded in overarching moral principles.[22] Should reporters, for instance, follow the Golden Rule and be willing to treat themselves, their families, or their friends the way they treated the Jewells? Or should they invoke Aristotle's "golden mean" and seek moral virtue between extreme positions?

In Richard Jewell's situation, journalists could have developed guidelines to balance Jewell's interests and the news media's. For example, in addition to apologizing for using Jewell's name in early accounts, reporters might have called off their stakeout and allowed Jewell to set interview times at a neutral site, where he could talk with a small pool of journalists designated to relay information to other media outlets.

Reporting Rituals and the Legacy of Print Journalism

Unfamiliar with being questioned themselves, many reporters are uncomfortable discussing their personal values or their strategies for getting stories. Nevertheless, a stock of rituals, derived from basic American values, underlie the practice of reporting. These include focusing on the present, relying on experts, balancing story conflict, and acting as adversaries toward leaders and institutions.

Focusing on the Present

In the 1840s, when the telegraph first enabled news to crisscross America instantly, modern journalism was born. To complement the new technical advances, editors called for a focus on the immediacy of the present. Modern front-page print journalism began to de-emphasize political analysis and historical context, accenting instead the new and the now.

As a result, the profession began drawing criticism for failing to offer historical, political, and social analyses. This criticism continues today. For example, urban drug stories heavily dominated print and network news during the 1986 and 1988 election years. Such stories, however, virtually disappeared from the news by 1992, although the nation's serious drug and addiction problems had not diminished.[23] For many editors and reporters at the time, drug stories became "yesterday's news."

Modern journalism tends to reject "old news" for whatever new event or idea disrupts today's routines. During the 1996 elections, when statistics revealed that drug use among middle-class high school students was rising, reporters latched on to new versions of the drug story, but their reports made only limited references to the 1980s. And although drug problems and addiction rates did not diminish in subsequent years, these topics were virtually ignored by journalists during national elections from 2000 to 2012. Indeed, given the space and time constraints of current news practices, reporters seldom link stories to the past or to the ebb and flow of history. (To analyze current news stories, see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Telling Stories and Covering Disaster" on page 491.)

Getting a Good Story

Early in the 1980s, the Janet Cooke hoax demonstrated the difference between the mere telling of a good story and the social responsibility to tell the truth.[24] Cooke, a former *Washington Post* reporter, was fired for fabricating an investigative report for which she initially won a Pulitzer Prize. (It was later revoked.) She had created a cast of characters, featuring a mother who contributed to the heroin addiction of her eight-year-old son.

At the time the hoax was exposed, Chicago columnist Mike Royko criticized conventional journalism for allowing narrative conventions—getting a good story—to trump journalism's responsibility to the daily lives it documents: "There's something more important than a story here. This eight-year-old kid is being murdered. The editors should have said forget the story, find the kid. . . . People in any other profession would have gone right to the police."[25] Had editors at the *Post* done so, Cooke's hoax would not have gone as far as it did.

According to Don Hewitt, the creator and longtime executive producer of *60 Minutes*, "There's a very simple formula if you're in Hollywood, Broadway, opera, publishing, broadcasting, newspapering. It's four very simple words—tell me a story."[26] For most journalists, the bottom line is "Get the story"—an edict that overrides most other concerns. It is the standard against which many reporters measure themselves and their profession.

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Find print and broadcast news versions of the *same* disaster story (use LexisNexis if available). Make copies of each story, and note the pictures chosen to tell the story.

2 ANALYSIS. Find patterns in the coverage. How are the stories treated differently in print and on television? Are there similarities in the words chosen or images used? What kinds of experiences are depicted? Who are the sources the reporters use to verify their information?

3 INTERPRETATION. What do these patterns suggest? Can you make any interpretations or arguments based on the kinds of disasters covered, sources used, areas covered, or words/images chosen? How are the stories told in relation to their importance to the entire community or nation? How complex are the stories?

Telling Stories and Covering Disaster

Covering difficult stories—such as natural disasters like Hurricane Sandy in 2012—may present challenges to journalists about how to frame their coverage. The opening sections, or leads, of news stories can vary depending on the source—whether it is print, broadcast, or online news—or even the editorial style of the news organization (e.g., some story leads are straightforward; some are very dramatic). And, although modern journalists claim objectivity as a goal, it is unlikely that a professional in the storytelling business can approximate any sort of scientific objectivity. The best journalists can do is be fair, reporting and telling stories to their communities and nation by explaining the complicated and tragic experiences they convert into words or pictures. To explore this type of coverage, try this exercise with examples from recent disaster coverage of a regional or national event.

4 EVALUATION. Which stories are the strongest? Why? Which are the weakest? Why? Make a judgment on how well these disaster stories serve your interests as a citizen and the interests of the larger community or nation.

5 ENGAGEMENT. In an e-mail or letter to the editor, share your findings with relevant editors and TV news directors. Make suggestions for improved coverage, and cite strong stories that you admired. Report to the class how the editors and news directors responded.

Getting a Story First

In a discussion on public television about the press coverage of a fatal airline crash in Milwaukee in the 1980s, a news photographer was asked to talk about his role in covering the tragedy. Rather than take up the poignant, heartbreaking aspects of witnessing the aftermath of such an event, the excited photographer launched into a dramatic recounting of how he had slipped behind police barricades to snap the first grim photos, which later appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal*. As part of their socialization into the profession, reporters often learn to evade authority figures to secure a story ahead of the competition.

The photographer's recollection points to the important role journalism plays in calling public attention to serious events and issues. Yet he also talked about the news-gathering process as a game that journalists play. It's now routine for local television stations, 24/7 cable news, and newspapers to run self-promotions about how they beat competitors to a story. In addition, during political elections, local television stations and networks project winners in particular races and often hype their projections when they are able to forecast results before the competition does. This practice led to the fiasco in November 2000 when the major networks and cable news services badly flubbed their predictions regarding the outcome of voting in Florida during the presidential election.

Journalistic *scoops* and exclusive stories attempt to portray reporters in a heroic light: They have won a race for facts, which they have gathered and presented ahead of their rivals.

It is not always clear, though, how the public is better served by a journalist's claim to have gotten a story first. In some ways, the 24/7 cable news, the Internet, and bloggers have intensified the race for getting a story first. With a fragmented audience and more media competing for news, the mainstream news often feels more pressure to lure an audience with exclusive, and sometimes sensational, stories. Although readers and viewers might value the aggressiveness of reporters, the earliest reports are not necessarily better, more accurate, or as complete as stories written later, with more context and perspective.

For example, in summer 2010, a firestorm erupted around the abrupt dismissal of Shirley Sherrod, a Georgia-based African American official with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, over a short clip of a speech posted by the late right-wing blogger Andrew Breitbart on his Web site BigGovernment.com. His clip implied that Sherrod had once discriminated against a white farm family who had sought her help when their farm was about to be foreclosed. FoxNews .com picked up the clip, and soon it was all over cable TV, where Sherrod and the Obama administration were denounced as "reverse racists." The secretary of agriculture, Tom Vilsack, demanded and got Sherrod's resignation. However, once reporters started digging deeper into the story and CNN ran an interview with the white farmers whom Sherrod had actually helped, it was revealed that the 2½-minute clip had been re-edited and taken out of context from a 43-minute speech Sherrod had given at an NAACP event. In the speech, Sherrod talked about the discrimination that both poor white and black farmers had faced, and about rising above her own past. (Her father had been murdered forty-five years earlier, and an all-white Georgia grand jury did not indict the accused white farmer despite testimony from three witnesses.) Conservative pundits apologized, Glenn Beck demanded that Sherrod be rehired, and Tom Vilsack offered her a new job (which she ultimately declined).[27] In 2011, Sherrod sued Breitbart and his Web site for defamation of character. As described in a *Politico* blog, the case was complicated by Breitbart's unexpected death in 2012 and the Obama administration's resistance to requests for access to relevant government files and e-mails that could be used to prosecute or defend the case.[28]

This kind of scoop behavior, which has become rampant in the digital age, demonstrates pack or **herd journalism**, which occurs when reporters stake out a house; chase celebrities in packs; or follow a story in such herds that the entire profession comes under attack for invading people's privacy, exploiting their personal problems, or just plain getting the story wrong.

Relying on Experts

Another ritual of modern print journalism—relying on outside sources—has made reporters heavily dependent on experts. Reporters, though often experts themselves in certain areas by virtue of having covered them over time, are not typically allowed to display their expertise overtly. Instead, they must seek outside authorities to give credibility to seemingly neutral reports. *What* daily reporters know is generally subordinate to *who* they know.

During the early twentieth century, progressive politicians and leaders of opinion such as President Woodrow Wilson and columnist Walter Lippmann believed in the cultivation of strong ties among national reporters, government officials, scientists, business managers, and researchers. They wanted journalists supplied with expertise across a variety of areas. Today, the widening gap between those with expertise and those without it has created a need for public mediators. Reporters have assumed this role as surrogates who represent both leaders' and readers' interests. With their access to experts, reporters transform specialized and insider knowledge into the everyday commonsense language of news stories.

Reporters also frequently use experts to create narrative conflict by pitting a series of quotes against one another, or on occasion use experts to support a particular position. In addition, the use of experts enables journalists to distance themselves from daily experience;

they are able to attribute the responsibility for the events or issues reported in a story to those who are quoted.

To use experts, journalists must make direct contact with a source—by phone or e-mail or in person. Journalists do not, however, heavily cite the work of other writers; that would violate reporters' desire not only to get a story first but to get it on their own. Telephone calls and face-to-face interviews, rather than extensively researched interpretations, are the stuff of daily journalism.

Newsweek's Jonathan Alter once called expert sources the "usual suspects." Alter contended that "the impression conveyed is of a world that contains only a handful of knowledgeable people. . . . Their public exposure is a result not only of their own abilities, but of deadlines and a failure of imagination on the part of the press."[29]

In addition, expert sources have historically been predominantly white and male. Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) conducted a major study of the 14,632 sources used during 2001 on evening news programs on ABC, CBS, and NBC. FAIR found that only 15 percent of sources were women—and 52 percent of these women represented "average citizens" or "non-experts." By contrast, of the male sources, 86 percent were cast in "authoritative" or "expert" roles. Among U.S. sources for which race could be determined, the study found that white sources "made up 92 percent of the total, blacks 7 percent, Latinos and Arab Americans 0.6 percent each, and Asian Americans 0.2 percent."[30] (At that time, the 2000 census reported that the U.S. population stood at 69 percent white, 13 percent Hispanic, 12 percent black, and 4 percent Asian.) So as mainstream journalists increased their reliance on a small pool of experts, they probably alienated many viewers, who may have felt excluded from participation in day-to-day social and political life.

A 2005 study by the Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism found similar results. The study looked at forty-five news outlets over a twenty-day period, including newspapers, nightly network newscasts and morning shows, cable news programs, and Web news sites. Newspapers, the study found, "were the most likely of the media studied to cite at least one female source . . . (41% of stories)," while cable news "was the least likely medium to cite a female source (19% of stories)." The study also found that in "every [news] topic category, the majority of stories cited at least one male source," but "the only topic category where women crossed the 50% threshold was lifestyle stories." The study found that women were least likely to be cited in stories on foreign affairs, and sports sections of newspapers also "stood out in particular as a male bastion," with only 14 percent citing a female source.[31]

By 2012, the evidence again suggested little improvement. In fact, a study from the 4th Estate showed that over a six-month period during the 2012 election, men were "much more likely to be quoted on their subjective insight in newspapers and on television." This held true even on stories specifically dealing with women's issues. The 4th Estate study showed that "in front page articles about the 2012 election that mention[ed] abortion or birth control, men [were] 4 to 7 times more likely to be cited than women." The study concluded by noting that such a "gender gap undermines the media's credibility."[32]

By the late 1990s, many journalists were criticized for blurring the line between remaining neutral and being an expert. The boom in twenty-four-hour cable news programs at this time led to a news vacuum that was eventually filled with talk shows and interviews with journalists willing to give their views. During events with intense media coverage, such as the 2000 through 2012 presidential elections, 9/11, and the Iraq War, many print journalists appeared several times a day on cable programs acting as experts on the story, sometimes providing factual information but mostly offering opinion and speculation.

Some editors even encourage their reporters to go on these shows for marketing reasons. Today, many big-city newspapers have office space set aside for reporters to use for cable, TV, and Internet interviews. Critics contend that these practices erode the credibility of the

profession by blending journalism with celebrity culture and commercialism. Daniel Schorr, who worked as a journalist for seventy years (he died in 2010), resigned from CNN when the cable network asked him to be a commentator during the 1984 Republican National Convention along with former Texas governor John Connally. Schorr believed that it was improper to mix a journalist and a politician in this way, but the idea seems innocent by today's blurred standards. As columnist David Carr pointed out in the *New York Times* in 2010, "Where there was once a pretty bright line between journalist and political operative, there is now a kind of continuum, with politicians becoming media providers in their own right, and pundits, entertainers and journalists often driving political discussions."[33]

Balancing Story Conflict

For most journalists, *balance* means presenting all sides of an issue without appearing to favor any one position. The quest for balance presents problems for journalists. On the one hand, time and space constraints do not always permit representing *all* sides; in practice, this value has often been reduced to "telling *both* sides of a story." In recounting news stories as two-sided dramas, reporters often misrepresent the complexity of social issues. The abortion controversy, for example, is often treated as a story that pits two extreme positions (staunchly pro-life versus resolutely pro-choice) against each other. Yet people whose views fall somewhere between these positions are seldom represented (studies show this group actually represents the majority of Americans). In this manner, "balance" becomes a narrative device to generate story conflict.

On the other hand, although many journalists claim to be detached, they often stake out a moderate or middle-of-the-road position between the two sides represented in a story. In claiming neutrality and inviting readers to share their detached point of view, journalists offer a distant, third-person, all-knowing point of view (a narrative device that many novelists use as well), enhancing the impression of neutrality by making the reporter appear value-free (or valueless).

The claim for balanced stories, like the claim for neutrality, disguises journalism's narrative functions. After all, when reporters choose quotes for a story, these are usually the most dramatic or conflict-oriented words that emerge from an interview, press conference, or public meeting. Choosing quotes sometimes has more to do with enhancing drama than with being fair, documenting an event, or establishing neutrality.

The balance claim has also served the financial interests of modern news organizations that stake out the middle ground. William Greider, a former *Washington Post* editor, makes the tie between good business and balanced news: "If you're going to be a mass circulation journal, that means you're going to be talking simultaneously to lots of groups that have opposing views. So you've got to modulate your voice and pretend to be talking to all of them."[34]

Acting as Adversaries

The value that many journalists take the most pride in is their adversarial relationship with the prominent leaders and major institutions they cover. The prime narrative frame for portraying this relationship is sometimes called a *gotcha story*, which refers to the moment when, through questioning, the reporter nabs "the bad guy," or wrongdoer.

This narrative strategy—part of the *tough questioning style* of some reporters—is frequently used in political reporting. Many journalists assume that leaders are hiding something and that the reporter's main job is to ferret out the truth through tenacious fact-gathering and "gotcha" questions. An extension of the search for balance, this stance locates the reporter in the middle, between "them" and "us," between political leaders and the people they represent.

Critics of the tough question style of reporting argue that while it can reveal significant information, when overused it fosters a cynicism among journalists that actually harms the democratic process. Although journalists need to guard against becoming too cozy with their political sources, they sometimes go to the other extreme. By constantly searching for what politicians may be hiding, some reporters may miss other issues or other key stories.

When journalists employ the gotcha model to cover news, being tough often becomes an end in itself. Thus reporters believe they have done their job just by roughing up an interview subject or by answering the limited "What is going on here?" question. Yet the Pulitzer Prize, the highest award honoring journalism, often goes to the reporter who asks ethically charged and open-ended questions, such as "Why is this going on?" and "What ought to be done about it?"

Journalism in the Age of TV and the Internet

The rules and rituals governing American journalism began shifting in the 1950s. At the time, former radio reporter John Daly hosted the CBS network game show *What's My Line?* When he began moonlighting as the evening TV news anchor on ABC, the network blurred the entertainment and information border, foreshadowing what was to come.

In the early days, the most influential and respected television news program was CBS's *See It Now*. Coproduced by Fred Friendly and Edward R. Murrow, *See It Now* practiced a kind of TV journalism lodged somewhere between the neutral and narrative traditions. Generally regarded as "the first and definitive" news documentary on American television, *See It Now* sought "to report in depth—to tell and show the American audience what was happening in the world using film as a narrative tool," according to A. William Bluem, author of *Documentary in American Television.*[35] Murrow worked as both the program's anchor and its main reporter, introducing the investigative model of journalism to television—a model that programs like *60 Minutes*, *20/20*, and *Dateline* would imitate. Later, of course, Internet news-gathering and reporting would further alter journalism.

Differences between Print, TV, and Internet News

Although TV news reporters share many values, beliefs, and conventions with their print counterparts, television transformed journalism in a number of ways. First, broadcast news is driven by its technology. If a camera crew and news van are dispatched to a remote location for a live broadcast, reporters are expected to justify the expense by developing a story, even if nothing significant is occurring. For instance, when a national political candidate does not arrive at the local airport in time for an interview on the evening news, the reporter may cover a flight delay instead. Print reporters, in contrast, slide their notebooks or laptops back into their bags and report on a story when it occurs. However, with print reporters now posting regular online updates to their stories, they offer the same immediacy that live television news reporting does. In fact, in most newsrooms today, the online version of a story is often posted before the newspaper or TV version appears.

Second, while print editors cut stories to fit the physical space around ads, TV news directors have to time stories to fit between commercials. Despite the fact that a much higher percentage of space is devoted to print ads (about 60 percent at most dailies), TV ads (which take

up less than 25 percent of a typical thirty-minute news program) generally seem more intrusive to viewers, perhaps because TV ads take up time rather than space. The Internet has "solved" these old space and time problems by freeing stories from those constraints online.

Third, while modern print journalists are expected to be detached, TV news derives its credibility from live, on-the-spot reporting; believable imagery; and viewers' trust in the reporters and anchors. In fact, since the early 1970s, most annual polls have indicated that the majority of viewers find television news a more credible resource than print news. Viewers tend to feel a personal regard for the local and national anchors who appear each evening on TV sets in their living rooms. In fact, in the Pew Research Center's 2012 news credibility and believability study (which did not rate online news sources like *Politico* or the *Huffington Post*), the three top news outlets with the highest "positive" rating from those polled were "local TV news" (65 percent), *60 Minutes* (64 percent), and ABC News (59 percent). By comparison, Fox News, the *New York Times*, and *USA Today* were tied as the only organizations in the study to have higher negative than positive ratings—all at just 49 percent positive. The highest-rated newspaper in the study was the *Wall Street Journal*, with a 58 percent positive rating, while the "daily newspaper you know best"—that is, the paper from a respondent's local area or region—scored a 57 percent positive rating.[36]

By the mid-1970s, the public's fascination with the Watergate scandal, combined with the improved quality of TV journalism, helped local news departments realize profits. In an effort to retain high ratings, stations began hiring consultants, who advised news directors to invest in national prepackaged formats, such as Action News or Eyewitness News. Traveling the country, viewers noticed similar theme music and opening graphic visuals from market to market. Consultants also suggested that stations lead their newscasts with *crime blocks*: a group of TV stories that recount the worst local criminal transgressions of the day. A cynical slogan soon developed in the industry: "If it bleeds, it leads." This crime-block practice continues today at most local TV news stations.

Few stations around the country have responded to viewers and critics who complain about the overemphasis on crime. (In reality, FBI statistics reveal that crime and murder rates have fallen or leveled off in most major urban areas since the 1990s.) In 1996, the news director at KVUE-TV in Austin, Texas, created a new set of criteria that had to be met for news reports to qualify as responsible crime stories. She asked that her reporters answer the following questions: Do citizens or officials need to take action? Is there an immediate threat to safety? Is there a threat to children? Does the crime have significant community impact? Does the story lend itself to a crime prevention effort? With KVUE's new standards, the station eliminated many routine crime stories. Instead, the station provided a context for understanding crime rather than a mindless running tally of the crimes committed each day.[37]

MORNING NEWS SHOWS are closely tended patches of the network news landscape. Competition between shows like *Today* and *Good Morning America* remains intense, and network executives sometimes intervene to make "fixes," like the controversial 2012 reassignment of former *Today* anchor Ann Curry. *Good Morning America* has received a lot of press for its recent victories over its longtime rival *Today*.

© ABC/Photofest

Pretty-Face and Happy-Talk Culture

In the early 1970s at a Milwaukee TV station, consultants advised the station's news director that the evening anchor looked too old. The anchor, who showed a bit of gray, was replaced and went on to serve as the station's

editorial director. He was thirty-two years old at the time. In the late 1970s, a reporter at the same station was fired because of a "weight problem," although that was not given as the official reason. Earlier that year, she had given birth to her first child. In 1983, Christine Craft, a former Kansas City television news anchor, was awarded $500,000 in damages in a sex discrimination suit against station KMBC (she eventually lost the monetary award when the station appealed). She had been fired because consultants believed she was too old, too unattractive, and not deferential enough to men.

Such stories are rampant in the annals of TV news. They have helped create a stereotype of the half-witted but physically attractive news anchor, reinforced by popular culture images (from Ted Baxter on TV's *Mary Tyler Moore Show* to Ron Burgundy in the *Anchorman* films). Although the situation has improved slightly, national news consultants set the agenda for what local reporters should cover (lots of crime) as well as how they should look and sound (young, attractive, pleasant, and with no regional accent). Essentially, news consultants—also known as *news doctors*—have advised stations to replicate the predominant male and female advertising images of the 1960s and 1970s in modern local TV news.

Another strategy favored by news consultants is *happy talk*: the ad-libbed or scripted banter that goes on among local news anchors, reporters, meteorologists, and sports reporters before and after news reports. During the 1970s, consultants often recommended such chatter to create a more relaxed feeling on the news set and to foster the illusion of conversational intimacy with viewers. Some also believed that happy talk would counter much of that era's "bad news," which included coverage of urban riots and the Vietnam War. A strategy still used today, happy talk often appears forced and may create awkward transitions, especially when anchors transition to reports on events that are sad or tragic.

Sound Bitten

Beginning in the 1980s, the term **sound bite** became part of the public lexicon. The TV equivalent of a quote in print news, a sound bite is the part of a broadcast news report in which an expert, a celebrity, a victim, or a person-in-the-street responds to some aspect of an event or issue. With increasing demands for more commercial time, there is less time for interview subjects to explain their views. As a result, sound bites have become the focus of intense criticism. Studies revealed that during political campaigns, the typical sound bite from candidates had shrunk from an average duration of forty to fifty seconds in the 1950s and 1960s to fewer than eight seconds by the late 1990s. With shorter comments from interview subjects, TV news sometimes seems like dueling sound bites, with reporters creating dramatic tension by editing competing viewpoints together, as if interviewees had actually been in the same location speaking to one another. Of course, print news also pits one quote against another in a story, even though the actual interview subjects may never have met. Once again, these reporting techniques, also at work in online journalism, are evidence of the profession's reliance on storytelling devices to replicate or create conflict.

ANDERSON COOPER has been the primary anchor of *Anderson Cooper 360°* since 2003. Although the program is mainly taped and broadcast from his New York City studio, and typically features reports of the day's main news stories with added analyses from experts, Cooper is one of the few "talking heads" who still reports live fairly often from the field for major news stories. Notably, he has done extensive coverage of the 2010 BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico (*below*), the February 2011 uprisings in Egypt, and the devastating earthquake in Japan in 2011.

ZUMA Press/Newscom

Pundits, "Talking Heads," and Politics

The transformation of TV news by cable—with the arrival of CNN in 1980—led to dramatic changes in TV news delivery at the national level. Prior to cable news (and the Internet), most people tuned

to their local and national news late in the afternoon or evening on a typical weekday, with each program lasting just thirty minutes. But today, the 24/7 news cycle means that we can get TV news anytime, day or night, and constant new content has led to major changes in what is considered news. Because it is expensive to dispatch reporters to document stories or maintain foreign news bureaus to cover international issues, the much less expensive "talking head" pundit has become a standard for cable news channels. Such a programming strategy requires few resources beyond the studio and a few guests.

Today's main cable channels have built their evening programs along partisan lines and follow the model of journalism as opinion and assertion: Fox News goes right with pundit stars like Bill O'Reilly (the ratings king of cable news) and Sean Hannity; MSNBC leans left with Rachel Maddow and Lawrence O'Donnell; and CNN stakes out the middle with hosts who try to strike a more neutral pose, like Anderson Cooper. CNN, the originator of cable news, does much more original reporting than Fox News and MSNBC and does better in nonpresidential election years, as well as during natural disasters and crime tragedies. After some up and down years, CNN dropped to a twenty-year audience low in 2014, with about 440,000 viewers per night in September 2014. MSNBC, which does better in national election years, dropped after 2012 (when it was averaging over 800,000 total viewers) but climbed back to 620,000 in September 2014. Fox News continued to lead cable prime-time news by a wide margin, averaging over 2.1 million in September 2014.[38]

Today's cable and Internet audiences seem to prefer partisan talking heads over traditional reporting. This suggests that in today's fragmented media marketplace, going after niche audiences along political lines is smart business—although not necessarily good journalism. What should concern us today is the jettisoning of good journalism—anchored in reporting and verification—that uses reporters to document stories and interview key sources. In its place, on cable and online, are highly partisan pundits who may have strong opinions and charisma but who may not have all their facts straight.

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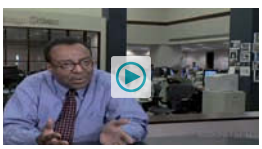


The Contemporary Journalist: Pundit or Reporter?
Journalists discuss whether the 24/7 news cycle encourages reporters to offer opinions more than facts.
Discussion: What might be the reasons why reporters should give opinions, and what might be the reasons why they shouldn't?

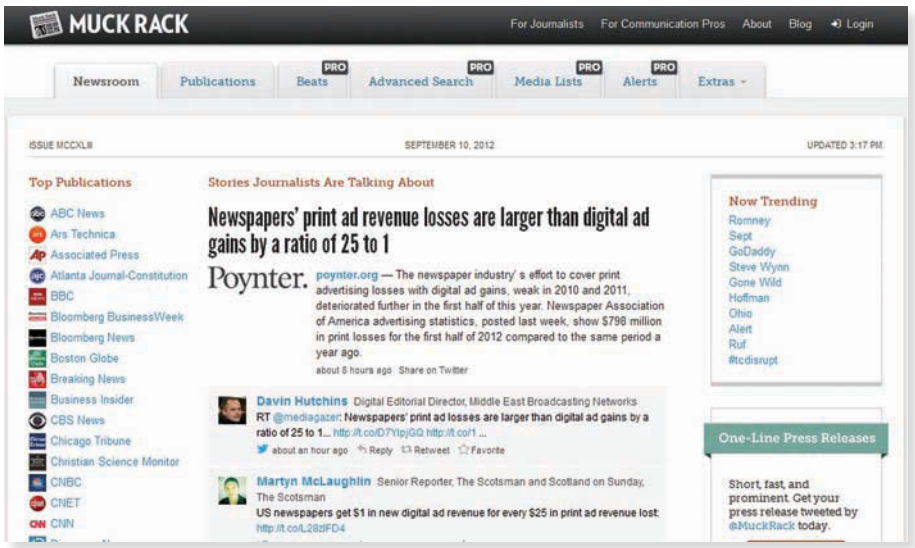
Convergence Enhances and Changes Journalism

For mainstream print and TV reporters and editors, online news has added new dimensions to journalism. Both print and TV news can continually update breaking stories online, and many reporters now post their online stories first and then work on traditional versions. This means that readers and viewers no longer have to wait until the next day for the morning paper or for the local evening newscast for important stories. To enhance the online reports, which do not have the time or space constraints of television or print, newspaper reporters are increasingly required to provide video or audio for their stories. This might allow readers and viewers to see full interviews rather than just selected print quotes in the paper or short sound bites on the TV report.

However, online news comes with a special set of problems. Print reporters, for example, can conduct e-mail interviews rather than leaving the office to question a subject in person. Many editors discourage this practice because they think relying on e-mail gives interviewees the chance to control and shape their answers. While some might argue that this provides more thoughtful answers, journalists say it takes the elements of surprise and spontaneity out of the traditional news interview, during which a subject might accidentally reveal information—something less likely to occur in an online setting.

Another problem for journalists, ironically, is the wide-ranging resources of the Internet. This includes access to versions of stories from other papers or broadcast stations. The mountain of information available on the Internet has made it all too easy for journalists to—unwittingly or intentionally—copy other journalists' work. In addition, access to databases and other informational sites can keep reporters at their computers rather than out cultivating sources, tracking down new kinds of information, and staying in touch with their communities.

Most notable, however, for journalists in the digital age are the demands that convergence has made on their reporting and writing. Print journalists at newspapers (and magazines) are expected to carry digital cameras so they can post video along with the print versions of their stories. TV reporters are expected to write print-style news reports for their station's Web site to supplement the streaming video of their original TV stories. And both print and TV reporters are often expected to post the Internet versions of their stories first, before the versions they do for the morning paper or the six o'clock news. Increasingly, journalists today are also expected to tweet and blog.



Courtesy of muckrack.com

NEWS IN THE DIGITAL AGE
Today, more and more journalists use Twitter in addition to performing their regular reporting duties. Muck Rack collects journalists' tweets in one place, making it easier than ever to access breaking news and real-time, one-line reporting.

The Power of Visual Language

The shift from a print-dominated culture to an electronic-digital culture requires that we look carefully at differences among various approaches to journalism. For example, the visual language of TV news and the Internet often captures events more powerfully than do words. Over the past fifty years, television news has dramatized America's key events. Civil Rights activists, for instance, acknowledge that the movement benefited enormously from televised news that documented the plight of southern blacks in the 1960s. The news footage of southern police officers turning powerful water hoses on peaceful Civil Rights demonstrators, and the news images of "white only" and "colored only" signs in hotels and restaurants, created a context for understanding the disparity between black and white in the 1950s and 1960s.

Other enduring TV images are also embedded in the collective memory of many Americans: the Kennedy and King assassinations in the 1960s; the turmoil of Watergate in the 1970s; the first space shuttle disaster and the Chinese student uprisings in the 1980s; the Oklahoma City federal building bombing in the 1990s; the terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center in 2001; Hurricane Katrina in 2005; the historic election of President Obama in 2008; the Arab Spring uprisings in 2011; and the brutal murders of twenty schoolchildren and six adults in Newtown, Connecticut, in 2012. During these critical events, TV news has been a cultural reference point, marking the strengths and weaknesses of our world.

Today, the Internet, for good or bad, functions as a repository for news images and video, alerting us to stories that the mainstream media missed or to videos captured by amateurs. Everyone remembers the video leaked to *Mother Jones* magazine in which candidate Mitt Romney proclaimed at a 2012 campaign fund-raiser: "There are 47 percent of the people who will vote for the president no matter what . . . who are dependent upon government, who believe that they are victims." That footage, played over and over on YouTube and cable news, hurt Romney's campaign. Then, in summer 2013, CIA employee Edward Snowden chose a civil liberties advocate and columnist for the London-based *Guardian* to receive leaked material on systematic surveillance of ordinary Americans by the National Security Agency. The video interview with the *Guardian* scored 1.5 million YouTube hits shortly after its release. As *New York Times* columnist David Carr noted at the time, "News no longer needs the permission of traditional gatekeepers to break through. Scoops can now come from all corners of the media map and find an audience just by virtue of what they reveal."[39]

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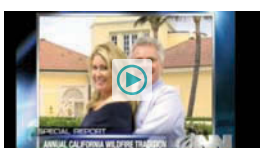


Fake News/Real News: A Fine Line
The editor of the *Onion* describes how the publication critiques "real" news media.
Discussion: How many of your news sources might be considered "fake" news as opposed to traditional news, and how do you decide which sources to consult?

Alternative Models: Public Journalism and "Fake" News

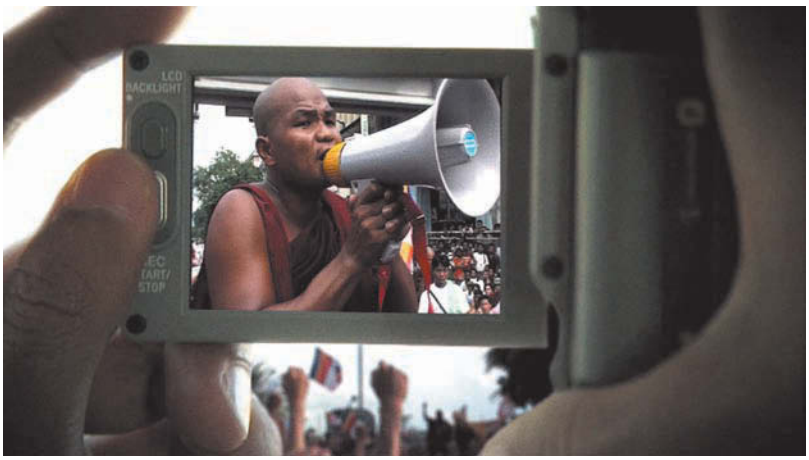
In 1990, Poland was experiencing growing pains as it shifted from a state-controlled economic system to a more open market economy. The country's leading newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the first noncommunist newspaper to appear in Eastern Europe since the 1940s, was also undergoing challenges. Based in Warsaw with a circulation of about 350,000 at the time, *Gazeta Wyborcza* had to report on and explain the new economy and the new crime wave that accompanied it. Especially troubling to the news staff and Polish citizens were gangs that robbed American and Western European tourists at railway stations, sometimes assaulting them in the process. The stolen goods would then pass to an outer circle, whose members transferred the goods to still another exterior ring of thieves. Even if the police caught the inner circle members, the loot usually disappeared.

These developments triggered heated discussions in the newsroom. A small group of young reporters, some of whom had recently worked in the United States, argued that the best way to cover the story was to describe the new crime wave and relay the facts to readers in a neutral manner. Another group, many of whom were older and more experienced, felt that the paper should take an advocacy stance and condemn the criminals through interpretive columns on the front page. The older guard won this particular debate, and more interpretive pieces appeared.[40]

This story illustrates the two competing models that have influenced American and European journalism since the early twentieth century. The first—the *informational* or *modern model*—emphasizes describing events and issues from a seemingly neutral point of view. The second—a more *partisan* or *European model*—stresses analyzing occurrences and advocating remedies from an acknowledged point of view. For fictionalized representations of these differences, note the contrasts between the depiction of journalists on HBO's U.S. program *The Newsroom* (2012–2014) and on the Danish TV series *Borgen* (2010–2013). In *The Newsroom*, discussions of remedies and viewpoints take place off camera; in *Borgen*, journalists talk about these issues on and off camera.

In most American newspapers today, the informational model dominates the front page, while the partisan model remains confined to the editorial pages and an occasional front-page piece. However, alternative models of news—from the serious to the satirical—have emerged to challenge modern journalistic ideals.

CITIZEN JOURNALISM
One way technology has allowed citizens to become involved in the reporting of news is through cell phone photos and videos uploaded online. Witnesses can now pass on what they have captured to major mainstream news sources, like CNN's iReports, or post to their own blogs and Web sites.



Victoria Sinistra/AFP/Getty Images

The Public Journalism Movement

From the late 1980s through the 1990s, a number of papers experimented with ways to involve readers more actively in the news process. These experiments surfaced primarily at midsize daily papers, including the *Charlotte Observer*, the *Wichita Eagle*, the *Virginian-Pilot*, and the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*. Davis "Buzz" Merritt, editor of the *Wichita Eagle* at the time, defined key aspects of **public journalism**, including moving "beyond the limited mission

CASE STUDY

A Lost Generation of Journalists?

The economic crisis in 2008–09 added to the pile of problems facing traditional U.S. journalism, joining such obstacles as the Internet and loss of classified ad revenue. In 2014, a Pew Research Center study analyzing the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics specified one possible result of the economic downturn: "After years of grim news for the news industry marked by seemingly endless rounds of staff cutbacks, it's not unusual for those thinking about a career in journalism or veterans trying to find a new job to look at options in related fields. One field outpacing journalism both in sheer numbers and in salary growth is public relations."[1]

Back in the 1970s, the number of PR employees in the United States was roughly equal to the number of reporters working in print and broadcasting. That ratio became 2 to 1 by 2000, 3.2 to 1 by 2004, and was nearing 5 to 1 by 2013. Between 2004 and 2013, the number of reporters fell from 52,550 to 43,630, while the number of PR specialists "grew by 22 percent, from 166,210 to 202,530."[2]

The pay differences were also striking, according to the Pew study. Over the past decade, the salary gap between PR and news workers had, by 2013, grown to almost $20,000 per year; PR specialists earned an average of $54,940 annually, while reporters averaged $35,600. Nine years earlier, the disparity was not quite as large: $43,830 for PR and $31,320 for reporters.[3]

The decline in reporters and the rise of PR and political spin doctors raise significant concerns. During and following the digital turn, journalists have increasingly relied on press releases both for story ideas and for news copy. However, according to Robert McChesney and John Nichols in *The Death and Life of American Journalism*, "as editorial staffs shrink, there is less ability for news media to interrogate and counter the claims in press releases."[4] As an example, a 2012 Pew study reported that during the national election that year, journalists "often functioned as megaphones for political partisans, relaying assertions rather than contextualizing them."[5]

With the decrease in reporters and the increase in PR practitioners, far fewer journalists are available to vet information and fact-check the press releases that PR specialists pitch daily to multiple news organizations. For example, on the subject of health news, Pew researchers in 2014 reported on a *JAMA Internal Medicine* finding "that half of the stories examined relied on a single source or failed to disclose conflicts of interest from sources."[6]

Finally, the biggest concern may be the lost generation of journalists. More students coming from journalism schools are taking jobs as business writers and PR workers. The journalism profession, then, needs to not only figure out a new business model for the twenty-first century but also figure out how to recruit the best and brightest journalism students. Back in 1791, our founders offered special protection to journalists in the First Amendment—not to public relations specialists. Good journalism, after all, helps democracy work: It makes sense of key issues, documents events, keeps watch over our central institutions, and tells a community's significant stories. In the partisan era we now live in, overloaded with decontextualized information and undocumented punditry, these skills are more important than ever. Good journalism and compelling stories will eventually save and sustain the profession, no matter how the marketplace continues to fracture.

PR Specialists vs. Reporters over Time

Note: Figures include full and part-time employees but not self-employed workers. Notebook icon by Garrett Knoll from The Noun Project.
Data from: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Employment Statistics
PEW RESEARCH CENTER / Graphic by Jessica Schillinger

The Growing Income Gap between PR Specialists and Reporters

Note: Median annual income in current dollars, not adjusted for inflation. Dollar icon by Antonieta Gomez from The Noun Project.
Data from: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Employment Statistics
PEW RESEARCH CENTER / Graphic by Jessica Schillinger

of 'telling the news' to a broader mission of helping public life go well," and moving "from seeing people as consumers—as readers or nonreaders, as bystanders to be informed—to seeing them as a public, as potential actors in arriving at democratic solutions to public problems."[41]

Public journalism is best imagined as a conversational model for news practice. Modern journalism had drawn a distinct line between reporter detachment and community involvement; public journalism—driven by citizen forums, community conversations, and even talk shows—has obscured this line.

In the 1990s—before people felt the full impact of the Internet—public journalism served as a response to the many citizens who felt alienated from participating in public life. This alienation arose, in part, from viewers who watched passively as the political process seemed to play out in the news and on TV between party operatives and media pundits. Public journalism seemed to involve both the public and journalists more centrally in civic and political life. Editors and reporters interested in addressing citizen alienation—and reporter cynicism—began devising ways to engage people as conversational partners in determining the news. In an effort to draw the public into discussions about community priorities, these journalists began sponsoring citizen forums, where readers would have a voice in shaping aspects of the news that directly affected them.

An Early Public Journalism Project

Although isolated citizen projects and reader forums are sprinkled throughout the history of journalism, the public journalism movement began in earnest in 1987 in Columbus, Georgia. The city was suffering from a depressed economy, an alienated citizenry, and an entrenched leadership. In response, a team of reporters from the *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer* surveyed and talked with community leaders and other citizens about the future of the city. The paper then published an eight-part series based on the findings.

When the provocative series evoked little public response, the paper's leadership realized there was no mechanism or forum for continuing the public discussions about the issues raised in the series. Consequently, the paper created such a forum by organizing a town meeting and helped create a new civic organization to tackle issues such as racial tension and teenage antisocial behavior.

The Columbus project generated public discussion, involved more people in the news process, and eased race and class tensions by bringing various groups together in public conversations. In the newsroom, the *Ledger-Enquirer* tried to reposition the place of journalists in politics: "Instead of standing outside the political community and reporting on its pathologies, they took up residence within its borders."[42]

Criticizing Public Journalism

By 2000, more than a hundred newspapers, many teamed with local television and public radio stations, had practiced some form of public journalism. Yet many critics remained skeptical of the experiment, raising a number of concerns, including the weakening of four journalistic hallmarks: editorial control, credibility, balance, and diverse views.[43]

First, some editors and reporters argued that public journalism had been co-opted by the marketing department and that those who practiced it were merely pandering to what readers wanted and taking editorial control away from newsrooms. They believed that focus group samples and consumer research—tools of marketing, not journalism—blurred the boundary between the editorial and the business functions of a paper. Some journalists also feared that by becoming more active in the community, they might be perceived as community boosters rather than as community watchdogs.

Second, critics worried that public journalism compromised the profession's credibility, which many believe derives from detachment. They argued that public journalism turned

reporters into participants rather than observers. However, as the *Wichita Eagle*'s editor Davis Merritt pointed out, professionals who have credibility "share some basic values about life, some common ground about common good." Yet many journalists have insisted they "don't share values with anyone; that [they] are value-neutral."[44] Merritt argued that as a result, modern journalism actually has little credibility with the public, which the Pew Research Center's annual credibility surveys bear out.

Third, critics also contended that public journalism undermined balance and the both-sides-of-a-story convention by constantly seeking common ground and community consensus; therefore, it ran the risk of dulling the rough edges of democratic speech. Public journalists countered that they were trying to set aside more room for centrist positions. Such positions were often representative of many in the community but were missing in the mainstream news, which has always been more interested in the extremist views that make for a more dramatic story.

Fourth, many traditional reporters asserted that public journalism, which they considered merely a marketing tool, had not addressed the changing economic structure of the news business—especially the decline of reporting jobs and the boom in public relations work (see "Case Study: A Lost Generation of Journalists?," page 501). With more news outlets in the hands of fewer owners, both public journalists and traditional reporters needed to raise tough questions about the disappearance of competing daily papers and newsroom staff cutbacks at local monopoly newspapers. Facing little competition, in 2010 and 2011 newspapers continued to cut reporting staffs and expensive investigative projects, reduced the space for news, or converted to online-only operations. While such trends temporarily helped profits and satisfied stockholders, they limited the range of stories told and views represented in a community. In addition, the rise of PR made it much easier for companies to get stories about executive managers and corporate images into various news media, which needed new sources for story ideas with so many journalists out of work or switching careers.

"Fake" News and Satiric Journalism

For many young people, it is especially disturbing that two wealthy, established political parties—beholden to special interests and their lobbyists—control the nation's government. After all, 98 percent of congressional incumbents get reelected each year—not always because they've done a good job but often because they've made promises and done favors for the lobbyists and interests that helped get them elected in the first place.

Why shouldn't people, then, be cynical about politics? It is this cynicism that has drawn increasingly larger audiences to "fake" news shows like *The Daily Show*, *The Nightly Show*, and *Last Week Tonight*. Following in the tradition of *Saturday Night Live* (*SNL*), which began in 1975, news satires tell their audiences something that seems truthful about politicians and how they try to manipulate media and public opinion. But most important, these shows use humor to critique the news media and our political system. *SNL*'s sketches on GOP vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin in 2008 drew large audiences and shaped the way younger viewers thought about the election.

The Colbert Report (2005–2014) satirized cable news hosts, particularly Fox's Bill O'Reilly and MSNBC's Chris Matthews, and the bombastic opinion-assertion culture promoted by their programs. In critiquing the limits of news stories and politics, *The Daily Show* parodies the narrative conventions of evening news programs: the clipped eight-second sound bite that limits meaning, and the formulaic shot of the TV news "stand up," which depicts reporters "on location," attempting to establish credibility by revealing that they were really there.

On *The Daily Show*, a cast of fake reporters are digitally superimposed in front of exotic foreign locales, Washington, D.C., or other U.S. locations. In a 2004 exchange with "political correspondent" Rob Corddry, host Jon Stewart asked him for his opinion about presidential

Eric Liebowitz/© HBO/Everett Collection

Richard Shotwell/Invision/AP

NEWS AS SATIRE
Satirical news has become something of a cottage industry in recent years, stemming from *Saturday Night Live*'s "Weekend Update" segment and dominated by *The Daily Show*. Several *Daily Show* correspondents have gone on to their own news-related shows and have interviewed a variety of political leaders and prominent figures in the process. John Oliver *(left)*, whose *Last Week Tonight* now airs on HBO, scored a major interview with Edward Snowden in 2015, while Larry Wilmore's *Daily Show* companion piece *The Nightly Show* has brought more diversity to the fake news business. *The Daily Show* itself got something of a makeover in 2015 when longtime host Jon Stewart stepped down and was replaced by relative newcomer Trevor Noah *(right)*.

campaign tactics. "My opinion? I don't have opinions," Corddry answered. "I'm a reporter, Jon. My job is to spend half the time repeating what one side says, and half the time repeating the other. Little thing called objectivity; might want to look it up."

During his reign as news court jester, Stewart, who stepped down from *The Daily Show* in 2015, exposed the melodrama of TV news that nightly depicts the world in various stages of disorder while offering the stalwart, comforting presence of celebrity-anchors overseeing it all from their high-tech command centers. Even before CBS's usually neutral and aloof Walter Cronkite signed off the evening news with "And that's the way it is," network news anchors tried to offer a sense of order through the reassurance of their individual personalities.

Yet even as fake anchors, satirists like Stewart and Oliver display much greater range of emotion—a range that may match our own—than we get from our detached "hard news" anchors: more amazement, irony, outrage, laughter, and skepticism. For example, during Stewart's coverage of the 2012 presidential election, he often showed genuine irritation or even outrage—coupled with irony and humor—whenever a politician or political ad presented information that was untrue or misleading.

While fake news programs often mock the formulas that real TV news programs have long used, they also present an informative and insightful look at current events and the way "traditional" media cover them. For example, they expose hypocrisy by juxtaposing what a politician said recently in the news with the opposite position articulated by the same politician months or years earlier. Indeed, many Americans have admitted that they watch satires such as *The Daily Show* not only to be entertained but also to stay current with what's going on in the world. In fact, a prominent Pew Research Center study back in 2007 found that people who watched these satiric shows were more often "better informed" than most other news consumers, usually because these viewers tended to get their news from multiple sources and a cross section of news media.[45]

Although the world has changed, local TV news story formulas (except for splashy opening graphics and Doppler weather radar) have gone virtually unaltered since the 1970s, when *SNL*'s "Weekend Update" first started making fun of TV news. Newscasts still limit reporters' stories to two minutes or less and promote stylish anchors, a "sports guy," and a certified meteorologist as familiar personalities whom we invite into our homes each evening. Now that a generation of viewers has been raised on the TV satire and political cynicism of "Weekend Update," David Letterman, Jimmy Fallon, Conan O'Brien, *The Daily Show*, and *The Colbert Report*, the slick, formulaic packaging of political ads and the canned, cautious sound bites offered in news packages are simply not as persuasive as they once were.

Journalism should break free from tired formulas—especially in TV news—and reimagine better ways to tell stories. In fictional television, storytelling has evolved over time, becoming increasingly complex. Although the Internet and 24/7 cable news have introduced new models of journalism and commentary, why has TV news remained virtually unchanged over the past forty years? Are there no new ways to report the news? Maybe audiences would value news that matches the complicated storytelling that surrounds them in everything from TV dramas to interactive video games to their own conversations. We should demand news story forms that better represent the complexity of our world.

Democracy and Reimagining Journalism's Role

Journalism is central to democracy: Both citizens and the media must have access to the information that we need to make important decisions. As this chapter illustrates, however, this is a complicated idea. For example, in the aftermath of 9/11, some government officials claimed that reporters or columnists who raised questions about fighting terrorism, invading Iraq, or developing secret government programs were being unpatriotic. Yet the basic principles of democracy require citizens and the media to question our leaders and government. Isn't this, after all, what the American Revolution was all about? (See "Examining Ethics: WikiLeaks, Secret Documents, and Good Journalism" on page 506.)

Conventional journalists will fight ferociously for the principles that underpin journalism's basic tenets—freedom of the press, the obligation to question government, the public's right to know, and the belief that there are two sides to every story. These are mostly worthy ideals, but they do have limitations. These tenets, for example, generally do not acknowledge any moral or ethical duty for journalists to improve the quality of daily life. Rather, conventional journalism values its news-gathering capabilities and the well-constructed news narrative, leaving the improvement of civic life to political groups, nonprofit organizations, business philanthropists, individual citizens, and practitioners of Internet activism.

Social Responsibility

Although reporters have traditionally thought of themselves first and foremost as observers and recorders, some journalists have acknowledged a social responsibility. Among them was James Agee in the 1930s. In his book *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, which was accompanied by the Depression-era photography of Walker Evans, Agee said that he regarded conventional journalism as dishonest, partly because the act of observing intruded on people and turned them into story characters that newspapers and magazines then exploited for profit.

Agee also worried that readers would retreat into the comfort of his writing—his narrative—instead of confronting what for many families was the horror of the Great Depression. For Agee, the question of responsibility extended not only to journalism and to himself but to the readers of his stories as well: "The reader is no less centrally involved than the authors and those of whom they tell."[46] Agee's self-conscious analysis provides insights into journalism's hidden agendas and the responsibility of all citizens to make public life better.

Deliberative Democracy

According to advocates of public journalism, when reporters are chiefly concerned with maintaining their antagonistic relationship to politics and are less willing to improve political

EXAMINING ETHICS

WikiLeaks, Secret Documents, and Good Journalism

Since its inception in 2006, the controversial Web site WikiLeaks has released millions of documents—from revelations of toxic dumps in Africa to the 2013 release of 1.5 million U.S. diplomatic records, many involving President Nixon's secretary of state, Henry Kissinger. WikiLeaks' main spokesperson and self-identified "editor in chief," Julian Assange, an Australian online activist, has been called everything from a staunch free-speech advocate to a "hi-tech terrorist" (by U.S. vice president Joe Biden). Certainly, government leaders around the world have faced embarrassment from the site's many document dumps and secrecy breaches.

In its most controversial move, in 2010 WikiLeaks offered 500,000-plus documents, called the "War Logs," to three mainstream print outlets—the *Guardian* in the United Kingdom, the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, and the *New York Times*. These documents were mainly U.S. military and state department dispatches and internal memos related to the Afghan and Iraq wars—what Bill Keller, then executive editor of the *New York Times*, called a "huge breach of secrecy" for those running the wars. Keller described working with WikiLeaks as an adventure that "combined the cloak-and-dagger intrigue of handling a vast secret archive with the more mundane feat of sorting, searching and understanding a mountain of data."[1] Indeed, one of the first major stories the *Times* wrote, based on the "War Logs" project, reported on "Pakistan's ambiguous role as an American ally."[2] Then, just a few months later, Osama bin Laden was found hiding in the middle of a Pakistani suburb.

WikiLeaks presents a number of ethical dilemmas and concerns for both journalists and citizens. News critic and journalism professor Jay Rosen has called WikiLeaks "the world's first stateless news organization."[3] But is WikiLeaks actually engaging in journalism—and therefore entitled to First Amendment protections? Or is it merely an important "news source, news provider, content host, [or] whistleblower," exposing things that governments would rather keep secret, as one critic from the Nieman Journalism Lab suggests?[4] And should *any* document or material obtained by WikiLeaks be released for public scrutiny, or should some kinds of documents and materials be withheld?

Carl Court/AFP/Getty Images

Examining Ethics Activity

As a class or in smaller groups, consider the ethical concerns laid out above. Following the ethical template outlined on page 19 in Chapter 1, begin by researching the topic, finding as much information and analysis as possible. Read Bill Keller's *New York Times Magazine* piece, "The Boy Who Kicked the Hornet's Nest" (January 30, 2011), or his longer 2011 *Times* report, "Open Secrets: WikiLeaks, War and American Diplomacy" (www.nytimes.com/opensecrets). See also Nikki Usher's work for Harvard's Nieman Journalism Lab and Jay Rosen's blog, *PressThink*. Consider also journalism criticism and news study sites, such as the *Columbia Journalism Review*, the Pew Research Center, and the First Amendment Center. Watch Julian Assange's interview on CBS's *60 Minutes* from January 2011.

Next, based on your research and informed analysis, decide whether WikiLeaks is a legitimate form of journalism and whether there should be newsroom policies that restrict the release of some kinds of documents when in partnership with a resource like WikiLeaks (such as the "War Logs" project described here). Create an outline for such policies.

discourse, news and democracy suffer. The late *Washington Post* columnist David Broder thought that national journalists like him—through rising salaries, prestige, and formal education—have distanced themselves "from the people that [they] are writing for and have become much, much closer to people [they] are writing about."[47] Broder believed that journalists need to become activists, not for a particular party but for the political process and in the interest of reenergizing public life. For those who advocate for public journalism, this might also involve mainstream media spearheading voter registration drives or setting up pressrooms or news bureaus in public libraries or shopping malls, where people converge in large numbers.

Public journalism offers people models for how to deliberate in forums, and then it covers those deliberations. This kind of community journalism aims to reinvigorate a *deliberative democracy* in which citizen groups, local government, and the news media work together more actively to shape social, economic, and political agendas. In a more deliberative democracy, a large segment of the community discusses public life and social policy before advising or electing officials who represent the community's interests.

In 1989, historian Christopher Lasch argued that "the job of the press is to encourage debate, not to supply the public with information."[48] Although he overstated his case—journalism does both and more—Lasch made a cogent point about how conventional journalism had lost its bearings. In the so-called objective era of modern journalism, mainstream news media had lost touch with its partisan roots. The early mission of journalism—to advocate opinions and encourage public debate—had been relegated to alternative magazines, the editorial pages, news blogs, and cable news channels starring allegedly elite reporters. Tellingly, Lasch connected the gradual decline in voter participation, which began in the 1920s, to more professionalized conduct on the part of journalists. With a modern "objective" press, he contended, the public increasingly began to defer to the "more professional" news media to watch over civic life on its behalf.

As the advocates of public journalism acknowledged, people had grown used to letting their representatives think and act for them. Today, more community-oriented journalism and other civic projects offer citizens an opportunity to deliberate and to influence their leaders. This may include broadening the story models and frames they use to recount experiences, paying more attention to the historical and economic contexts of these stories, doing more investigative reports that analyze both news conventions and social issues, taking more responsibility for their news narratives, participating more fully in the public life of their communities, admitting to their cultural biases and occasional mistakes, and ensuring that the verification model of reporting is not overwhelmed by the new journalism of assertion.

Arguing that for too long journalism has defined its role only in negative terms, news scholar Jay Rosen notes: "To be adversarial, critical, to ask tough questions, to expose scandal and wrongdoing . . . these are necessary tasks, even noble tasks, but they are negative tasks." In addition, he suggests that journalism should assert itself as a positive force, not merely as a watchdog or as a neutral information conduit to readers but as "a support system for public life."[49]

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the role that media play in a democracy. Today, one of the major concerns is the proliferation of news sources. How well is our society being served by this trend—especially on cable and the Internet—compared with the time when just a few major news media sources dominated journalism?

Historians, media critics, citizens, and even many politicians argue that a strong democracy is only possible with a strong, healthy, skeptical press. In the old days, a few legacy or traditional media—key national newspapers, three major networks, and three newsmagazines—provided most of the journalistic common ground for discussing major issues confronting U.S. society.

In today's online and 24/7 cable world, though, the legacy media have ceded some of their power and many of their fact-checking duties to new media forms, especially in the blogosphere. As discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 8, this power shortage is partly because substantial losses in advertising (which has gone to the Internet) have led to severe cutbacks in newsroom staffs, and partly because bloggers, 24/7 cable news media, and news satire shows like *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* (prior to Stephen Colbert's leaving to host CBS's *Late Night* program in 2015) are fact-checking the media as well as reporting stories that used to be the domain of professional news organizations.

The case before us then goes something like this: In the old days, the major news media provided us with reports and narratives to share, discuss, and argue about. But in today's explosion of news and information, that common ground has eroded or is shifting. Instead, today we often rely only on those media sources that match our comfort level, cultural values, or political affiliations; increasingly these are blog sites, radio talk shows, or cable channels. Sometimes these opinion sites and channels are not supported with the careful fact-gathering and verification that has long been a pillar of the best kinds of journalism.

So in today's media environment, how severely have technological and cultural transformations undermined the common-ground function of mainstream media? And are these changes ultimately good or bad for democracy?

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

news, 480
newsworthiness, 480
ethnocentrism, 482
responsible capitalism, 482
small-town pastoralism, 483
individualism, 483
conflict of interest, 488
herd journalism, 492
sound bite, 497
public journalism, 500

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

Modern Journalism in the Information Age

1. What are the drawbacks of the informational model of journalism?
2. What is news?
3. Explain the values shift in journalism today from a more detached or neutral model to a more partisan or assertion model.

Ethics and the News Media

4. How do issues such as deception and privacy present ethical problems for journalists?
5. Why is getting a story first important to reporters?
6. What are the connections between so-called neutral journalism and economics?

Reporting Rituals and the Legacy of Print Journalism

7. Why have reporters become so dependent on experts?
8. Why do many conventional journalists (and citizens) believe firmly in the idea that there are two sides to every story?

Journalism in the Age of TV and the Internet

9. How is credibility established in TV news as compared with print journalism?
10. With regard to TV news, what are sound bites and happy talk?
11. What roles are pundits now playing in 24/7 cable news?
12. In what ways has the Internet influenced traditional forms of journalism?

Alternative Models: Public Journalism and "Fake" News

13. What is public journalism? In what ways is it believed to make journalism better?
14. What are the major criticisms of the public journalism movement, and why do the mainstream national media have concerns about public journalism?
15. What role do satirical news programs like *SNL*'s "Weekend Update," *The Daily Show*, and *Last Week Tonight* play in the world of journalism?

Democracy and Reimagining Journalism's Role

16. What is deliberative democracy, and what does it have to do with journalism?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. What are your main criticisms of the state of news today? In your opinion, what are the news media doing well?
2. If you were a reporter or an editor, would you quit voting in order to demonstrate your ability to be neutral? Why or why not?
3. Is the trend toward opinion-based partisan news programs on cable and the Internet a good thing or a bad thing for democracy?
4. Is there political bias in front-page news stories? If so, cite some current examples.
5. How would you go about formulating an ethical policy with regard to using deceptive means to get a story?
6. For a reporter, what are the dangers of both detachment from and involvement in public life?
7. Do satirical news programs make us more cynical about politics and less inclined to vote? Why or why not?
8. What steps would you take to make journalism work better in a democracy?

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- VIDEO: THE OBJECTIVITY MYTH
  Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist Clarence Page and *Onion* editor Joe Randazzo explore how objectivity began in journalism and how reporter biases may nonetheless influence news stories.

15

Media Effects and Cultural Approaches to Research

513
Early Media Research Methods

518
Research on Media Effects

526
Cultural Approaches to Media Research

532
Media Research and Democracy

In 1966, NBC showed the Rod Serling made-for-television thriller *The Doomsday Flight*, the first movie to depict an airplane hijacking. In the story, a man plants a bomb and tries to extract ransom money from an airline. In the days following the telecast, the nation's major airlines reported a dramatic rise in anonymous bomb threats, some of them classified as teenage pranks. The network agreed not to run the film again.

In 1985, the popular heavy-metal band Judas Priest made headlines when two Nevada teenagers shot themselves after listening to the group's allegedly subliminal suicidal message on their 1978 *Stained Class* album. One teen died instantly; the other lived for three more years, in constant pain from severe facial injuries. The teenagers' parents lost a civil product liability suit against the British metal band and CBS Records.

In 1995, an eighteen-year-old woman and her boyfriend went on a killing spree in Louisiana after reportedly watching Oliver Stone's 1994 film

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Natural Born Killers more than twenty times. The family of one of the victims filed a lawsuit against Stone and Time Warner, charging that the film—starring Juliette Lewis and Woody Harrelson as a demented, celebrity-craving young couple on a murderous rampage—irresponsibly incited real-life violence. Stone and Time Warner argued that the lawsuit should be dismissed on the grounds of free speech, and the case was finally thrown out in 2001. There was no evidence, according to the judge, that Stone had intended to incite violence.

In 1999, two heavily armed students wearing trench coats attacked Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado. They planted as many as fifty bombs and murdered twelve fellow students and a teacher before killing themselves. In the wake of this tragedy, many people blamed the mass media, speculating that the killers had immersed themselves in the dark lyrics of shock rocker Marilyn Manson and were desensitized to violence by "first-person-shooter" video games such as *Doom*.

In April 2007, a student massacred thirty-two people on the Virginia Tech campus before killing himself. Gunman Seung-Hui Cho was mentally disturbed and praised "martyrs like Eric and Dylan," the infamous Columbine killers. But Cho's rampage included a twist: During the attack, he sent a package of letters, videos, and photos of himself to NBC News. The images and ramblings of his "multimedia manifesto" became a major part of the news story (as did ethical questions about the news media broadcasting clips of his videos) while the country tried to make sense of the tragedy.

Yet another tragic shooting occurred in 2012 in Aurora, Colorado, at a midnight screening of *The Dark Knight Rises*. A shooter opened fire in the darkened theater, killing twelve people and injuring fifty-eight. The gunman was identified as James Holmes, a twenty-four-year-old wearing a gas mask and trench coat and carrying several semiautomatic firearms. Holmes repeatedly identified himself as "the Joker" to police. Holmes was sentenced to life in prison in 2015, right around the time of another movie theater shooting, this time at a screening of *Trainwreck*—suggesting these acts might be driven less by the content of films than by their ability to gather together crowds in a public space.

Later in 2015, Vester Lee Flanagan, a former TV news reporter, killed a TV anchor and a photographer and injured their guest during a live interview on location for television station WDBJ in Roanoke, Virginia. Flanagan, who had been fired from the same station two years earlier, was mentally troubled, but was able to legally buy guns and ammunition for the attack. He fled the scene of the murders and committed suicide, but not before posting his own video of the shooting on Twitter and Facebook. In a rambling document he sent to ABC News, Flanagan cited as motivating factors the Virginia Tech shooting, the Columbine shooting, and the racially motivated Charleston, South Carolina, shooting in which Dylann Roof killed nine people earlier that year.

Each of these events and recent political battles over the need for gun control laws have renewed long-standing cultural debates over the suggestive power of music, visual imagery, and screen violence. Since the emergence of popular music, movies, television, and video games as influential mass media, the relationship between make-believe stories and real-life imitation has drawn a great deal of attention. Concerns have been raised not only by parents, teachers, and politicians but also by several generations of mass communication researchers.

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AS THESE TRAGIC TALES OF VIOLENCE ILLUSTRATE, many believe that media have a powerful effect on individuals and society. This belief has led media researchers to focus most of their efforts on two types of research: media effects research and cultural studies research.

Media effects research attempts to understand, explain, and predict the effects of mass media on individuals and society. The main goal of this type of research is to uncover whether there is a connection between aggressive behavior and violence in the media, particularly in children and teens. In the late 1960s, government leaders—reacting to the social upheavals of that decade—first set aside $1 million to examine this potential connection. Since that time, thousands of studies have told us what most teachers and parents believe instinctively: Violent scenes on television and in movies stimulate aggressive behavior in children and teens—especially young boys.

The other major area of mass media research is **cultural studies**. This research approach focuses on how people make meaning, apprehend reality, articulate values, and order experience through their use of cultural symbols. Cultural studies scholars also examine the way status quo groups in society, particularly corporate and political elites, use media to circulate their messages and sustain their interests. This research has attempted to make daily cultural experience the focus of media studies, keying on the subtle intersections among mass communication, history, politics, and economics.

In this chapter, we will:

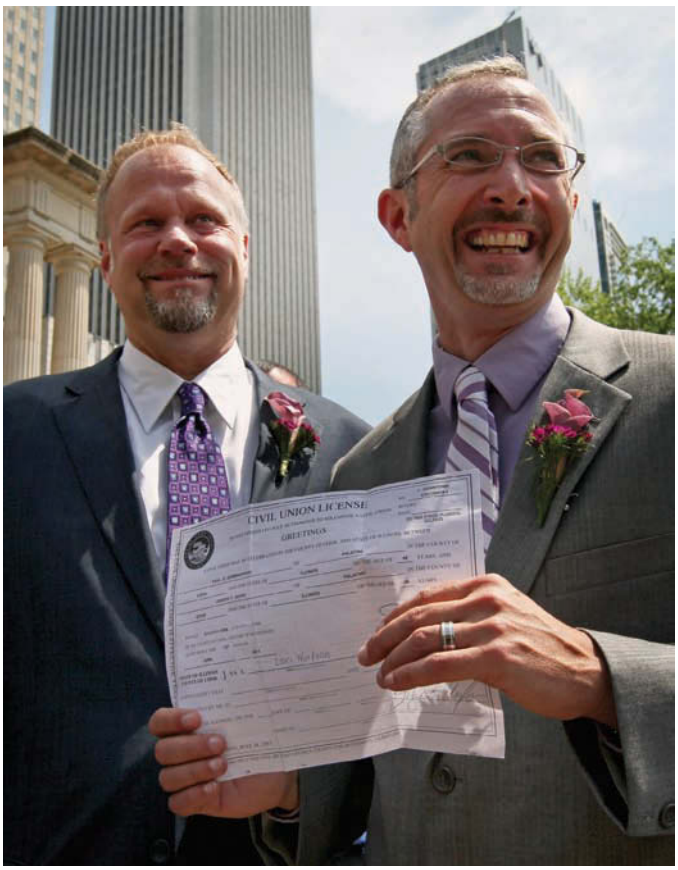
- Examine the evolution of media research over time
- Focus on the two major strains of media research, investigating the strengths and limitations of each
- Conclude with a discussion of how media research interacts with democratic ideals

As you get a sense of media effects and cultural studies research, think of some research questions of your own. Consider your own Internet habits. How do the number of hours you spend online every day, the types of online content you view, and your motivations for where you spend your time online shape your everyday behavior? Also, think about the ways your gender, race, sexuality, or class play into other media you consume—like the movies and television you watch and the music you like. For more questions to help you understand the effects of media in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

Early Media Research Methods

In the early days of the United States, philosophical and historical writings tried to explain the nature of news and print media. For instance, the French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville, author of *Democracy in America*, noted differences between French and American newspapers in the early 1830s:

In France the space allotted to commercial advertisements is very limited, and . . . the essential part of the journal is the discussion of the politics of the day. In America three quarters of the enormous sheet are filled with advertisements and the remainder is frequently occupied by political intelligence or trivial anecdotes; it is only from time to time that one finds a corner devoted to the passionate discussions like those which the journalists of France every day give to their readers.[1]



Scott Olson/Getty Images

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH Public opinion polls suggest that the American public's attitude toward same-sex marriage has evolved. Just weeks before the Supreme Court ruled same-sex marriage legal nationwide, a 2015 Pew Research poll reported that 57 percent of Americans were in favor of it—the same percentage of people who opposed it in a poll back in 2001.

During most of the nineteenth century, media analysis was based on moral and political arguments, as demonstrated by the de Tocqueville quote.[2]

More scientific approaches to mass media research did not begin to develop until the late 1920s and 1930s. In 1920, Walter Lippmann's *Liberty and the News* called on journalists to operate more like scientific researchers in gathering and analyzing factual material. Lippmann's next book, *Public Opinion* (1922), was the first to apply the principles of psychology to journalism. Described by media historian James Carey as "the founding book in American media studies,"[3] it led to an expanded understanding of the effects of the media, emphasizing data collection and numerical measurement. According to media historian Daniel Czitrom, by the 1930s "an aggressively empirical spirit, stressing new and increasingly sophisticated research techniques, characterized the study of modern communication in America."[4] Czitrom traces four trends between 1930 and 1960 that contributed to the rise of modern media research: propaganda analysis, public opinion research, social psychology studies, and marketing research.

Propaganda Analysis

After World War I, some media researchers began studying how governments used propaganda to advance the war effort. They found that during the war, governments routinely relied on propaganda divisions to spread "information" to the public. According to Czitrom, though propaganda was considered a positive force for mobilizing public opinion during the war, researchers after the war labeled propaganda negatively, calling it "partisan appeal based on half-truths and devious manipulation of communication channels."[5] Harold Lasswell's important 1927 study *Propaganda Technique in the World War* focused on propaganda in the media, defining it as "the control of opinion by significant symbols, . . . by stories, rumors, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication."[6] **Propaganda analysis** thus became a major early focus of mass media research.

Public Opinion Research

Researchers soon went beyond the study of war propaganda and began to focus on more general concerns about how the mass media filtered information and shaped public attitudes. In the face of growing media influence, Walter Lippmann distrusted the public's ability to function as knowledgeable citizens as well as journalism's ability to help the public separate truth from lies. In promoting the place of the expert in modern life, Lippmann celebrated the social scientist as part of a new expert class that could best make "unseen facts intelligible to those who have to make decisions."[7]

Today, social scientists conduct *public opinion research*, or citizen surveys; these have become especially influential during political elections. On the upside, public opinion research on diverse populations has provided insights into citizen behavior and social differences, especially during election periods or following major national events. For example, a 2015 Pew Research poll confirmed what many other polls reported: a majority of Americans support same-sex marriage, made legal in June 2015 by the Supreme Court. Since the late 1980s, when

the majority of Americans opposed same-sex marriage, the balance has been shifting toward support—gradually at first and more rapidly since 2009.[8]

On the downside, journalism has become increasingly dependent on polls, particularly for political insight. Some critics argue that this heavy reliance on measured public opinion has begun to adversely affect the active political involvement of American citizens. Many people do not vote because they have seen or read poll projections and have decided that their votes will not make a difference. Furthermore, some critics of incessant polling argue that the public is just passively responding to surveys that mainly measure opinions on topics of interest to business, government, academics, and the mainstream news media. A final problem is the pervasive use of unreliable **pseudo-polls**, typically call-in, online, or person-in-the-street polls that the news media use to address a "question of the day." The National Council of Public Opinion Polls notes that "unscientific pseudo-polls are widespread and sometimes entertaining, but they never provide the kind of information that belongs in a serious report," and discourages news media from conducting them.[9]

Social Psychology Studies

While opinion polls measure public attitudes, *social psychology studies* measure the behavior and cognition of individuals. The most influential early social psychology study, the Payne Fund Studies, encompassed a series of thirteen research projects conducted by social psychologists between 1929 and 1932. Named after the private philanthropic organization that funded the research, the Payne Fund Studies were a response to a growing national concern about the effects of motion pictures, which had become a particularly popular pastime for young people in the 1920s. These studies, which were later used by some politicians to attack the movie industry, linked frequent movie attendance to juvenile delinquency, promiscuity, and other antisocial behaviors, arguing that movies took "emotional possession" of young filmgoers.[10]

Photofest

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF MEDIA
Concerns about film violence are not new. The 1930 movie *Little Caesar* follows the career of gangster Rico Bandello (played by Edward G. Robinson, shown), who kills his way to the top of the crime establishment and gets the girl as well. The Motion Picture Production Code, which was established a few years after this movie's release, reined in sexual themes and profane language, set restrictions on film violence, and attempted to prevent audiences from sympathizing with bad guys like Rico.

FIGURE 15.1

TV PARENTAL GUIDELINES

The TV industry continues to study its self-imposed rating categories, promising to fine-tune them to ensure that the government keeps its distance. These standards are one example of a policy that was shaped in part by media research. Since the 1960s, research has attempted to demonstrate links between violent TV images and increased levels of aggression among children and adolescents.

Data from: TV Parental Guidelines Monitoring Board, accessed November 24, 2014, www.tvguidelines.org.

In one of the Payne studies, for example, children and teenagers were wired with electrodes and galvanometers, mechanisms that detected any heightened response via the subject's skin. The researchers interpreted changes in the skin as evidence of emotional arousal. In retrospect, the findings hardly seem surprising: The youngest subjects in the group had the strongest reaction to violent or tragic movie scenes, while the teenage subjects reacted most strongly to scenes with romantic and sexual content. The researchers concluded that films could be dangerous for young children and might foster sexual promiscuity among teenagers. The conclusions of this and other Payne Fund Studies contributed to the establishment of the Motion Picture Production Code, which tamed movie content from the 1930s through the 1950s (see Chapter 16). As forerunners of today's TV violence and aggression research, the Payne Fund Studies became the model for media research. (See Figure 15.1 for one example of a contemporary policy that has developed from media research. Also see "Case Study: The Effects of TV in a Post-TV World" on page 517.)

Marketing Research

A fourth influential area of early media research, *marketing research,* developed when advertisers and product companies began conducting surveys on consumer buying habits in the 1920s. The emergence of commercial radio led to the first ratings systems that measured how many people were listening on a given night. By the 1930s, radio networks, advertisers, large stations, and advertising agencies all subscribed to ratings services. However, compared with print media, whose circulation departments kept careful track of customers' names and

CASE STUDY

The Effects of TV in a Post-TV World

Since TV's emergence as a mass medium, there has been persistent concern about the effects of violence, sex, and indecent language seen in television programs. The U.S. Congress had its first hearings on the matter of television content in 1952 and has held hearings in every subsequent decade.

In its coverage of congressional hearings on TV violence in 1983, the *New York Times* accurately captured the nature of these recurring public hearings: "Over the years, the principals change but the roles remain the same: social scientists ready to prove that television does indeed improperly influence its viewers, and network representatives, some of them also social scientists, who insist that there is absolutely nothing to worry about."[1]

One of the central focuses of the TV debate has been television's effect on children. In 1975, the major broadcast networks (then ABC, CBS, and NBC) bowed to congressional and FCC pressure and agreed to a "family hour" of programming in the first hour of prime-time television (8–9 P.M. eastern or 7–8 P.M. central). Shows such as *Happy Days*, the *Cosby Show*, and *Little House on the Prairie* flourished in that time slot. By 1989, Fox had arrived as a fourth major network and successfully counterprogrammed in the family hour with dysfunctional family shows like *Married . . . with Children*.

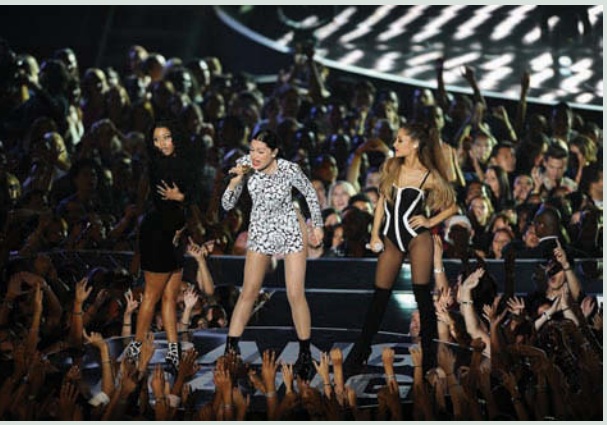
The most prominent watchdog monitoring prime-time network television's violence, sex, and indecent language has been the Parents Television Council (PTC), formed in 1995. The lobbying group's primary mission is to "promote and restore responsibility and decency to the entertainment industry in answer to America's demand for positive, family-oriented television programming. The PTC does this by fostering changes in TV programming to make the early hours of prime time family-friendly and suitable for viewers of all ages."[2] The PTC (through its Web campaign) played a leading role in inundating the FCC with complaints and getting the FCC to approve a steep increase in its fines for broadcast indecency.

Yet to address the ongoing concerns of parent groups and Congress, it's worth asking: What are the effects of TV in what researchers now call a "post-TV" world? In just the past few years, digital video recorders have become common, and services like Hulu, YouTube, Netflix, iTunes, and on-demand cable viewing mean that viewers can access TV programming of all types at any time of the day. Although Americans are watching more television than ever before, it's increasingly time-shifted programming. How should we consider the possible harmful effects of prime-time network television given that most American families are no longer watching during the appointed broadcast network prime-time hours? Does the American public care about such media effects in this post-TV world?

These days, the Parents Television Council still releases its weekly "Family Guide to Prime Time Television" on its Web site. A sample of its guide from summer 2015, for example, listed only one show as "family-friendly" (*Are You Smarter Than a Fifth Grader?*), while shows as diverse as *The Big Bang Theory*, *2 Broke Girls*, *America's Got Talent*, and *Arrow* received a red-light designation for sexual content, language, and violence.

Of course, as television viewers move away from broadcast networks and increasingly watch programming from multiple sources on a range of devices, the PTC's traditional concern about prime-time network viewing can seem outdated. In recent years, the PTC announced it was giving its seal of approval to the Inspiration Network cable channel "for programming that embraces time-honored values."[3] The channel's lineup features shows like *The Waltons*; *Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman*; *Little House on the Prairie*; and *The Big Valley*—all shows from an era decades before our post-TV world.

MTV'S VIDEO MUSIC AWARDS, an annual televised music special that sometimes includes sexually tinged or irreverent performances, often catches the ire of the PTC.



Jason LaVeris/FilmMagic/Getty Images

addresses, radio listeners were more difficult to trace. This problem precipitated the development of increasingly sophisticated marketing research methods to determine consumer preferences and media use, such as direct-mail diaries, television meters, phone surveys, telemarketing, and Internet tracking. In many instances, product companies paid consumers nominal amounts of money to take part in these studies.

Research on Media Effects

As concern about public opinion, propaganda, and the impact of the media merged with the growth of journalism and mass communication departments in colleges and universities, media researchers looked more and more to behavioral science as the basis of their research. Between 1930 and 1970, as media historian Daniel Czitrom has noted, "Who says what to whom with what effect?" became the key question "defining the scope and problems of American communications research."[11] In addressing this question specifically, media effects researchers asked follow-up questions such as this: If children watch a lot of TV cartoons (stimulus or cause), will this repeated act influence their behavior toward their peers (response or effect)? For most of the twentieth century, media researchers and news reporters used different methods to answer similar sets of questions—who, what, when, and where—about our daily experiences (see "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Wedding Media and the Meaning of the Perfect Wedding Day" on page 523).

Early Theories of Media Effects

A major goal of scientific research is to develop theories or laws that can consistently explain or predict human behavior. The varied impacts of the mass media and the diverse ways in which people make popular culture, however, tend to defy predictable rules. Historical, economic, and political factors influence media industries, making it difficult to develop systematic theories that explain communication. Researchers developed a number of small theories, or models, that help explain individual behavior rather than the impact of the media on large populations. But before these small theories began to emerge in the 1970s, mass media research followed several other models. Developing between the 1930s and the 1970s, these major approaches included the hypodermic-needle, minimal-effects, and uses and gratifications models.

The Hypodermic-Needle Model

One of the earliest media theories attributed powerful effects to the mass media. A number of intellectuals and academics were fearful of the influence and popularity of film and radio in the 1920s and 1930s. Some social psychologists and sociologists who arrived in the United States after fleeing Germany and Nazism in the 1930s had watched Hitler use radio, film, and print media as propaganda tools. They worried that the popular media in America also had a strong hold over vulnerable audiences. The concept that powerful media affect weak audiences has been labeled the **hypodermic-needle model**, sometimes also called the *magic bullet theory* or the *direct-effects model*. It suggests that the media shoot their potent effects directly into unsuspecting victims.

One of the earliest challenges to this theory involved a study of Orson Welles's legendary October 30, 1938, radio broadcast of *War of the Worlds*, which presented H. G. Wells's Martian invasion novel in the form of a news report and frightened millions of listeners who didn't realize it was fictional (see Chapter 5). In a 1940 book-length study of the broadcast, *The Invasion from Mars: A Study in the Psychology of Panic*, radio researcher Hadley Cantril argued that

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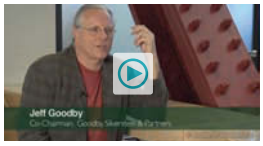
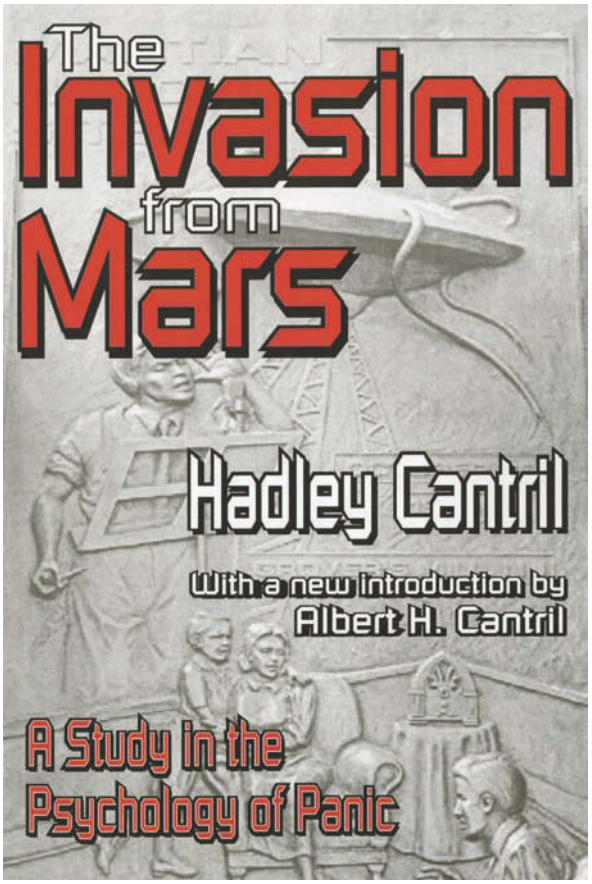


Media Effects Research
Experts discuss how media effects research informs media development.
Discussion: Why do you think the question of media's effects on children has continued to be such a big concern among researchers?

contrary to expectations based on the hypodermic-needle model, not all listeners thought the radio program was a real news report. Instead, Cantril—after conducting personal interviews and a nationwide survey of listeners, and analyzing newspaper reports and listener mail to CBS Radio and the FCC—noted that although some did believe it to be real (mostly those who missed the disclaimer at the beginning of the broadcast), the majority reacted out of collective panic, not out of a gullible belief in anything transmitted through the media. Although the hypodermic-needle model over the years has been disproved by social scientists, many people still attribute direct effects to the mass media, particularly in the case of children.



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MEDIA EFFECTS?
In *The Invasion from Mars: A Study in the Psychology of Panic*, Hadley Cantril (1906–1969) argued against the hypodermic-needle model as an explanation for the panic that broke out after the *War of the Worlds* radio broadcast (see photo in Chapter 5, page 165). A lifelong social researcher, Cantril also did a lot of work in public opinion research, even working with the government during World War II.

The Minimal-Effects Model

Cantril's research helped lay the groundwork for the **minimal-effects model**, or *limited model*. With the rise of empirical research techniques, social scientists began discovering and demonstrating that media alone cannot cause people to change their attitudes and behaviors. Based on tightly controlled experiments and surveys, researchers argued that people generally engage in **selective exposure** and **selective retention** with regard to the media. That is, people expose themselves to the media messages that are most familiar to them, and they retain the messages that confirm the values and attitudes they already hold. Minimal-effects researchers have argued that in most cases, mass media reinforce existing behaviors and attitudes rather than change them. The findings from the first comprehensive study of children and television—by Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin Parker in the late 1950s—best capture the minimal-effects theory:

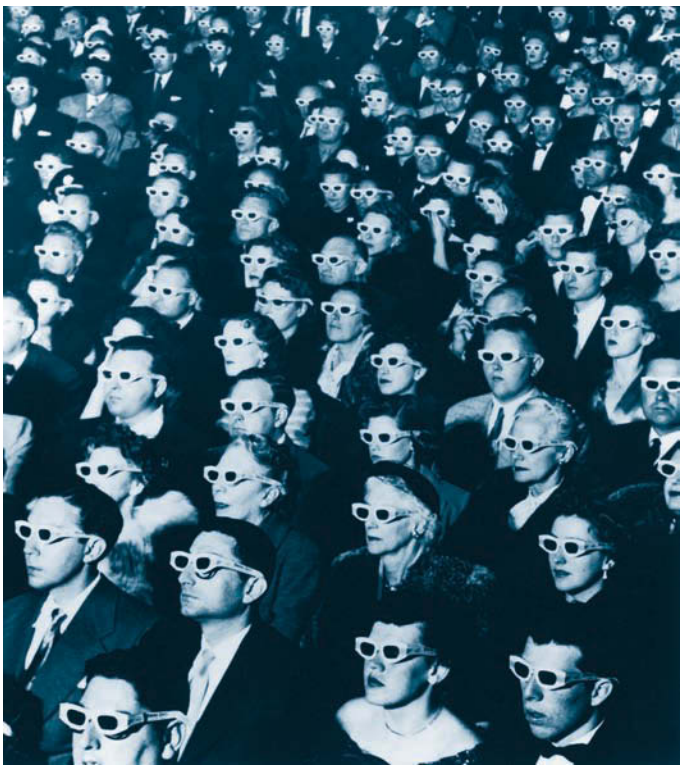
For some children, under some conditions, some television is harmful. For other children under the same conditions, or for the same children under other conditions, it may be beneficial. For most *children, under* most *conditions,* most *television is probably neither particularly harmful nor particularly beneficial.*[12]

In addition, Joseph Klapper's important 1960 research study, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, found that the mass media only influenced individuals who did not already hold strong views on an issue and that the media had a greater impact on poor and uneducated audiences. Solidifying the minimal-effects argument, Klapper concluded that strong media effects occur largely at an individual level and do not appear to have large-scale, measurable, and direct effects on society as a whole.[13]

The minimal-effects theory furthered the study of the relationship between the media and human behavior, but it still assumed that audiences were passive and were acted upon by the media. Schramm, Lyle, and Parker suggested that there were problems with the position they had taken on effects:

In a sense the term "effect" is misleading because it suggests that television "does something" to children. The connotation is that television is the actor, the children are acted upon. Children are thus made to seem relatively inert; television, relatively active. Children are sitting victims; television bites them. Nothing can be further from the fact. It is the children who are most active in this relationship. It is they who use television, rather than television that uses them.[14]

Indeed, as the authors observed, numerous studies have concluded that viewers—especially young children—are often *actively* engaged in using media.



Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

USES AND GRATIFICATIONS
In 1952, audience members at the Paramount Theater in Hollywood donned 3-D glasses for the opening-night screening of *Bwana Devil*, the first full-length color 3-D film. The uses and gratifications model of research investigates the appeal of mass media, such as going out to the movies.

The Uses and Gratifications Model

A response to the minimal-effects theory, the **uses and gratifications model** was proposed to contest the notion of a passive media audience. Under this model, researchers—usually using in-depth interviews to supplement survey questionnaires—studied the ways in which people used the media to satisfy various emotional or intellectual needs. Instead of asking, "What effects do the media have on us?" researchers asked, "Why do we use the media?" Asking the *why* question enabled media researchers to develop inventories cataloguing how people employed the media to fulfill their needs. For example, researchers noted that some individuals used the media to see authority figures elevated or toppled, to seek a sense of community and connectedness, to fulfill a need for drama and stories, and to confirm moral or spiritual values.[15]

Although the uses and gratifications model addressed the *functions* of the mass media for individuals, it did not address important questions related to the impact of the media on society. Once researchers had accumulated substantial inventories of the uses and functions of media, they often did not move in new directions. Consequently, uses and gratifications never became a dominant or an enduring theory in media research.

Conducting Media Effects Research

Media research generally comes from the private or public sector, and each type has distinguishing features. *Private research*, sometimes called *proprietary research*, is generally conducted for a business, a corporation, or even a political campaign. It is usually applied research in the sense that the information it uncovers typically addresses some real-life problem or need. *Public research*, in contrast, usually takes place in academic and government settings. It involves information that is often more *theoretical* than applied; it tries to clarify, explain, or predict the effects of mass media rather than to address a consumer problem.

Most media research today focuses on the effects of the media in such areas as learning, attitudes, aggression, and voting habits. This research employs the **scientific method**, a blueprint long used by scientists and scholars to study phenomena in systematic stages. The steps in the scientific method include the following:

1. Identifying the research problem
2. Reviewing existing research and theories related to the problem
3. Developing working hypotheses or predictions about what the study might find
4. Determining an appropriate method or research design
5. Collecting information or relevant data
6. Analyzing results to see if the hypotheses have been verified
7. Interpreting the implications of the study to determine whether they explain or predict the problem

The scientific method relies on *objectivity* (eliminating bias and judgments on the part of researchers); *reliability* (getting the same answers or outcomes from a study or measure during repeated testing); and *validity* (demonstrating that a study actually measures what it claims to measure).

In scientific studies, researchers pose one or more **hypotheses**: tentative general statements that predict the influence of an *independent variable* on a *dependent variable*. For example, a researcher might hypothesize that frequent TV viewing among adolescents (independent variable) causes poor academic performance (dependent variable). Or another researcher might hypothesize that playing first-person-shooter video games (independent variable) is associated with aggression in children (dependent variable).

Broadly speaking, the methods for studying media effects on audiences have taken two forms—experiments and survey research. To supplement these approaches, researchers also use content analysis to count and document specific messages that circulate in mass media.

Experiments

Like all studies that use the scientific method, **experiments** in media research isolate some aspect of content; suggest a hypothesis; and manipulate variables to discover a particular medium's impact on attitude, emotion, or behavior. To test whether a hypothesis is true, researchers expose an *experimental group*—the group under study—to a selected media program or text. To ensure valid results, researchers also use a *control group*, which serves as a basis for comparison; this group is not exposed to the selected media content. Subjects are picked for each group through **random assignment**, which simply means that each subject has an equal chance of being placed in either group. Random assignment ensures that the independent variables researchers want to control are distributed to both groups in the same way.

For instance, to test the effects of violent films on preadolescent boys, a research study might take a group of ten-year-olds and randomly assign them to two groups. Researchers expose the experimental group to a violent action movie that the control group does not see. Later, both groups are exposed to a staged fight between two other boys so that the researchers can observe how each group responds to an actual physical confrontation. Researchers then determine whether or not there is a statistically measurable difference between the two groups' responses to the fight. For example, perhaps the control subjects tried to break up the fight but the experimental subjects did not. Because the groups were randomly selected and the only measurable difference between them was the viewing of the movie, researchers may conclude that under these conditions, the violent film caused a different behavior (see the "Bobo doll" experiment photos on page 524).

When experiments carefully account for independent variables through random assignment, they generally work well to substantiate direct cause-effect hypotheses. Such research takes place both in laboratory settings and in field settings, where people can be observed using the media in their everyday environments. In field experiments, however, it is more difficult for researchers to control variables. In lab settings, researchers have more control, but other problems may occur. For example, when subjects are removed from the environments in which they regularly use the media, they may act differently—often with fewer inhibitions—than they would in their everyday surroundings.

Experiments have other limitations as well. First, they are not generalizable to a larger population; they cannot tell us whether cause-effect results can be duplicated outside of the laboratory. Second, most academic experiments today are performed on college students, who are convenient subjects for research but are not representative of the general public. Third, while most experiments are fairly good at predicting short-term media effects under controlled conditions, they do not predict how subjects will behave months or years later in the real world.

Survey Research

In the simplest terms, **survey research** is the collecting and measuring of data taken from a group of respondents. Using random sampling techniques that give each potential subject an equal chance to be included in the survey, this research method draws on much larger

populations than those used in experimental studies. Surveys may be conducted through direct mail, personal interviews, telephone calls, e-mail, and Web sites, enabling survey researchers to accumulate large amounts of information by surveying diverse cross sections of people. These data help researchers examine demographic factors such as educational background, income level, race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, and political affiliation, along with questions directly related to the survey topic.

Two other benefits of surveys are that they are usually generalizable to the larger society and that they enable researchers to investigate populations in long-term studies. For example, survey research can measure subjects when they are ten, twenty, and thirty years old to track changes in how frequently they watch television and what kinds of programs they prefer at different ages. In addition, large government and academic survey databases are now widely available and contribute to the development of more long-range or **longitudinal studies**, which make it possible for social scientists to compare new studies with those conducted years earlier.

Like experiments, surveys have several drawbacks. First, survey investigators cannot account for all the variables that might affect media use; therefore, they cannot show cause-effect relationships. Survey research can, however, reveal **correlations**—or associations—between two variables. For example, a random questionnaire survey of ten-year-old boys might demonstrate that a correlation exists between aggressive behavior and watching violent TV programs. Such a correlation, however, does not explain what is the cause and what is the effect—that is, do violent TV programs cause aggression, or are more aggressive ten-year-old boys simply drawn to violent television? Second, the validity of survey questions is a chronic problem for survey practitioners. Surveys are only as good as the wording of their questions and the answer choices they present. For example, as NPR reported, "If you ask people whether they support or oppose the death penalty for murderers, about two-thirds of Americans say they support it. If you ask whether people prefer that murderers get the death penalty or life in prison without parole, then you get a 50-50 split."[16]

Content Analysis

Over the years, researchers recognized that experiments and surveys focused on general topics (violence) while ignoring the effects of specific media messages (gun violence, fistfights). As a corrective, researchers developed a method known as **content analysis** to study these messages. Such analysis is a systematic method of coding and measuring media content.

Although content analysis was first used during World War II for radio, more recent studies have focused on television, film, and the Internet. Probably the most influential content analysis studies were conducted by George Gerbner and his colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania. Beginning in the late 1960s, they coded and counted acts of violence on network television. Combined with surveys, their annual "violence profiles" showed that heavy watchers of television, ranging from children to retired Americans, tend to overestimate the amount of violence that exists in the actual world.[17]

The limits of content analysis, however, have been well documented. First, this technique does not measure the effects of the messages on audiences, nor does it explain how those messages are presented. For example, a content analysis sponsored by the Kaiser Family Foundation that examined more than eleven hundred television shows found that 70 percent featured sexual content.[18] But the study didn't explain how viewers interpreted the content or the context of the messages.

Second, problems of definition occur in content analysis. For instance, in the case of coding and counting acts of violence, how do researchers distinguish slapstick cartoon aggression from the violent murders or rapes in an evening police drama? Critics point out that such varied depictions may have diverse and subtle effects on viewers that are not differentiated by content analysis. Third, critics point out that as content analysis grew to be a primary tool in media

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

Wedding Media and the Meaning of the Perfect Wedding Day

According to media researcher Erika Engstrom, the bridal industry in the United States generates $50 to $70 billion annually, with more than two million marriages a year.[1] Supporting that massive industry are books, magazines, Web sites, reality TV shows, and digital games (in addition to fictional accounts in movies and music) that promote the idea of what a "perfect" wedding should be. What values are wrapped up in these wedding narratives?

1 DESCRIPTION. Select three or four bridal media and compare them. Possible choices include magazines such as *Brides*, *Bridal Guide*, and *Martha Stewart Weddings*; reality TV shows like *My Fair Wedding*, *Bridezillas*, *Say Yes to the Dress*, *My Big Fat American Gypsy Wedding*, and *Four Weddings*; Web sites like the Knot, Southern Bride, and Project Wedding; and games like *My Fantasy Wedding*, *Wedding Dash*, and *Imagine Wedding Designer*.

2 ANALYSIS. What patterns do you find in the wedding media? (Consider what isn't depicted as well.) Are there limited ways in which femininity is defined? Do men have an equal role in the planning of wedding events? Are weddings depicted as something just for heterosexuals? Do the wedding media presume that weddings are first-time experiences for the couple getting married? What seem to be the standards in terms of consumption—the expense, size, and number of things to buy and rent to make a "perfect" day?

3 INTERPRETATION. What do the wedding media seem to say about what it is to be a woman or a man on her or his wedding day? What do these gender roles for the wedding suggest about the appropriate gender roles for married life after the wedding? What do the wedding media infer about the appropriate level of consumption? In other words, consider the role of wedding media in constructing *hegemony*: In their depiction of what makes a perfect wedding, do the media stories attempt to get us to accept the dominant cultural values relating to things like gender relations and consumerism?

4 EVALUATION. Come to a judgment about the wedding media analyzed. Are they good or bad on certain dimensions? Do they promote gender equality? Do they promote marriage equality (that is, gay marriage)? Do they offer alternatives to having a "perfect" day without buying all the trappings of so many weddings?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Talk to friends about what weddings are supposed to celebrate, and whether an alternative conception of a wedding would be a better way of celebrating a union of two people. (In real life, if there is discomfort in talking about alternative ways to celebrate a wedding, that's probably the pressure of hegemony. Why is that pressure so strong?) Share your criticisms and ideas on wedding Web sites as well.

research, it sometimes pushed to the sidelines other ways of thinking about television and media content. Broad questions concerning the media as a popular art form, as a measure of culture, as a democratic influence, or as a force for social control are difficult to address through strict measurement techniques. Critics of content analysis, in fact, have objected to the kind of social science that reduces culture to acts of counting. Such criticism has addressed the tendency by some researchers to favor measurement accuracy over intellectual discipline and inquiry.[19]

Contemporary Media Effects Theories

By the 1960s, the first departments of mass communication began graduating Ph.D.-level researchers schooled in experiment and survey research techniques, as well as content analysis. These researchers began documenting consistent patterns in mass communication and developing new theories. Five of the most influential contemporary theories that help explain media effects are social learning theory, agenda-setting, the cultivation effect, the spiral of silence, and the third-person effect.

Courtesy of Albert Bandura

SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY These photos document the "Bobo doll" experiments conducted by Albert Bandura and his colleagues at Stanford University in the early 1960s. Seventy-two children from the Stanford University Nursery School were divided into experimental and control groups. The "aggressive condition" experimental group subjects watched an adult in the room sit on, kick, and hit the Bobo doll with hands and a wooden mallet while saying such things as "Sock him in the nose," "Throw him in the air," and "Pow." (In later versions of the experiment, children watched filmed versions of the adult with the Bobo doll.) Afterward, in a separate room filled with toys, the children in the "aggressive condition" group were more likely than the other children to imitate the adult model's behavior toward the Bobo doll.

Social Learning Theory

Some of the most well-known studies that suggest a link between the mass media and behavior are the "Bobo doll" experiments, conducted on children by psychologist Albert Bandura and his colleagues at Stanford University in the 1960s. Bandura concluded that the experiments demonstrated a link between violent media programs, such as those on television, and aggressive behavior. Bandura developed **social learning theory** as a four-step process: *attention* (the subject must attend to the media and witness the aggressive behavior), *retention* (the subject must retain the memory for later retrieval), *motor reproduction* (the subject must be able to physically imitate the behavior), and *motivation* (there must be a social reward or reinforcement to encourage modeling of the behavior).

Supporters of social learning theory often cite real-life imitations of media aggression (see the beginning of the chapter) as evidence of social learning theory at work. Yet critics note that many studies conclude just the opposite—that there is no link between media content and aggression. For example, millions of people have watched episodes of *Criminal Minds* and *Breaking Bad* without subsequently exhibiting aggressive behavior. As critics point out, social learning theory simply makes television, film, and other media scapegoats for larger social problems relating to violence. Others suggest that experiencing media depictions of aggression can actually help viewers let off steam peacefully through a catharsis effect.

Agenda-Setting

A key phenomenon posited by contemporary media effects researchers is **agenda-setting**: the idea that when the mass media focus their attention on particular events or issues, they determine—that is, set the agenda for—the major topics of discussion for individuals and society. Essentially, agenda-setting researchers have argued that the mass media do not so much tell us what to think as *what to think about*. Traceable to Walter Lippmann's notion in the early 1920s that the media "create pictures in our heads," the first investigations into agenda-setting began in the 1970s.[20]

Over the years, agenda-setting research has demonstrated that the more stories the news media do on a particular subject, the more importance audiences attach to that subject. For instance, when the media seriously began to cover ecology issues after the first Earth Day in 1970, a much higher percentage of the population began listing the environment as a

primary social concern in surveys. When *Jaws* became a blockbuster in 1975, the news media started featuring more shark attack stories; even landlocked people in the Midwest began ranking sharks as a major problem, despite the rarity of such incidents worldwide. More recently, extensive news coverage about the documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* and its companion best-selling book in 2006 sparked the highest-ever public concern about global warming, according to national surveys. But in the following years, the public's sense of urgency faltered somewhat as stories about the economy and other topics dominated the news agenda.

AP Photo/Baba Ahmed

MALI
The West African nation of Mali has been in the midst of a political crisis since its northern region was seized by rebel forces in 2012. One of the most devastating outcomes of the country's political strife is the recruitment of child soldiers, as desperate, poor families often give up their children to rebels in exchange for food and money. Despite the devastation in Mali, many feel the international response to Mali's crisis has been woefully inadequate and the mass media's coverage equally insufficient.

The Cultivation Effect

Another mass media phenomenon—the **cultivation effect**—suggests that heavy viewing of television leads individuals to perceive the world in ways that are consistent with television portrayals. This area of media effects research has pushed researchers past a focus on how the media affects individual behavior and toward a focus on larger ideas about the impact on perception.

The major research in this area grew from the attempts of George Gerbner and his colleagues to make generalizations about the impact of televised violence. The cultivation effect suggests that the more time individuals spend viewing television and absorbing its viewpoints, the more likely their views of social reality will be "cultivated" by the images and portrayals they see on television.[21] For example, Gerbner's studies concluded that although fewer than 1 percent of Americans are victims of violent crime in any single year, people who watch a lot of television tend to overestimate this percentage. Such exaggerated perceptions, Gerbner and his colleagues argued, are part of a "mean world" syndrome, in which viewers with heavy, long-term exposure to television violence are more likely to believe that the external world is a mean and dangerous place.

According to the cultivation effect, media messages interact in complicated ways with personal, social, political, and cultural factors; they are one of a number of important factors in determining individual behavior and defining social values. Some critics have charged that cultivation research has provided limited evidence to support its findings. In addition, some have argued that the cultivation effects recorded by Gerbner's studies have been so minimal as to be benign and that when compared side by side, the perceptions of heavy television viewers and nonviewers in terms of the "mean world" syndrome are virtually identical.

The Spiral of Silence

Developed by German communication theorist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in the 1970s and 1980s, the **spiral of silence** theory links the mass media, social psychology, and the formation of public opinion. The theory proposes that those who believe that their views on controversial issues are in the minority will keep their views to themselves—that is, become silent—for fear of social isolation, which diminishes or even silences alternative perspectives. The theory is based on social psychology studies, such as the classic conformity research studies of Solomon Asch in 1951. In Asch's study on the effects of group pressure, he demonstrated that a test subject is more likely to give clearly wrong answers to questions about line lengths if

all other people in the room unanimously state the incorrect answers. Noelle-Neumann argued that mass media, particularly television, can exacerbate this effect by communicating real or presumed majority opinions widely and quickly.

According to the theory, the mass media can help create a false, overrated majority; that is, a true majority of people holding a certain position can grow silent when they sense an opposing majority in the media. One criticism of the theory is that some people may fail to fall into a spiral of silence either because they don't monitor the media or because they mistakenly perceive that more people hold their position than really do. Noelle-Neumann acknowledges that in many cases, "hard-core" nonconformists exist and remain vocal even in the face of social isolation and can ultimately prevail in changing public opinion.[22]

The Third-Person Effect

Identified in a 1983 study by W. Phillips Davison, the **third-person effect** theory suggests that people believe others are more affected by media messages than they are themselves.[23] In other words, it proposes the idea that "we" can escape the worst effects of media while still worrying about people who are younger, less educated, more impressionable, or otherwise less capable of guarding against media influence.

Under this theory, we might fear that other people will, for example, take tabloid newspapers seriously, imitate violent movies, or get addicted to the Internet, while dismissing the idea that any of those things could happen to us. It has been argued that the third-person effect is instrumental in censorship, as it would allow censors to assume immunity to the negative effects of any supposedly dangerous media they must examine.

Evaluating Research on Media Effects

The mainstream models of media research have made valuable contributions to our understanding of the mass media, submitting content and audiences to rigorous testing. This wealth of research exists partly because funding for studies on the effects of the media on young people remains popular among politicians and has drawn ready government support since the 1960s. Media critic Richard Rhodes argues that media effects research is inconsistent and often flawed but continues to resonate with politicians and parents because it offers an easy-to-blame social cause for real-world violence.[24] (For more on real-world gun violence in the United States, see "Case Study: Our Masculinity Problem" on page 529.)

Funding restricts the scope of some media effects and survey research, particularly if government, business, or other administrative agendas do not align with researchers' interests. Other limits also exist, including the inability to address how media affect communities and social institutions. Because most media research operates best when examining media and individual behavior, fewer research studies explore media's impact on community and social life. Some research has begun to address these deficits and also to turn more attention to the increasing impact of media technology on international communication.

Cultural Approaches to Media Research

During the rise of modern media research, approaches with a stronger historical and interpretive edge developed as well, often in direct opposition to the scientific models. In the late 1930s, some social scientists began to warn about the limits of "gathering data" and "charting

trends," particularly when these kinds of research projects served only advertisers and media organizations and tended to be narrowly focused on individual behavior, ignoring questions like "Where are institutions taking us?" and "Where do we want them to take us?"[25]

In the United States in the 1960s, an important body of research—loosely labeled *cultural studies*—arose to challenge mainstream media effects theories. Since that time, cultural studies research has focused on how people make meaning, understand reality, and order experience by using cultural symbols that appear in the media. This research has attempted to make everyday culture the centerpiece of media studies, focusing on how subtly mass communication shapes and is shaped by history, politics, and economics. Other cultural studies work examines the relationships between elite individuals and groups in government and politics and how media play a role in sustaining the authority of elites and, occasionally, in challenging their power.

Early Developments in Cultural Studies Research

In Europe, media studies have always favored interpretive rather than scientific approaches; in other words, researchers there have approached the media as if they were literary or cultural critics rather than experimental or survey researchers. These approaches were built on the writings of political philosophers such as Karl Marx and Antonio Gramsci, who investigated how mass media support existing hierarchies in society. They examined how popular culture and sports distract people from redressing social injustices, and they addressed the subordinate status of particular social groups, something emerging media effects researchers were seldom doing.

In the United States, early criticism of media effects research came from the Frankfurt School, a group of European researchers who emigrated from Germany to America to escape Nazi persecution in the 1930s. Under the leadership of Max Horkheimer, T. W. Adorno, and Leo Lowenthal, this group pointed to at least three inadequacies of traditional scientific approaches to media research, arguing that they (1) reduced large "cultural questions" to measurable and "verifiable categories"; (2) depended on "an atmosphere of rigidly enforced neutrality"; and (3) refused to place "the phenomena of modern life" in a "historical and moral context."[26] The researchers of the Frankfurt School did not completely reject the usefulness of measuring and counting data. They contended, however, that historical and cultural approaches were also necessary to focus critical attention on the long-range effects of the mass media on audiences.

Since the time of the Frankfurt School, criticisms of the media effects tradition and its methods have continued, with calls for more interpretive studies of the rituals of mass communication. Academics who have embraced a cultural approach to media research try to understand how media and culture are tied to the actual patterns of communication in daily life. For example, in the 1970s, Stuart Hall and his colleagues studied the British print media and the police, who were dealing with an apparent rise in crime and mugging incidents. Arguing that the close relationship between the news and the police created a form of urban surveillance, the authors of *Policing the Crisis* demonstrated that the mugging phenomenon was exacerbated, and in part created, by the key institutions assigned the social tasks of controlling crime and reporting on it.[27]

Conducting Cultural Studies Research

Cultural studies research focuses on the investigation of daily experience, especially on issues of race, gender, class, and sexuality, and on the unequal arrangements of power and status in contemporary society. Such research emphasizes how some social and cultural groups have been marginalized and ignored throughout history. Consequently, cultural studies have attempted to recover lost or silenced voices, particularly among African American; Native American; Asian and Asian American; Arab; Latino; Appalachian; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT); immigrant; and women's cultures. The major analytical approaches in cultural studies research today are textual analysis, audience studies, and political economy studies.

Textual Analysis

In cultural studies research, **textual analysis** highlights the close reading and interpretation of cultural messages, including those found in books, movies, and TV programs. It is the equivalent of measurement methods like experiments and surveys and content analysis. While media effects research approaches media messages with the tools of modern science—replicability, objectivity, and data—textual analysis looks at rituals, narratives, and meaning. One type of textual analysis is *framing research*, which looks at recurring media story structures, particularly in news stories. Media sociologist Todd Gitlin defines media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual."[28]

Although textual analysis has a long and rich history in film and literary studies, it became significant to media in 1974, when Horace Newcomb's *TV: The Most Popular Art* became the first serious academic book to analyze television shows. Newcomb studied why certain TV programs and formats became popular, especially comedies, westerns, mysteries, soap operas, news reports, and sports programs. Newcomb took television programs seriously, examining patterns in the most popular programs at the time, such as the *Beverly Hillbillies*, *Bewitched*, and *Dragnet*, which traditional researchers had usually snubbed or ignored. Trained as a literary scholar, Newcomb argued that content analysis and other social science approaches to popular media often ignored artistic traditions and social context. For Newcomb, "the task for the student of the popular arts is to find a technique through which many different qualities of the work—aesthetic, social, psychological—may be explored" and to discover "why certain formulas . . . are popular in American television."[29]

Before Newcomb's work, textual analysis generally focused only on "important" or highly regarded works of art—debates, films, poems, and books. But by the end of the 1970s, a new generation of media studies scholars, who had grown up on television and rock and roll, began to study less elite forms of culture. They extended the concept of what a "text" is to include architecture, fashion, tabloid magazines, pop icons like Madonna, rock music, hip-hop, soap operas and telenovelas, movies, cockfights, shopping malls, reality TV, Martha Stewart, and professional wrestling—trying to make sense of the most taken-for-granted aspects of everyday media culture. Often the study of these seemingly minor elements of popular culture provides insight into broader meanings within our society. By shifting the focus to daily popular culture artifacts, cultural studies succeeded in focusing scholarly attention not just on significant presidents, important religious leaders, prominent political speeches, or military battles but on the more ordinary ways that "normal" people organize experience and understand their daily lives.

Audience Studies

Cultural studies research that focuses on how people use and interpret cultural content is called **audience studies**, or *reader-response research*. Audience studies differs from textual analysis because the subject being researched is the audience for the text, not the text itself. For example, in *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature*, Janice Radway studied a group of midwestern women who were fans of romance novels. Using her training in literary criticism and employing interviews and questionnaires, Radway investigated the meaning of romance novels to the women. She argued that reading romance novels functions as personal time for some women, whose complex family and work lives leave them very little time for themselves. The study also suggested that these particular romance-novel fans identified with the active, independent qualities of the romantic heroines they most admired. As a cultural study, Radway's work did not claim to be scientific, and her findings are not generalizable to all women. Rather, Radway was interested in investigating and interpreting the relationship between reading popular fiction and ordinary life.[30]

CASE STUDY

Our Masculinity Problem

There have been at least seventy mass shootings in the United States since 1982, and nearly half of them have happened since 2006.[1] Just some of those that made headlines include the Washington Navy Yard in 2013 (13 dead, 8 injured); Sandy Hook Elementary in Newtown, Connecticut, in 2012 (28 dead, 2 injured); the movie theater in Aurora, Colorado, in 2012 (12 dead, 58 injured); and Virginia Tech in 2007 (33 dead, 23 injured).

What are the reasons? Our news media respond with a number of usual suspects: the easy availability of guns in the United States; influential movies, television shows, and video games; mental illness; bad parenting. But Jackson Katz, educator, author, and filmmaker (of *Tough Guise* and *Tough Guise 2*), sees another major factor. The least-talked-about commonality in all the shootings is the one so obvious most of us miss it: Nearly all the mass murderers are male (and usually white).

What would psychologists, pundits, and other talking heads be saying if women were responsible for nearly every mass shooting for more than three decades? "If a woman were the shooter," Katz says, "you can bet there would be all sorts of commentary about shifting cultural notions of femininity and how they might have contributed to her act, such as discussions in recent years about girl gang violence."[2]

But a woman was responsible for only one of the seventy mass shootings; all the others had a man (or men) behind the trigger. "Because men represent the dominant gender, their gender is rendered invisible in the discourse about violence," Katz says.[3] In fact, the dominance of masculinity is the norm in our mainstream mass media. Dramatic content is often about the performance of heroic, powerful masculinity (e.g., many action films, digital games, and sports). Similarly, humorous content often derives from calling into question the standards of masculinity (e.g., a man trying to cook, clean, or take care of a child). The same principles apply for the advertising that supports the content. How many automobile, beer, shaving cream, and food commercials peddle products that offer men a chance to maintain or regain their rightful masculinity?

Archive Photos/Getty Images

Rachel Kalish and Michael Kimmel, sociologists at SUNY Stonybrook, analyzed the problem of mass shootings that usually end in suicide. They found that males and females have similar rates of suicide attempts. "Feeling aggrieved, wronged by the world—these are typical adolescent feelings, common to many boys and girls," they report.

The result of these attempts, though, differ by gender. Female suicide behaviors are more likely to be a cry for help. Male suicide behaviors, informed by social norms of masculinity, often result in a different outcome: "aggrieved entitlement." Kalish and Kimmel define this as "a gendered emotion, a fusion of that humiliating loss of manhood and the moral obligation and entitlement to get it back. And its gender is masculine."[4] Retaliation, which is considered acceptable in lesser forms (think of all the cultural narratives in which the weak or aggrieved character finally gets his revenge), becomes horrifying when combined with the immediacy and lethal force of assault firearms.

Elliot Rodger, the Isla Vista shooter in 2014, posted similar thoughts on a YouTube video titled "Retribution" before gunning down students at the University of California in Santa Barbara:

> *Tomorrow is the day of retribution, the day in which I will have my revenge. You girls have never been attracted to me. I don't know why you girls aren't attracted to me, but I will punish you all for it.*[5]

There is some evidence that the gun industry understands the sense of masculine entitlement but uses that knowledge to sell guns, not to consider how they might be misused. A marketing campaign begun in 2010 for the Bushmaster .223-caliber semiautomatic rifle showed an image of the rifle with the large tagline "Consider Your Man Card Reissued." The Bushmaster was the same civilian assault rifle used by the shooter who massacred twenty-eight people at the Newtown elementary school in 2012.

How do we find a way out of this cultural cycle? "Make gender—specifically the idea that men are gendered beings—a central part of the national conversation about rampage killings," Katz says. "It means looking carefully at how our culture defines manhood, how boys are socialized, and how pressure to stay in the 'man box' not only constrains boys' and men's emotional and relational development, but also their range of choices when faced with life crises."[6]

The Granger Collection

PUBLIC SPHERE
Conversations in eighteenth-century English coffeehouses (like the one shown) inspired Jürgen Habermas's public-sphere theory. However, Habermas expressed concerns that the mass media could weaken the public sphere by allowing people to become passive consumers of the information distributed by the media instead of entering into debates with one another about what is best for society. What do you think of such concerns? Has the proliferation of political cable shows, Internet bloggers, and other mediated forums decreased serious public debate, or has it just shifted the conversation to places besides coffeehouses?

Radway's influential cultural research used a variety of interpretive methods, including literary analysis, interviews, and questionnaires. Most important, these studies helped define culture in broad terms—as being made up of both the *products* a society fashions and the *processes* that forge those products.

Political Economy Studies

A focus on the production of popular culture and the forces behind it is the topic of **political economy studies**, which specifically examine interconnections among economic interests, political power, and how that power is used. Among the major concerns of political economy studies is the increasing conglomeration of media ownership. The increasing concentration of ownership means that the production of media content is being controlled by fewer and fewer organizations, investing those companies with more and more power. In addition, the domination of public discourse by for-profit corporations may mean that the bottom line for all public communication and popular culture is money, not democratic expression.

Political economy studies work best when combined with textual analysis and audience studies, which provide context for understanding the cultural content of a media product, its production process, and how the audience responds. For example, a major media corporation may, for commercial reasons, create a film and market it through a number of venues (political economy), but the film's meaning or popularity makes sense only within the historical and narrative contexts of the culture (textual analysis), and it may be interpreted by various audiences in ways both anticipated and unexpected (audience studies).

Cultural Studies' Theoretical Perspectives

Developed as an alternative to the predictive theories of social science research (e.g., if X happens, the result will be Y), cultural studies research on media is informed by more general perspectives about how the mass media interact with the world. Two foundational concepts in cultural studies research are (1) the public sphere, and (2) the idea of communication as culture.

The Public Sphere

The idea of the **public sphere**, defined as a space for critical public debate, was first advanced by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas in 1962.[31] Habermas, a professor of philosophy, studied late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century England and France, and he found those societies to be increasingly influenced by free trade and the rise of the printing press. At that historical moment, an emerging middle class began to gather to discuss public life in coffeehouses, meeting halls, and pubs and to debate the ideas of novels and other publications in literary salons and clubs. In doing so, this group (which did not yet include women, peasants, the working classes, and other minority groups) began to build a society beyond the control of aristocrats, royalty, and religious elites. The outcome of such critical public debate led to support for the right to assembly, free speech, and a free press.

Habermas's research is useful to cultural studies researchers when they consider how democratic societies and the mass media operate today. For Habermas, a democratic society

should always work to create the most favorable communication situation possible—a public sphere. Basically, without an open communication system, there can be no democratically functioning society. This fundamental notion is the basis for some arguments on why an open, accessible mass media system is essential. However, Habermas warned that the mass media could also be an enemy of democracy; he cautioned modern societies to beware of "the manipulative deployment of media power to procure mass loyalty, consumer demand, and 'compliance' with systematic imperatives" of those in power.[32]

Communication as Culture

As Habermas considered the relationship between communication and democracy, media historian James Carey considered the relationship between communication and culture. Carey rejected the "transmission" view of communication—that is, that a message goes simply from sender to receiver. Carey argued that communication is more of a cultural ritual; he famously defined communication as "a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed."[33] Thus communication creates our reality and maintains that reality in the stories we tell ourselves. For example, think about novels; movies; and other stories, representations, and symbols that explicitly or tacitly supported discrimination against African Americans in the United States prior to the Civil Rights movement. When events occur that question reality (like protests and sit-ins in the 1950s and 1960s), communication may repair the culture with adjusted narratives or symbols, or it may completely transform the culture with new dominant symbols. Indeed, analysis of media culture in the 1960s and afterward (including books, movies, TV, and music) suggests a U.S. culture undergoing repair and transformation.

Carey's ritual view of communication leads cultural studies researchers to consider communication's symbolic process as culture itself. Everything that defines our culture—our language, food, clothing, architecture, mass media content, and the like—is a form of symbolic communication that signifies shared (but often still-contested) beliefs about culture at a point in historical time. From this viewpoint, then, cultural studies is tightly linked with communication studies.

CULTURAL STUDIES researchers are interested in the production and meaning of a wide range of elements within communication culture, as well as audiences' responses to these. Some researchers have focused on the meaning of the recent trend of dark subject matter in young-adult novels like the *Twilight* series by Stephenie Meyer, the *Hunger Games* trilogy by Suzanne Collins, and *Wintergirls* by Laurie Halse Anderson. As such books are made into movies, researchers may also study the cultural fascination with actors who appear in them (like Jennifer Lawrence, the star of the *Hunger Games* films, shown here).

Evaluating Cultural Studies Research

In opposition to media effects research, cultural studies research involves interpreting written and visual "texts" or artifacts as symbolic representations that contain cultural, historical, and political meaning. For example, the wave of police and crime TV shows that appeared in the mid-1960s can be interpreted as a cultural response to concerns and fears people had about urban unrest and income disparity. Audiences were drawn to the heroes of these dramas, who often exerted control over forces that, among society in general, seemed out of control. Similarly, people today who participate in radio talk shows, Internet forums, and TV reality shows can be viewed, in part, as responding to their feelings of disconnection from economic success or political power. Taking part in these

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forums represents a popular culture avenue for engaging with media in ways that are usually reserved for professional actors or for the rich, famous, and powerful. As James Carey put it, the cultural approach, unlike media effects research, which is grounded in the social sciences, "does not seek to explain human behavior, but to understand it. . . . It does not attempt to predict human behavior, but to diagnose human meanings."[34] In other words, a cultural approach does not provide explanations for laws that govern how mass media behave. Rather, it offers interpretations of the stories, messages, and meanings that circulate throughout our culture.

One of the main strengths of cultural studies is the freedom it affords researchers to broadly interpret the impact of the mass media. Because cultural work is not bound by the precise control of variables, researchers can more easily examine the ties between media messages and the broader social, economic, and political world. For example, media effects research on politics has generally concentrated on election polls and voting patterns, while cultural research has broadened the discussion to examine class, gender, and cultural differences among voters and the various uses of power by individuals and institutions in authority. Following Horace Newcomb's work, cultural investigators have expanded the study of media content beyond "serious" works. They have studied many popular forms, including music, movies, and prime-time television.

Just as media effects research has its limits, so does cultural studies research. Sometimes cultural studies have focused exclusively on the meanings of media programs or texts, ignoring their effect on audiences. Some cultural studies, however, have tried to address this deficiency by incorporating audience studies. Both media effects and cultural studies researchers today have begun to look at the limitations of their work more closely, borrowing ideas from one another to better assess the complexity of the media's meaning and impact.

Media Research and Democracy

One charge frequently leveled at academic studies is that they fail to address the everyday problems of life, often seeming to have little practical application. The growth of mass media departments in colleges and universities has led to an increase in specialized jargon, which tends to alienate and exclude nonacademics. Although media research has built a growing knowledge base and dramatically advanced what we know about the effect of mass media on individuals and societies, the academic world has paid a price. That is, the larger public has often been excluded from access to the research process even though cultural research tends to identify with marginalized groups. The scholarship is self-defeating if its complexity removes it from the daily experience of the groups it addresses. Researchers themselves have even found it difficult to speak to one another across disciplines because of discipline-specific language used to analyze and report findings. For example, understanding the elaborate statistical analyses used to document media effects requires special training.

In some cultural research, the language used is often incomprehensible to students and to other audiences who use the mass media. A famous hoax in 1996 pointed out just how inaccessible some academic jargon can be. Alan Sokal, a New York University physics professor, submitted an impenetrable article, "Transgressing the Boundaries: Toward a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," to a special issue of the academic journal *Social Text* devoted to science and postmodernism. As he had expected, the article—a hoax designed to point out how dense academic jargon can sometimes mask sloppy thinking—was published.

According to the journal's editor, about six reviewers had read the article but didn't suspect that it was phony. A public debate ensued after Sokal revealed his hoax. Sokal said he worries that jargon and intellectual fads cause academics to lose contact with the real world and "undermine the prospect for progressive social critique."[35]

In addition, increasing specialization in the 1970s began isolating many researchers from life outside of the university. Academics were locked away in their ivory towers, concerned with seemingly obscure matters to which the general public couldn't relate. Academics across many fields, however, began responding to this isolation and became increasingly active in political and cultural life in the 1980s and 1990s. For example, literary scholar Henry Louis Gates Jr. began writing essays for *Time* and the *New Yorker* magazines. Linguist Noam Chomsky has written for decades about excessive government and media power; he was also the subject of an award-winning documentary, *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media.* Essayist and cultural critic Barbara Ehrenreich has written often about labor and economic issues in magazines such as *Time* and the *Nation.* In her 2008 book, *This Land Is Their Land: Reports from a Divided Nation*, she investigates incidents of poverty among recent college graduates, undocumented workers, and Iraq War military families, documenting the wide divide between rich and poor. Georgetown University sociology professor Michael Eric Dyson, author of the book *April 4, 1968: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Death and How It Changed America*, made frequent appearances on network and cable news channels during the 2008 presidential campaign to speak on the issues of race and the meaning of Barack Obama's historic candidacy. Melissa Harris-Perry, a political science professor at Tulane, writes about race, class, and politics for the *Nation* and also hosts a news and opinion show for MSNBC.

Charles Sykes/NBC/NBCU Photo Bank via Getty Images

PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS
Melissa Harris-Perry writes about race, class, and politics for the *Nation* and also hosts a weekend news and opinion show for MSNBC. Her most recent book is *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America.*

In recent years, public intellectuals have also encouraged discussion about media production in a digital world. Harvard law professor Lawrence Lessig has been a leading advocate of efforts to rewrite the nation's copyright laws to enable noncommercial "amateur culture" to flourish on the Internet. American University's Pat Aufderheide, longtime media critic for the alternative magazine *In These Times*, worked with independent filmmakers to develop the *Documentary Filmmakers' Statement of Best Practices in Fair Use*, which calls for documentary filmmakers to have reasonable access to copyrighted material for their work.

Like public journalists, public intellectuals based on campuses help carry on the conversations of society and culture, actively circulating the most important new ideas of the day and serving as models for how to participate in public life.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the commercial nature of mass media. In controversies about media content, how much of what society finds troubling in the mass media is due more to the commercial nature of the media than to any intrinsic quality of the media themselves?

For some media critics, such as former advertising executive Jerry Mander in his popular book *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television* (1978), the problems of the mass media are inherent in the technology of the medium (e.g., the hypnotic lure of a light-emitting screen) and can't be fixed or reformed. Other researchers focus primarily on the effects of media on individual behavior.

But how much of what critics dislike about television and other mass media—including violence, indecency, immorality, inadequate journalism, and unfair representations of people and issues—derives from the way in which the mass media are organized in our culture rather than from anything about the technologies themselves or their effects on behavior? In other words, are many of the criticisms of television and other mass media merely masking what should be broader criticisms of capitalism?

One of the keys to accurately analyzing television and the other mass media is to tease apart the effects of a capitalist economy (which organizes media industries and relies on advertising, corporate underwriting, and other forms of sponsorship to profit from them) from the effects of the actual medium (television, movies, the Internet, radio, newspapers, etc.). If our media system wasn't commercial in nature—if it wasn't controlled by large corporations—would the same "effects" exist? Would the content change? Would different kinds of movies fill theaters? Would radio play the same music? What would the news be about? Would search engines generate other results?

Basically, would society be learning other things if the mass media were organized in a noncommercial way? Would noncommercial mass media set the same kind of political agenda, or would they cultivate a different kind of reality? What would the spiral of silence theory look like in a noncommercial media system?

Perhaps noncommercial mass media would have their own problems. Indeed, there may be effects that can't be unhitched from the technology of a mass medium no matter what the economy is. But it's worth considering whether any effects are due to the economic system that brings the content to us. If we determine that the commercial nature of the media is a source of negative effects, then we should also reconsider our policy solutions for trying to deal with those effects.

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

media effects research, 513
cultural studies, 513
propaganda analysis, 514
pseudo-polls, 515
hypodermic-needle model, 518
minimal-effects model, 519
selective exposure, 519
selective retention, 519
uses and gratifications model, 520
scientific method, 520
hypotheses, 521
experiments, 521
random assignment, 521
survey research, 521
longitudinal studies, 522
correlations, 522
content analysis, 522
social learning theory, 524
agenda-setting, 524
cultivation effect, 525
spiral of silence, 525
third-person effect, 526
textual analysis, 528
audience studies, 528
political economy studies, 530
public sphere, 530

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REVIEW QUESTIONS

Early Media Research Methods

1. What were the earliest types of media studies, and why weren't they more scientific?
2. What were the major influences that led to scientific media research?

Research on Media Effects

3. What are the differences between experiments and surveys as media research strategies?
4. What is content analysis, and why is it significant?
5. What are the differences between the hypodermic-needle model and the minimal-effects model in the history of media research?
6. What are the main ideas behind social learning theory, agenda-setting, the cultivation effect, the spiral of silence, and the third-person effect?
7. What are some strengths and limitations of modern media research?

Cultural Approaches to Media Research

8. Why did cultural studies develop in opposition to media effects research?
9. What are the features of cultural studies?
10. How is textual analysis different from content analysis?
11. What are some of the strengths and limitations of cultural research?

Media Research and Democracy

12. What is a major criticism about specialization in academic research at universities?
13. How have public intellectuals contributed to society's debates about the mass media? Give examples.

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. Think about instances in which the mass media have been blamed for a social problem. Could there be another, more accurate cause (an underlying variable) of that problem?
2. One charge leveled against a lot of media research—both the effects and the cultural models—is that it has very little impact on our media institutions. Do you agree or disagree, and why?
3. Do you have a major concern about media in society that hasn't been, but should be, addressed by research? Explain your answer.
4. Can you think of a media issue on which researchers from different fields at a university could team up to study together? Explain.

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SUPERPACS

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16

Legal Controls and Freedom of Expression

539
The Origins of Free Expression and a Free Press

553
Film and the First Amendment

557
Expression in the Media: Print, Broadcast, and Online

565
The First Amendment and Democracy

Politicians and their constituents can talk, but money as speech speaks much louder. Aspects of our present political system amount to a legal pay-to-play system, in which the wealthiest can leverage indirect influence over elections (manipulating issues by buying lots of advertising) and more direct influence over legislation (manipulating politicians who desperately want money to pay for campaign advertising).[1] There is plenty of evidence that a majority of Americans dislike this system. For example, a national poll in 2014 found that 75 percent of Americans think "wealthy Americans have a better chance than others of influencing the election process." Another 71 percent responded that campaign contributions by individuals should be limited, and 76 percent said spending on ads by unaffiliated groups should be limited.[2] This influence has been defended on First Amendment grounds. Here is what the First Amendment (adopted in 1791) says about money as speech in political campaigns:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right

> of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

In other words, it says nothing explicitly about money. Yet money now counts as speech, protected by the First Amendment. So how did we end up here?

Ironically, it started with Congress's intention to control the amount of money in elections. In 1974, emerging from the Watergate scandal (President Nixon's illegal tactics in the 1972 election), Congress amended federal election law to further limit campaign contributions. Two years later, in *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), the U.S. Supreme Court suggested for the first time that political contributions count as speech. The court argued that restrictions on campaign money "necessarily reduce[d] the quantity of expression by restricting the number of issues discussed, the depth of the exploration, and the size of the audience reached. This is because virtually every means of communicating ideas in today's mass society requires the expenditure of money."

Over the ensuing years, Congress has tried to again rein in campaign finance with new laws, but federal courts, beholden to the idea that money equals speech, have always struck them down. This brings us to the current state of our national elections. The two main political parties and their supporters spent an estimated $6 billion on campaign advertising for the 2012 election, more than doubling the previous record. The main reason for the new record was the unlimited amount that corporations and rich individuals could now spend, thanks to another decision by the Supreme Court, *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010). The five-to-four decision said that it was a violation of First Amendment free-speech rights for the federal government to limit corporate or union spending for TV and radio advertising, usually done through organized Super PACs (political action committees), which are most often sponsored by corporate interests or super-rich donors.

While the Supreme Court decision ran counter to public opinion, many advocates on the political Right and some on the Left offered that the First Amendment means what it says: "Congress shall make no law." Traditional First Amendment supporters like Gene Policinski of the First Amendment Center argue that the "good intentions" behind the idea of limiting campaign spending "don't justify ignoring a basic concept that the Supreme Court majority pointed out in its ruling: Nothing in the First Amendment provides for 'more or less' free-speech protection depending on who is speaking."[3]

An advantage in advertising spending is only one of many variables; Obama still won reelection in 2012 despite more national party, Super PAC, and campaign spending.[4] Nevertheless, those with limited means are at a clear disadvantage compared to those who have money when it comes to buying expensive commercial speech and shaping the direction of a presidential campaign. Harvard Law School professor Lawrence Lessig argues that money corrupted American politics long before the *Citizens United* ruling. "Politicians are dependent upon 'the funders'—spending anywhere from 30 percent to 70 percent of their time raising money from these funders," he wrote. "But 'the funders' are not 'the People': .26 percent of Americans give more than $200 in a congressional campaign; .05 percent give the max to any congressional candidate; .01 percent—the 1 percent of the 1 percent—give more than $10,000 in an election cycle; and .0000063 percent have given close to 80 percent of the super PAC money spent in this election so far. That's 196 Americans."[5] Given the *Citizens United* ruling, what can be done to give all citizens a voice in the campaign finance system and make them "patrons" of the political process?

Visit **LaunchPad for *Media & Culture*** and use **LearningCurve** to review concepts from this chapter.

THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES OVER WHAT CONSTITUTES FREE SPEECH or free expression have defined American democracy. In 1989, when Supreme Court Justice William Brennan Jr. was asked to comment on his favorite part of the Constitution, he replied, "The First Amendment, I expect. Its enforcement gives us this society. The other provisions of the Constitution really only embellish it." Of all the issues that involve the mass media and popular culture, none is more central—or explosive—than freedom of expression and the First Amendment. Our nation's historical development can often be traced to how much or how little we tolerated speech during particular periods.

The current era is as volatile a time as ever for free-speech issues. Contemporary free-speech debates include copyright issues, hate-speech codes on college and university campuses, explicit lyrics in music, violent images in film and television, the swapping of media files on the Internet, and the right of the press to publish government secrets.

In this chapter, we will:

- Examine free-expression issues, focusing on the implications of the First Amendment for a variety of mass media
- Investigate the models of expression, the origins of free expression, and the First Amendment
- Examine the prohibition of censorship and how the First Amendment has been challenged and limited throughout U.S. history
- Focus on the impact of gag orders, shield laws, the use of cameras in the courtroom, and some of the clashes between the First Amendment and the Sixth Amendment
- Review the social and political pressures that gave rise to early censorship boards and the current film ratings system
- Discuss First Amendment issues in broadcasting, considering why broadcasting has been treated differently from print media
- Explore the newest frontier in free expression—the Internet

One of the most important laws relating to the media is the First Amendment (see pages 537–538 for its full text). While you've surely heard about its protections, do you know how or why it was put in place? Have you ever known someone who had to fight to express an idea—for example, was anyone in your high school ever sent home for wearing a certain T-shirt or hat that school officials deemed "offensive"? Have you ever felt that your access to some media content was restricted or censored? What were the circumstances, and how did you respond? For more questions to help you understand the role of freedom of expression in our lives, see "Questioning the Media" in the Chapter Review.

The Origins of Free Expression and a Free Press

When students from other cultures attend school in the United States, many are astounded by the number of books, news articles, editorials, cartoons, films, TV shows, and Web sites that make fun of U.S. presidents, the military, and the police. Many countries' governments throughout history have jailed, or even killed, their citizens for such speech "violations." For instance, between 1992 and September 2014, more than one thousand international journalists were killed in the line of duty, often because someone disagreed with what they wrote or reported.[6] In the United States, however, we have generally taken for granted our right to criticize and

AP Photo/John Moore

JOURNALISTS IN IRAQ
During the Iraq War, journalists were embedded with troops to provide "frontline" coverage. The freedom the U.S. press had to report on the war came at a cost. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, 249 journalists and media workers were killed in Iraq between 2003 and 2014 as a result of hostile actions.

poke fun at the government and other authority figures. Moreover, many of us are unaware of the ideas that underpin our freedoms and don't realize the extent to which those freedoms surpass those in most other countries.

In fact, a 2014 survey related that sixty-six nations allow virtually no freedom of the press, with those governments exercising tight control over the news media and even intimidating, jailing, and executing journalists. Only one in seven people on the planet live in a country with a free media system.[7]

Models of Expression

Since the mid-1950s, four conventional models for speech and journalism have been used to categorize the widely differing ideas underlying free expression.[8] These models include the authoritarian, communist, social responsibility, and libertarian concepts. They are distinguished by the levels of freedom permitted and by the attitudes of the ruling and political classes toward the freedoms granted to the average citizen. Today, given the diversity among nations, the experimentation of journalists, and the collapse of many communist press systems, these categories are no longer as relevant. Nevertheless, they offer a good point of departure for discussing the press and democracy.

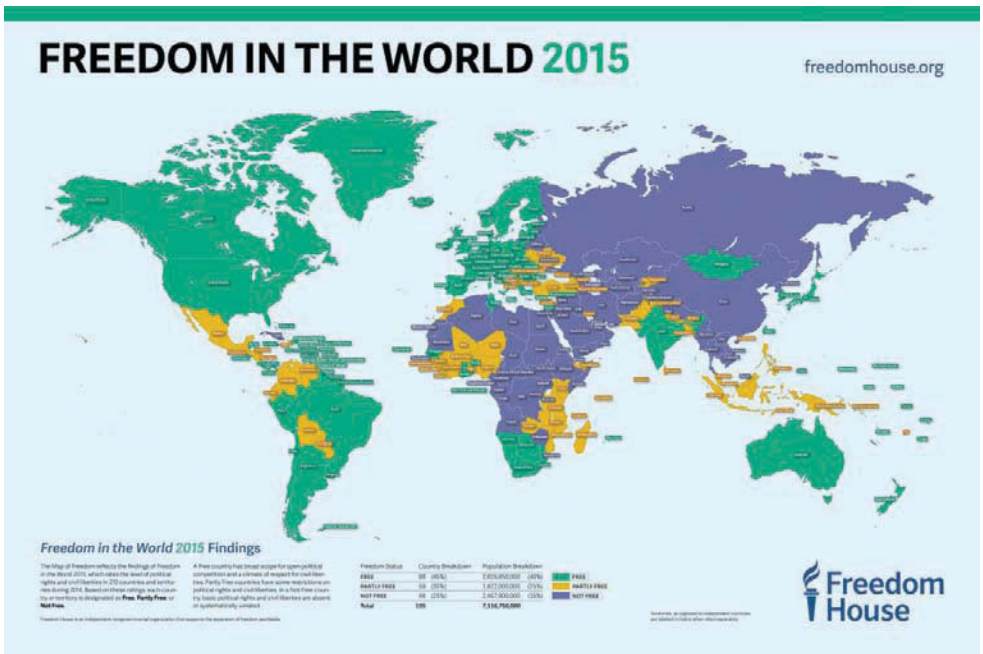
The **authoritarian model** developed at about the time the printing press first arrived in sixteenth-century England. Its advocates held that the general public, largely illiterate in those days, needed guidance from an elite, educated ruling class. Government criticism and public dissent were not tolerated, especially if such speech undermined "the common good"—an ideal that elites and rulers defined and controlled. Censorship was also frequent, and the government issued printing licenses primarily to publishers who were sympathetic to government and ruling-class agendas.

Today, many authoritarian systems operate in developing countries throughout Asia, Latin America, and Africa, where journalism often joins with government and business to foster economic growth, minimize political dissent, and promote social stability, because state leaders believe that too much speech freedom would undermine the delicate stability of their nations' social infrastructures. In these societies, criticizing government programs may be viewed as an obstacle to keeping the peace, and both reporters and citizens may be punished if they question leaders and the status quo too fiercely.

In the authoritarian model, the news is controlled by private enterprise. But under the **communist or state model**, the press is controlled by the government because state leaders believe the press should serve the goals of the state. Although some government criticism is tolerated under this model, ideas that challenge the basic premises of state authority are not. Although state media systems were in decline throughout the 1990s, there are still a few countries using this model, including Myanmar (Burma), China, Cuba, and North Korea.

The **social responsibility model** characterizes the ideals of mainstream journalism in the United States. The concepts and assumptions behind this model were outlined in 1947 by the Hutchins Commission, which was formed to examine the increasing influence of the press. The commission's report called for the development of press watchdog groups because the mass media had grown too powerful and needed to become more socially responsible. Key recommendations encouraged comprehensive news reports that put issues and events in context; more news forums for the exchange of ideas; better coverage of society's range of economic classes and social groups; and stronger overviews of our nation's social values, ideals, and goals.

A socially responsible press is usually privately owned (although the government technically operates the broadcast media in most European democracies). In this model, the press functions as a **Fourth Estate**—that is, as an unofficial branch of government that monitors the legislative, judicial, and executive branches for abuses of power. In theory, private ownership keeps the news media independent of government. Thus they are better able to watch over the system on behalf of citizens. Under this model, the press supplies information to citizens so that they can make informed decisions regarding political and social issues.



Courtesy of Freedom House

PRESS FREEDOM
The international human rights organization Freedom House comparatively assesses political rights and civil liberties in 210 of the world's countries and territories. Among the nations counted as not entirely free (illustrated in blue) are China, Cuba, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Pakistan, Russia, and Saudi Arabia.

The flip side of the state and authoritarian models and a more radical extension of the social responsibility model, the **libertarian model** encourages vigorous government criticism and supports the highest degree of individual and press freedoms. Under a libertarian model, no restrictions would be placed on the mass media or on individual speech. Libertarians tolerate the expression of everything, from publishing pornography to advocating anarchy. In North America and Europe, many alternative newspapers and magazines operate on such a model. Placing a great deal of trust in citizens' ability to distinguish truth from fabrication, libertarians maintain that speaking out with absolute freedom is the best way to fight injustice and arrive at the truth.

The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution

To understand the development of free expression in the United States, we must first understand how the idea for a free press came about. In various European countries throughout the seventeenth century, in order to monitor—and punish, if necessary—the speech of editors and writers, governments controlled the circulation of ideas through the press by requiring printers to obtain licenses from them. However, in 1644, English poet John Milton, author of *Paradise Lost*, published his essay *Areopagitica*, which opposed government licenses for printers and defended a free press. Milton argued that all sorts of ideas, even false ones, should be allowed to circulate freely in a democratic society because eventually the truth would emerge. In 1695, England stopped licensing newspapers, and most of Europe followed. In many democracies today, publishing a newspaper, magazine, or newsletter remains one of the few public or service enterprises that requires no license.

Less than a hundred years later, the writers of the U.S. Constitution were ambivalent about the freedom of the press. In fact, the Constitution as originally ratified in 1788 didn't include a guarantee of freedom of the press. Constitutional framer Alexander Hamilton thought it impractical to attempt to define "liberty of the press" and believed that whatever declarations might be added to the Constitution, its security would ultimately depend on public opinion. At that time, though, nine of the original thirteen states had charters defending the freedom of

the press, and the states pushed to have federal guarantees of free speech and press approved at the first session of the new Congress. The Bill of Rights, which contained the first ten amendments to the Constitution, was adopted in 1791.

The commitment to freedom of the press, however, was not resolute. In 1798, the Federalist Party, which controlled the presidency and Congress, passed the Sedition Act to silence opposition to an anticipated war against France. Led by President John Adams, the Federalists believed that defamatory articles by the opposition Democratic-Republican Party might stir up discontent against the government and undermine its authority. Over the next three years, twenty-five individuals were arrested and ten were convicted under the act, which was also used to prosecute anti-Federalist newspapers. After failing to curb opposition, the Sedition Act expired in 1801 during Thomas Jefferson's presidency. Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican who had challenged the act's constitutionality, pardoned all defendants convicted under it.[9] Ironically, the Sedition Act, the first major attempt to constrain the First Amendment, became the defining act in solidifying American support behind the notion of a free press. As journalism historian Michael Schudson explained, "Only in the wake of the Sedition Act did Americans boldly embrace a free press as a necessary bulwark of a liberal civil order."[10]

Censorship as Prior Restraint

In the United States, the First Amendment has theoretically prohibited censorship. Over time, Supreme Court decisions have defined censorship as **prior restraint**. This means that courts and governments cannot block any publication or speech before it actually occurs, on the principle that a law has not been broken until an illegal act has been committed. In 1931, for example, the Supreme Court determined in *Near v. Minnesota* that a Minneapolis newspaper could not be stopped from publishing "scandalous and defamatory" material about police and law officials whom they felt were negligent in arresting and punishing local gangsters.[11] However, the Court left open the idea that the news media could be ordered to halt publication in exceptional cases. During a declared war, for instance, if a U.S. court judged that the publication of an article would threaten national security, such expression could be restrained prior to its printing. In fact, during World War I, the U.S. Navy seized all wireless radio transmitters. This was done to ensure control over critical information about weather conditions and troop movements that might inadvertently aid the enemy. In the 1970s, though, the Pentagon Papers decision and the *Progressive* magazine case tested important concepts underlying prior restraint.

The Pentagon Papers Case

In 1971, with the Vietnam War still in progress, Daniel Ellsberg, a former Defense Department employee, stole a copy of the forty-seven-volume report *History of U.S. Decision-Making Process on Vietnam Policy*. A thorough study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam since World War II, the report was classified by the government as top secret. Ellsberg and a friend leaked the study—nicknamed the Pentagon Papers—to the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. In June 1971, the *Times* began publishing articles based on the study. To block any further publications, the Nixon administration applied for and received a federal court injunction against the *Times*, arguing that the publication of these documents posed "a clear and present danger" to national security.

A lower U.S. district court supported the newspaper's right to publish, but the government's appeal put the case before the Supreme Court less than three weeks after the first article was published. In a six-to-three vote, the Court sided with the newspaper. Justice Hugo Black, in his majority opinion, attacked the government's attempt to suppress publication: "Both the history and language of the First Amendment support the view that the press must

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PRIOR RESTRAINT
In 1971, Daniel Ellsberg surrendered to government prosecutors in Boston. Ellsberg was a former Pentagon researcher who turned against America's military policy in Vietnam and leaked information to the press. He was charged with unauthorized possession of top-secret federal documents. Later called the Pentagon Papers, the documents contained evidence on the military's bungled handling of the Vietnam War. In 1973, an exasperated federal judge dismissed the case when illegal government-sponsored wiretaps of Ellsberg's psychoanalyst came to light during the Watergate scandal.

be left free to publish news, whatever the source, without censorship, injunctions, or prior restraints."[12] (See "Media Literacy and the Critical Process: Who Knows the First Amendment?" on page 544.)

The *Progressive* Magazine Case

The issue of prior restraint for national security surfaced again in 1979, when an injunction was issued to block publication of the *Progressive*, a national left-wing magazine, in which the editors planned to publish an article titled "The H-Bomb Secret: How We Got It, Why We're Telling It." The dispute began when the editor of the magazine sent a draft to the Department of Energy to verify technical portions of the article. Believing that the article contained sensitive data that might damage U.S. efforts to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Energy Department asked the magazine not to publish it. When the magazine said it would proceed anyway, the government sued the *Progressive* and asked a federal district court to block publication.

Judge Robert Warren sought to balance the *Progressive*'s First Amendment rights against the government's claim that the article would spread dangerous information and undermine national security. In an unprecedented action, Warren sided with the government, deciding that "a mistake in ruling against the United States could pave the way for thermonuclear annihilation for us all. In that event, our right to life is extinguished and the right to publish becomes moot."[13] During appeals and further litigation, several other publications, including the *Milwaukee Sentinel* and *Scientific American*, published their own articles related to the H-bomb, getting much of their information from publications already in circulation. None of these articles, including the one eventually published in the *Progressive*—after the government dropped the case during an appeal—contained the precise technical details needed to actually design a nuclear weapon, nor did they provide information on where to obtain the sensitive ingredients.

Even though the article was eventually published, Warren's decision stands as the first time in American history that a prior-restraint order imposed in the name of national security actually stopped the initial publication of a controversial news report.

Unprotected Forms of Expression

Despite the First Amendment's provision that "Congress shall make no law" restricting speech, the federal government has made a number of laws that do just that, especially concerning false or misleading advertising, expressions that intentionally threaten public safety, and certain speech that compromises war strategy and other issues of national security.

Media Literacy and the Critical Process

1 DESCRIPTION. Working alone or in small groups, find eight to ten people you know from two different age groups: (1) from your peers and friends or younger siblings, and (2) from your parents' or grandparents' generations. (Do not choose students from your class.) Interview your subjects individually, in person, by phone, or by e-mail, and ask them this question: If Congress were considering the following law—then offer the First Amendment (see pages 537– 538), but don't tell them what it is—would they approve? Then ask them to respond to the following series of questions, adding any other questions that you think would be appropriate:

1. Do you agree or disagree with the freedoms? Explain.
2. Which do you support, and which do you think are excessive or provide too much freedom?
3. Ask them if they recognize the law. Note how many identify it as the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and how many do not. Note the percentage from each age group.

Who Knows the First Amendment?

Enacted in 1791, the First Amendment supports not just press and speech freedoms but also religious freedom and the right of people to protest and to "petition the government for a redress of grievances." It also says that "Congress shall make no law" abridging or prohibiting these five freedoms. To investigate some critics' charge that many citizens don't exactly know the protections offered in the First Amendment, conduct your own survey. Discuss with friends, family, or colleagues what they know or think about the First Amendment.

4. Optional: Ask if your respondents are willing to share their political leanings—Republican, Democrat, Independent, not sure, disaffected, apathetic, or other. Record their answers.

2 ANALYSIS. What patterns emerge in the answers from the two groups? Are their answers similar or different? How? Note any differences in the answers based on gender, level of education, or occupation.

3 INTERPRETATION. What do these patterns mean? Are your interview subjects supportive or unsupportive of the First Amendment? What are their reasons?

4 EVALUATION. How do your interviewees judge the freedoms? In general, what did your interview subjects know about the First Amendment? What impresses you about your subjects' answers? Do you find anything alarming or troubling in their answers?

5 ENGAGEMENT. Research free expression and locate any national studies that are similar to this assignment. Then, check the recent national surveys on attitudes toward the First Amendment at www.newseuminstitute.org/first-amendment-center. Based on your research, educate others. Do a presentation in class or at your college or university about the First Amendment.

Beyond the federal government, state laws and local ordinances have on occasion curbed expression, and over the years the court system has determined that some kinds of expression do not merit protection under the Constitution, including seditious expression, copyright infringement, libel, obscenity, the right to privacy, and expression that interferes with the Sixth Amendment.

Seditious Expression

For more than a century after the Sedition Act of 1798, Congress passed no laws prohibiting dissenting opinion. But by the twentieth century, the sentiments of the Sedition Act reappeared in times of war. For instance, the Espionage Acts of 1917 and 1918, which were enforced during World Wars I and II, made it a federal crime to disrupt the nation's war effort, authorizing severe punishment for seditious statements.

In the landmark *Schenck v. United States* (1919) appeal case during World War I, the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a Socialist Party leader, Charles T. Schenck, for distributing leaflets urging American men to protest the draft, in violation of the recently passed Espionage Act. In upholding the conviction, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote two of the more famous interpretations and phrases in the First Amendment's legal history:

But the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.

The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent.

In supporting Schenck's sentence—a ten-year prison term—Holmes noted that the Socialist leaflets were entitled to First Amendment protection, but only during times of peace. In establishing the "clear and present danger" criterion for expression, the Supreme Court demonstrated the limits of the First Amendment.

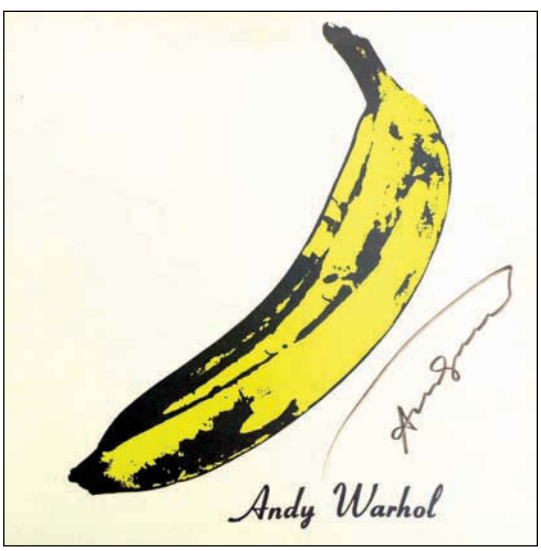
And in 2010, after WikiLeaks released thousands of confidential U.S. embassy cables into the public domain, the U.S. Justice Department contemplated charging the Web site's founder, Julian Assange, with violating the 1917 Espionage Act. In June 2012, Assange took refuge inside the Ecuadorian embassy in London, where he was granted diplomatic asylum. The U.S. government instead pursued Espionage Act charges against Private First Class Bradley (now Chelsea) Manning, an intelligence analyst in Iraq, who admitted to releasing the information to WikiLeaks to show the flaws of U.S. strategies in Iraq and Afghanistan. Manning was convicted and sentenced to thirty-five years in prison in August 2013.

Copyright Infringement

Appropriating a writer's or an artist's words or music without consent or payment is also a form of expression that is not protected as speech. A **copyright** legally protects the rights of authors and producers to their published or unpublished writing, music, lyrics, TV programs, movies, or graphic art designs. When Congress passed the first Copyright Act in 1790, it gave authors the right to control their published works for fourteen years, with the opportunity for a renewal for another fourteen years. After the end of the copyright period, the work enters the **public domain**, which gives the public free access to the work. The idea was that a period of copyright control would give authors financial incentive to create original works, and that the public domain gives others incentive to create derivative works.

Over the years, as artists lived longer and, more important, as corporate copyright owners became more common, copyright periods were extended by Congress. In 1976, Congress extended the copyright period to the life of the author plus fifty years, or seventy-five years for a corporate copyright owner. In 1998 (as copyrights on works such as Disney's Mickey Mouse were set to expire), Congress again extended the copyright period for twenty additional years—the eleventh time in forty years that the terms for copyright had been extended.[14] As Timothy B. Lee of the *Washington Post* points out, "The big question now is whether incumbent copyright holders will try to get yet another extension of copyright terms before works begin falling into the public domain again on January 1, 2019."[15] (See "Examining Ethics: A Generation of Copyright Criminals?" on page 564.)

Corporate owners have millions of dollars to gain by keeping their properties



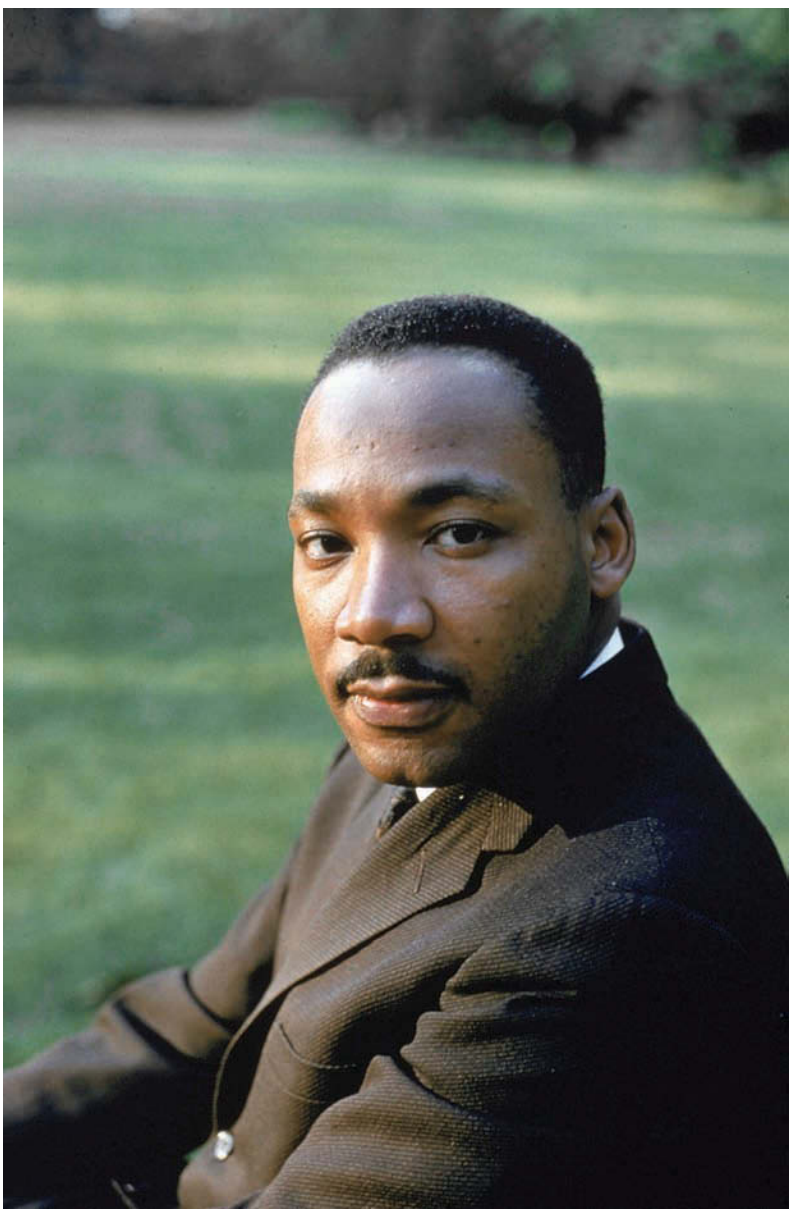
Camera Press/Richard Stonehouse/Redux Pictures

THE LIMITS OF COPYRIGHT
The iconic album art for the Velvet Underground's 1967 debut, a banana print designed by artist Andy Warhol, has been a subject of controversy in recent years, as a copyright dispute between the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts and the rock band has continued to flourish. The most recent disagreement occurred when the Warhol Foundation, which had previously accused the Velvet Underground of violating its claim to the print, announced plans to license the banana design for iPhone cases. Accusing the foundation of copyright violation, the band filed a copyright claim to the design, which a federal judge later dismissed.

out of the public domain. Disney, a major lobbyist for the 1998 extension, would have lost its copyright to Mickey Mouse in 2004 but now continues to earn millions on its movies, T-shirts, and Mickey Mouse watches through 2024. Warner/Chappell Music, which made up to $2 million a year in royalties from the popular "Happy Birthday to You" song, lost its copyright in a 2015 lawsuit, when a U.S. District judge ruled that it didn't have a valid claim to the 120-year-old song.

Today, nearly every innovation in digital culture creates new questions about copyright law. For example, is a video mash-up that samples copyrighted sounds and images a copyright violation or a creative accomplishment protected under the concept of *fair use* (the same standard that enables students to legally quote attributed text from other works in their research papers)? Is it fair use for a blog to quote an entire newspaper article as long as it has a link and an attribution? Should news aggregators like Google News and Yahoo! News pay something to financially strapped newspapers when they link to their articles? One of the laws that tips the debates toward stricter enforcement of copyright is the Digital Millennium Copyright Act of 1998, which outlaws any action or technology that circumvents copyright protection systems. In other words, it may be illegal to merely create or distribute technology that enables someone to make illegal copies of digital content, such as a music file or a DVD.

LIBEL AND THE MEDIA
A 1960 *New York Times* advertisement triggered one of the most influential and important libel cases in U.S. history by criticizing law-enforcement tactics used against Martin Luther King (pictured below) and the Civil Rights movement. The behind-the-scenes machinations of King's later Alabama demonstrations are the subject of the film *Selma*.



Howard Sochurek/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

Libel

The biggest legal worry that haunts editors and publishers is the issue of libel, a form of expression that, unlike political expression, is not protected as free speech under the First Amendment. **Libel** refers to defamation of character in written or broadcast form; libel is different from **slander**, which is spoken language that defames a person's character. Inherited from British common law, libel is generally defined as a false statement that holds a person up to public ridicule, contempt, or hatred or injures a person's business or occupation. Examples of libelous statements include falsely accusing someone of professional dishonesty or incompetence (such as medical malpractice), falsely accusing a person of a crime (such as drug dealing), falsely stating that someone is mentally ill or engages in unacceptable behavior (such as public drunkenness), or falsely accusing a person of associating with a disreputable organization or cause (such as the Mafia or a neo-Nazi military group).

Since 1964, the *New York Times v. Sullivan* case has served as the standard for libel law. The case stems from a 1960 full-page advertisement placed in the *New York Times* by the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South.

Without naming names, the ad criticized the law-enforcement tactics used in southern cities—including Montgomery, Alabama—to break up Civil Rights demonstrations. The ad condemned "southern violators of the Constitution" bent on destroying King and the movement. Taking exception, the city commissioner of Montgomery, L. B. Sullivan, sued the *Times* for libel, claiming the ad defamed him indirectly. Although Alabama civil courts awarded Sullivan $500,000, the newspaper's lawyers appealed to the Supreme Court, which unanimously reversed the ruling, holding that Alabama libel law violated the *Times*' First Amendment rights.[16]

As part of the *Sullivan* decision, the Supreme Court asked future civil courts to distinguish whether plaintiffs in libel cases are public officials or private individuals. Citizens with more "ordinary" jobs, such as city sanitation employees, undercover police informants, nurses, or unknown actors, are normally classified as private individuals. Private individuals have to prove (1) that the public statement about them was false, (2) that damages or actual injury occurred (such as the loss of a job, harm to reputation, public humiliation, or mental anguish), and (3) that the publisher or broadcaster was negligent in failing to determine the truthfulness of the statement.

There are two categories of public figures: (1) public celebrities (movie or sports stars) or people who "occupy positions of such pervasive power and influence that they are deemed public figures for all purposes" (presidents, senators, mayors), and (2) individuals who have thrown themselves—usually voluntarily but sometimes involuntarily—into the middle of "a significant public controversy," such as a lawyer defending a prominent client, an advocate for an antismoking ordinance, or a labor union activist.

Public officials also have to prove falsehood, damages, negligence, and **actual malice** on the part of the news medium; actual malice means that the reporter or editor knew the statement was false and printed or broadcast it anyway, or acted with a reckless disregard for the truth. Because actual malice against a public official is hard to prove, it is difficult for public figures to win libel suits. The *Sullivan* decision allowed news operations to aggressively pursue legitimate news stories without fear of continuous litigation. However, the mere threat of a libel suit still scares off many in the news media. Plaintiffs may also belong to one of many vague classification categories, such as public high school teachers, police officers, and court-appointed attorneys. Individuals from these professions end up as public or private citizens depending on a particular court's ruling.

Defenses against Libel Charges

Since the 1730s, the best defense against libel in American courts has been the truth. In most cases, if libel defendants can demonstrate that they printed or broadcast statements that were essentially true, such evidence usually bars plaintiffs from recovering any damages—even if their reputations were harmed.

In addition, there are other defenses against libel. Prosecutors, for example, who would otherwise be vulnerable to being accused of libel are granted *absolute privilege* in a court of law so that they are not prevented from making accusatory statements toward defendants. The reporters who print or broadcast statements made in court are also protected against libel; they are granted conditional or **qualified privilege**, allowing them to report judicial or legislative proceedings even though the public statements being reported may be libelous.

Another defense against libel is the rule of **opinion and fair comment**. Generally, libel applies only to intentional misstatements of factual information rather than opinion, and therefore opinions are protected from libel. However, because the line between fact and opinion is often hazy, lawyers advise journalists first to set forth the facts on which a viewpoint is based and then to state their opinion based on those facts. In other words, journalists should make it clear that a statement of opinion is a criticism and not an allegation of fact.

AP Photo/BH

LIBEL AND OBSCENITY
Prior to his 1984 libel trial, *Hustler* magazine publisher Larry Flynt was also convicted of pandering obscenity. Here, Flynt answers questions from newsmen on February 9, 1977, as he is led to jail.

One of the most famous tests of opinion and fair comment occurred in 1983, when Larry Flynt, publisher of *Hustler* magazine, published a spoof of a Campari advertisement depicting conservative minister and political activist Jerry Falwell as a drunk and as having had sexual relations with his mother. In fine print at the bottom of the page, a disclaimer read: "Ad parody—not to be taken seriously." Often a target of Flynt's irreverence and questionable taste, Falwell sued for libel, asking for $45 million in damages. In the verdict, the jury rejected the libel suit but found that Flynt had intentionally caused Falwell emotional distress, awarding Falwell $200,000. The case drew enormous media attention and raised concerns about the erosion of the media's right to free speech. However, Flynt's lawyers appealed, and in 1988 the Supreme Court unanimously overturned the verdict. Although the Court did not condone the *Hustler* spoof, the justices did say that the magazine was entitled to constitutional protection. In affirming *Hustler*'s speech rights, the Court suggested that even though parodies and insults of public figures might indeed cause emotional pain, denying the right to publish them and awarding damages for emotional reasons would violate the spirit of the First Amendment.[17]

Libel laws also protect satire, comedy, and opinions expressed in reviews of books, plays, movies, and restaurants. Such laws may not, however, protect malicious statements in which plaintiffs can prove that defendants used their free-speech rights to mount a damaging personal attack.

Obscenity

For most of this nation's history, legislators have argued that **obscenity** does not constitute a legitimate form of expression protected by the First Amendment. The problem, however, is that little agreement has existed on how to define an obscene work. In the 1860s, a court could judge an entire book obscene if it contained a single passage believed capable of "corrupting" a person. In fact, throughout the nineteenth century, certain government authorities outside the courts—especially U.S. post office and customs officials—held the power to censor or destroy material they deemed obscene.

This began to change in the 1930s, during the trial involving the celebrated novel *Ulysses* by Irish writer James Joyce. Portions of *Ulysses* had been serialized in the early 1920s in an

American magazine, *Little Review*, copies of which were later seized and burned by postal officials. The publishers of the magazine were fined $50 and nearly sent to prison. Because of the four-letter words contained in the novel and the book-burning and fining incidents, British and American publishing houses backed away from the book, and in 1928, the U.S. Customs Office officially banned *Ulysses* as an obscene work. Ultimately, however, Random House agreed to publish the work in the United States if it was declared "legal." Finally, in 1933, a U.S. judge ruled that an important literary work such as *Ulysses* was a legitimate, protected form of expression, even if portions of the book were deemed objectionable by segments of the population.

In a landmark 1957 case, *Roth v. United States*, the Supreme Court offered this test of obscenity: whether to an "average person," applying "contemporary standards," the major thrust or theme of the material "taken as a whole" appealed to "prurient interest" (in other words, was intended to "incite lust"). By the 1960s, based on *Roth*, expression was not obscene if only a small part of the work lacked "redeeming social value."

The current legal definition of obscenity derives from the 1973 *Miller v. California* case, which stated that to qualify as obscenity, the material must meet three criteria: (1) the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that the material as a whole appeals to prurient interest; (2) the material depicts or describes sexual conduct in a patently offensive way; and (3) the material, as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. The *Miller* decision contained two important ideas not present in *Roth*. First, it acknowledged that different communities and regions of the country have different values and standards with which to judge obscenity. Second, it required that a work be judged *as a whole*, so that publishers could not use the loophole of inserting a political essay or literary poem into pornographic materials to demonstrate in court that their publications contained redeeming features.

Since the *Miller* decision, courts have granted great latitude to printed and visual obscenity. By the 1990s, major prosecutions had become rare—aimed mostly at child pornography—as the legal system accepted the concept that a free and democratic society must tolerate even repulsive kinds of speech. Most battles over obscenity are now online, where the global reach of the Internet has eclipsed the concept of community standards. A new complication in defining pornography has emerged with cases of "sexting," in which minors produce and send sexually graphic images of themselves via cell phones or the Internet (see "Case Study: Is 'Sexting' Pornography?" on page 550).

PAPARAZZI
Some have argued that the paparazzi present a very real danger to their subjects. For example, actor Ryan Reynolds, seen here with his equally famous wife, Blake Lively, was struck by a paparazzi's car in 2015, in a hit-and-run accident. Reynolds was not seriously injured, but others have not been so lucky. Princess Diana of Wales died in a car accident after being chased by paparazzi in 1997.

George Pimentel/Wire Image/Getty Images

The Right to Privacy

Whereas libel laws safeguard a person's character and reputation, the right to privacy protects an individual's peace of mind and personal feelings. In the simplest terms, the **right to privacy** addresses a person's right to be left alone, without his or her name, image, or daily activities becoming public property. Invasions of privacy occur in different situations, the most common of which are intrusion into someone's personal space via unauthorized tape recording, photographing, wiretapping, and the like; making available to the public personal records, such as health and phone records; disclosing personal information, such as religion, sexual activities, or personal

CASE STUDY

Is "Sexting" Pornography?

According to U.S. federal and state laws, when someone produces, transmits, or possesses images with graphic sexual depictions of minors, it is considered child pornography. Digital media have made the circulation of child pornography even more pervasive, according to a 2006 study on child pornography on the Internet. About one thousand people are arrested each year in the United States for child pornography, and according to a U.S. Department of Justice guide for police, they have few distinguishing characteristics other than being "likely to be white, male, and between the ages of 26 and 40."[1]

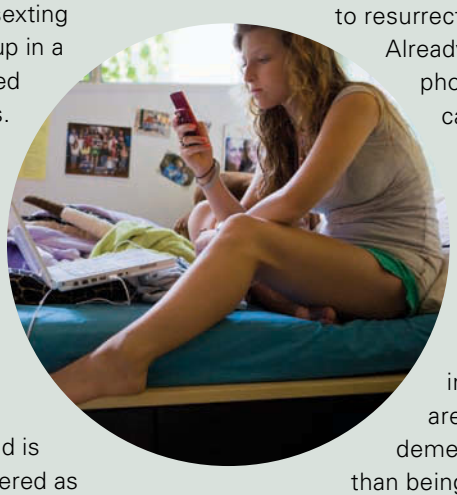
Now, a social practice has challenged the common wisdom of what is obscenity and who are child pornographers: What happens when the people who produce, transmit, and possess images with graphic sexual depictions of minors are minors themselves?

The practice in question is "sexting," the sending or receiving of sexual images via mobile phone text messages or via the Internet. Sexting occupies a gray area of obscenity law—yes, these are images of minors; but no, they don't fit the intent of child pornography laws, which are designed to stop the exploitation of children by adults.

While such messages are usually meant to be completely personal, technology makes it otherwise. "All control over the image is lost—it can be forwarded repeatedly all over the school, town, state, country and world," says Steven M. Dettelbach, U.S. attorney for the Northern District of Ohio.[2] And given the endless archives of the Internet, such images never really go away but can be accessed by anyone with enough skills to find them.

A recent national survey found that 15 percent of teens ages twelve to seventeen say they have received sexually suggestive nude or nearly nude images of someone they know via text messaging. Another 4 percent of teens ages twelve to seventeen say they have sent sexually suggestive nude or nearly nude images of themselves via text messaging. The rates are even higher for teens at age seventeen—8 percent have sent such images, and 30 percent have received them.[3]

Some recent cases illustrate how young people engaging in sexting have gotten caught up in a legal system designed to punish pedophiles. In 2008, Florida resident Phillip Alpert, then eighteen, sent nude images of his sixteen-year-old girlfriend to friends after they got in an argument. He was convicted of child pornography and is required to be registered as a sex offender for the next twenty-five years. In Iowa, eighteen-year-old Jorge Canal Jr. was also convicted as a sex offender after sending a photo of his genitals to a fourteen-year-old girl—a friend who asked him to send the photo as a joke. Her parents found the photo and pressed charges. In 2009, three Pennsylvania girls took seminude pictures of themselves and sent the photos to three boys. All six minors were charged with child pornography. A judge later halted the charges in the interest of freedom of speech and parental rights. In all these cases, and others like them, technology and social trends challenged the status quo beliefs on obscenity laws and the media.



The problem of texting potentially embarrassing photos can be solved technologically with Snapchat, an app introduced in 2011 that enables users to send photos that self-destruct in a few seconds. (More recently, however, a forensics company figured out how to resurrect Snapchat photos. Already, today's smartphones have screen-capture functionality.) In the legal realm, by 2014 at least twenty states enacted legislation on sexting, often amending laws so that teens involved in sexting are treated with misdemeanor charges rather than being subject to harsher felony laws against child pornography. How do you think sexting should be handled by the law?

Rana Faure/Aurora Photos

activities; and unauthorized appropriation of someone's image or name for advertising or other commercial purposes. In general, the news media have been granted wide protections under the First Amendment to do their work. For instance, the names and pictures of both private individuals and public figures can usually be used without their consent in most news stories. Additionally, if private citizens become part of public controversies and subsequent news stories, the courts have usually allowed the news media to treat them like public figures (that is, to record their quotes and use their images without the individuals' permission). The courts have even ruled that accurate reports of criminal and court records, including the identification of rape victims, do not normally constitute privacy invasions. Nevertheless, most newspapers and broadcast outlets use their own internal guidelines and ethical codes to protect the privacy of victims and defendants, especially in cases involving rape and child abuse.

Public figures, however, have received some legal relief, as many local municipalities and states have passed "anti-paparazzi" laws that protect individuals from unwarranted scrutiny and surveillance of personal activities on private property or outside public forums. Some courts have ruled that photographers must keep a certain distance from celebrities, although powerful zoom lens technology usually overcomes this obstacle. However, every year brings a few stories of a Hollywood actor or sports figure punching a tabloid photographer or TV cameraman who got too close. And in 2004, the Supreme Court ruled—as an exception to the Freedom of Information Act—that families of prominent figures who have died have the right to object to the release of autopsy photos, so that the images are not exploited.

A number of laws also protect the privacy of regular citizens. For example, the Privacy Act of 1974 protects individuals' records from public disclosure unless individuals give written consent. The Electronic Communications Privacy Act of 1986 extended the law to computer-stored data and the Internet, although subsequent court decisions ruled that employees have no privacy rights in electronic communications conducted on their employer's equipment. The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001, however, weakened the earlier laws and gave the federal government more latitude in searching private citizens' records and intercepting electronic communications without a court order.

First Amendment versus Sixth Amendment

Over the years, First Amendment protections of speech and the press have often clashed with the Sixth Amendment, which guarantees an accused individual in "all criminal prosecutions . . . the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury." In 1954, for example, the Sam Sheppard case garnered enormous nationwide publicity and became the inspiration for the TV show and film *The Fugitive*. Featuring lurid details about the murder of Sheppard's wife, the press editorialized in favor of Sheppard's quick arrest; some papers even pronounced him guilty. A prominent and wealthy osteopath, Sheppard was convicted of the murder, but twelve years later Sheppard's new lawyer, F. Lee Bailey, argued before the Supreme Court that his client had not received a fair trial because of prejudicial publicity in the press. The Court overturned the conviction and freed Sheppard.

Gag Orders and Shield Laws

A major criticism of recent criminal cases concerns the ways in which lawyers use the news media to comment publicly on cases that are pending or are in trial. After the Sheppard reversal in the 1960s, the Supreme Court introduced safeguards that judges could employ to ensure fair trials in heavily publicized cases. These included sequestering juries (Sheppard's jury was not sequestered); moving cases to other jurisdictions; limiting the number of reporters; and placing restrictions, or **gag orders**, on lawyers and witnesses. In some countries, courts have

issued gag orders to prohibit the press from releasing information or giving commentary that might prejudice jury selection or cause an unfair trial. In the United States, however, especially since a Supreme Court review in 1976, gag orders have been struck down as a prior-restraint violation of the First Amendment.

In opposition to gag orders, **shield laws** have favored the First Amendment rights of reporters, protecting them from having to reveal their sources for controversial information used in news stories. The news media have argued that protecting the confidentiality of key sources maintains a reporter's credibility, protects a source from possible retaliation, and serves the public interest by providing information that citizens might not otherwise receive. In the 1960s, when the First Amendment rights of reporters clashed with Sixth Amendment fair-trial concerns, judges usually favored the Sixth Amendment arguments. In 1972, a New Jersey journalist became the first reporter jailed for contempt of court for refusing to identify sources in a probe of the Newark housing authority. Since that case, forty states and the District of Columbia have adopted some type of shield law, and other states (except Wyoming) have established some shield law protection through legal precedent. There is no federal shield law in the United States, leaving journalists exposed to subpoenas from federal prosecutors and courts. Revelations that the U.S. Department of Justice had obtained phone records of the Associated Press renewed calls for a federal shield law in 2013.

Cameras in the Courtroom

The debates over limiting intrusive electronic broadcast equipment and photographers in the courtroom actually date to the sensationalized coverage of the Bruno Hauptmann trial in the mid-1930s. Hauptmann was convicted and executed for the kidnap-murder of the nineteen-month-old son of Anne and Charles Lindbergh (the aviation hero who made the first solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean in 1927). During the trial, Hauptmann and his attorney complained that the circus atmosphere fueled by the presence of radio and flash cameras prejudiced the jury and turned the public against him.

After the trial, the American Bar Association amended its professional ethics code, Canon 35, stating that electronic equipment in the courtroom detracted "from the essential dignity of the proceedings." Calling for a ban on photographers and radio equipment, the association believed that if such elements were not banned, lawyers would begin playing to audiences and negatively alter the judicial process. For years after the Hauptmann trial, almost every state banned photographic, radio, and TV equipment from courtrooms.

As broadcast equipment became more portable and less obtrusive, however, and as television became the major news source for most Americans, courts gradually reevaluated their bans on broadcast equipment. In fact, in the early 1980s, the Supreme Court ruled that the presence of TV equipment did not make it impossible for a fair trial to occur, leaving it up to each state to implement its own system. The ruling opened the door for the debut of Court TV (now truTV) in 1991 and the televised O.J. Simpson trial of 1994 (the most publicized case in history). All states today allow television coverage of cases, although most states place certain restrictions on coverage of courtrooms, often leaving it up to the discretion of the presiding judge. While U.S. federal courts now allow limited TV coverage of their trials, the Supreme Court continues to ban TV from its proceedings, but in 2000 the Court broke its anti-radio rule by permitting delayed radio broadcasts of the hearings on the Florida vote recount case that determined the winner of the 2000 presidential election.

As libel law and the growing acceptance of courtroom cameras indicate, the legal process has generally, though not always, tried to ensure that print and other news media are able to cover public issues broadly, without fear of reprisals.

AP Images

MEDIA IN THE COURTROOM
Photographers surround aviator Charles A. Lindbergh (without hat) as he leaves the courthouse in Flemington, New Jersey, during the trial in 1935 of Bruno Hauptmann on charges of kidnapping and murdering Lindbergh's infant son.

Film and the First Amendment

When the First Amendment was ratified in 1791, even the most enlightened leaders of our nation could not have predicted the coming of visual media such as film and television. Consequently, new communication technologies have not always received the same kinds of protection under the First Amendment as those granted to speech or print media, including newspapers, magazines, and books. Movies, in existence since the late 1890s, only earned legal speech protection after a 1952 Supreme Court decision. Prior to that, social and political pressures led to both censorship and self-censorship in the movie industry.

Social and Political Pressures on the Movies

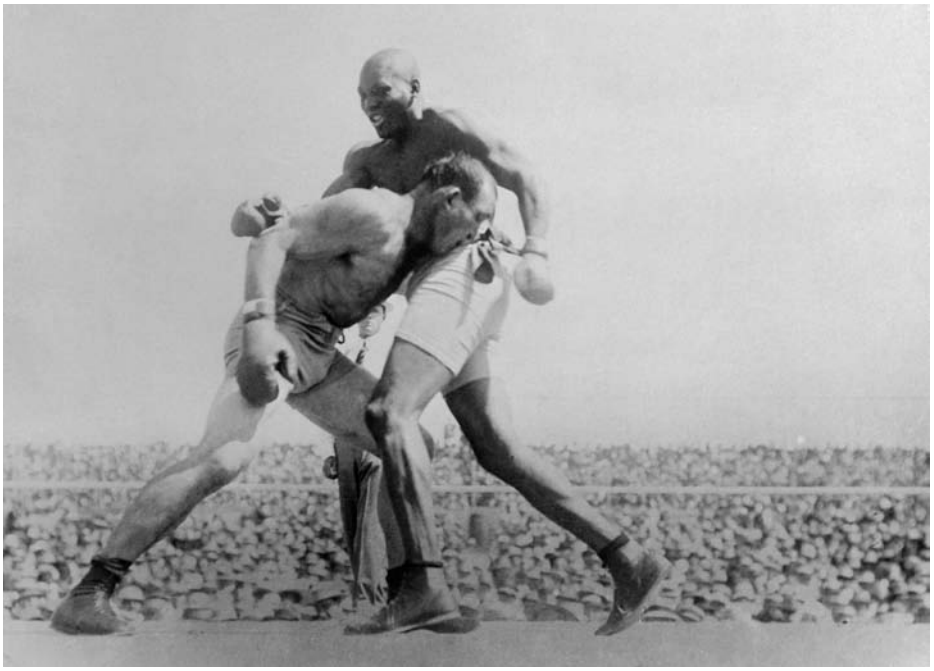
During the early part of the twentieth century, movies rose in popularity among European immigrants and others from modest socioeconomic groups. This, in turn, spurred the formation of censorship groups, which believed that the movies would undermine morality. During this time, according to media historian Douglas Gomery, criticism of movies converged on four areas: "the effects on children, the potential health problems, the negative influences on morals and manners, and the lack of a proper role for educational and religious institutions in the development of movies."[18]

Public pressure on movies came both from conservatives, who saw them as a potential threat to the authority of traditional institutions, and from progressives, who worried that children and adults were more attracted to movie houses than to social organizations and urban education centers. As a result, civic leaders publicly escalated their pressure, organizing local *review boards* that screened movies for their communities. In 1907, the Chicago City Council created an ordinance that gave the police authority to issue permits for the exhibition of movies. By 1920, more than ninety cities in the United States had some type of movie censorship board made up of vice squad officers, politicians, and citizens. By 1923, twenty-two states had established such boards.

Meanwhile, social pressure began to translate into law as politicians, wanting to please their constituencies, began to legislate against films. Support mounted for a federal censorship bill. When Jack Johnson won the heavyweight championship in 1908, boxing films became the target of the first federal censorship law aimed at the motion-picture industry. In 1912, the government outlawed the transportation of boxing movies across state lines. The laws against boxing films, however, had more to do with Johnson's race than with concern over violence in movies. The first black heavyweight champion, he was perceived as a threat to some in the white community.

The first Supreme Court decision regarding film's protection under the First Amendment was handed down in 1915 and went against the movie industry. In *Mutual v. Ohio*, the Mutual Film Company of Detroit sued the state of Ohio, whose review board had censored a number of the distributor's films. On appeal, the case arrived at the Supreme Court, which unanimously ruled that motion pictures were not a form of speech but "a business pure and simple" and, like a circus, merely a "spectacle" for entertainment with "a special capacity for evil." This ruling would stand as a precedent for thirty-seven years, although a movement to create a national censorship board failed.

CENSORSHIP
A native of Galveston, Texas, Jack Johnson (1878–1946) was the first black heavyweight boxing champion, from 1908 to 1914. His stunning victory over white champion Jim Jeffries (who had earlier refused to fight black boxers) in 1910 resulted in race riots across the country and led to a ban on the interstate transportation of boxing films. A 2005 Ken Burns documentary, *Unforgivable Blackness*, chronicles Johnson's life.



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Self-Regulation in the Movie Industry

As the film industry expanded after World War I, the impact of public pressure and review boards began to affect movie studios and executives who wanted to ensure control over their economic well-being. In the early 1920s, a series of scandals rocked Hollywood: actress Mary

Pickford's divorce and quick marriage to actor Douglas Fairbanks; director William Desmond Taylor's unsolved murder; and actor Wallace Reid's death from a drug overdose. But the most sensational scandal involved aspiring actress Virginia Rappe, who died a few days after a wild party in a San Francisco hotel hosted by popular silent-film comedian Fatty Arbuckle. After Rappe's death, the comedian was indicted for rape and manslaughter, in a case that was sensationalized in the press. Although two hung juries could not reach a verdict, Arbuckle's career was ruined. Censorship boards across the country banned his films. Even though he was acquitted at his third trial in 1922, the movie industry tried to send a signal about the kinds of values and lifestyles it would tolerate: Arbuckle was banned from acting in Hollywood. He later resurfaced to direct several films under the name Will B. Goode.

In response to the scandals, particularly the first Arbuckle trial, the movie industry formed the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) and hired as its president Will Hays, a former Republican National Committee chair. Also known as the Hays Office, the MPPDA attempted to smooth out problems between the public and the industry. Hays blacklisted promising actors or movie extras with even minor police records. He also developed an MPPDA public relations division, which stopped a national movement for a federal law censoring movies.

The Motion Picture Production Code

During the 1930s, the movie business faced a new round of challenges. First, various conservative and religious groups—including the influential Catholic Legion of Decency—increased their scrutiny of the industry. Second, deteriorating economic conditions during the Great Depression forced the industry to tighten self-regulation in order to maintain profits and keep harmful public pressure at bay. In 1927, the Hays Office had developed a list of "Don'ts and Be Carefuls" to steer producers and directors away from questionable sexual, moral, and social themes. Nevertheless, pressure for a more formal and sweeping code mounted. As a result, in the early 1930s the Hays Office established the Motion Picture Production Code, whose overseers were charged with officially stamping Hollywood films with a moral seal of approval.

The Code laid out its mission in its first general principle: "No picture shall be produced which will lower the moral standards of those who see it. Hence the sympathy of the audience shall never be thrown to the side of crime, wrong-doing, evil or sin." The Code dictated how producers and directors should handle "methods of crime," "repellent subjects," and "sex hygiene." A section on profanity outlawed a long list of phrases and topics, including "toilet gags" and "traveling salesmen and farmer's daughter jokes." Under "scenes of passion," the Code dictated that "excessive and lustful kissing, lustful embraces, suggestive postures and gestures are not to be shown," and it required that "passion should be treated in such a manner as not to stimulate the lower and baser emotions." The section on religion revealed the influences of a Jesuit priest and a Catholic publisher, who helped write the Code: "No film or episode may throw ridicule on any religious faith," and "ministers of religion . . . should not be used as comic characters or as villains."

Adopted by 95 percent of the industry, the Code influenced nearly every commercial movie made between the mid-1930s and the early 1950s. It also gave the industry a relative degree of freedom, enabling the major studios to remain independent of outside regulation. When television arrived, however, competition from the new family medium forced movie producers to explore more adult subjects.

The *Miracle* Case

In 1952, the Supreme Court heard the *Miracle* case—officially *Burstyn v. Wilson*—named after Roberto Rossellini's film *Il Miracolo* (*The Miracle*). The movie's distributor sued the head of the

New York Film Licensing Board for banning the film. A few New York City religious and political leaders considered the 1948 Italian film sacrilegious and pressured the film board for the ban. In the film, an unmarried peasant girl is impregnated by a scheming vagrant who tells her that he is St. Joseph and she has conceived the baby Jesus. The importers of the film argued that censoring it constituted illegal prior restraint under the First Amendment. Because such an action could not be imposed on a print version of the same story, the film's distributor argued that the same freedom should apply to the film. The Supreme Court agreed, declaring movies "a significant medium for the communication of ideas." The decision granted films the same constitutional protections as those enjoyed by the print media and other forms of speech. Even more important, the decision rendered most activities of film review boards unconstitutional because these boards had been engaged in prior restraint. Although a few local boards survived into the 1990s to handle complaints about obscenity, most of them had disbanded by the early 1970s.

The MPAA Ratings System

The current voluntary movie rating system—the model for the advisory labels for music, television, and video games—developed in the late 1960s after discontent again mounted over movie content, spurred on by such films as 1965's *The Pawnbroker*, which contained brief female nudity, and 1966's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, which featured a level of profanity and sexual frankness that had not been seen before in a major studio film. In 1966, the movie industry hired Jack Valenti to run the MPAA (the Motion Picture Association of America, formerly the MPPDA), and in 1968 he established an industry board to rate movies. Eventually, G, PG, R, and X ratings emerged as guideposts for the suitability of films for various age groups. In 1984, prompted by the releases of *Gremlins* and *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, the MPAA added the PG–13 rating and sandwiched it between PG and R to distinguish slightly higher levels of violence or adult themes in movies that might otherwise qualify as PG-rated films (see Table 16.1).

The MPAA copyrighted all ratings designations as trademarks except for the X rating, which was gradually appropriated as a promotional tool by the pornographic film industry. In fact, between 1972 and 1989, the MPAA stopped issuing the X rating. In 1990, however, based on protests from filmmakers over movies with adult sexual themes that they did not consider pornographic, the industry copyrighted the NC–17 rating—no children age seventeen or under. In 1995, *Showgirls* became the first movie to intentionally seek an NC–17 to demonstrate that the rating was commercially viable. However, many theater chains refused to carry NC–17 movies, fearing economic sanctions and boycotts by their customers or religious groups. Many newspapers also refused to carry ads for NC–17 films. Panned by the critics, *Showgirls* flopped at the box office. Since then, the NC–17 rating has not proved commercially viable, and distributors avoid releasing films with the rating, preferring to label such films "unrated" or to

TABLE 16.1

THE VOLUNTARY MOVIE RATING SYSTEM

Data from: Motion Picture Association of America, "Understanding the Film Ratings," accessed November 24, 2014, www.mpaa.org/film-ratings.

Rating	Description
G	**General Audiences:** Nothing that would offend parents for viewing by their children.
PG	**Parental Guidance Suggested:** Parents urged to give "parental guidance." May contain some material parents might not like for their young children.
PG–13	**Parents Strongly Cautioned:** Parents are urged to be cautious. Some material may be inappropriate for pre-teenagers.
R	**Restricted:** Contains some adult material. Parents are urged to learn more about the film before taking their young children with them.
NC–17	**No one 17 and under admitted:** Clearly adult. Children are not admitted.

cut the film to earn an R rating, as happened with *Clerks* (1994), *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999), *Brüno* (2009), and *The Wolf of Wall Street* (2013). Today, there is mounting protest against the MPAA, which many argue is essentially a censorship board that limits the First Amendment rights of filmmakers.

Expression in the Media: Print, Broadcast, and Online

During the Cold War, a vigorous campaign led by Joseph McCarthy, an ultraconservative senator from Wisconsin, tried to rid both government and the media of so-called communist subversives who were allegedly challenging the American way of life. In 1950, a publication called *Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television* aimed "to show how the Communists have been able to carry out their plan of infiltration of the radio and television industry." *Red Channels*, inspired by McCarthy and produced by a group of former FBI agents, named 151 performers, writers, and musicians who were "sympathetic" to communist or left-wing causes. Among those named were Leonard Bernstein, Will Geer, Dashiell Hammett, Lillian Hellman, Lena Horne, Burgess Meredith, Arthur Miller, Dorothy Parker, Pete Seeger, Irwin Shaw, and Orson Welles. For a time, all were banned from working in television and radio even though no one on the list was ever charged with a crime.[19]

Although the First Amendment protects an individual's right to hold controversial political views, network executives either sympathized with the anticommunist movement or feared losing ad revenue. At any rate, the networks did not stand up to the communist witch-hunters. In order to work, a blacklisted or "suspected" performer required the support of the program's sponsor. Though *I Love Lucy*'s Lucille Ball, who in sympathy with her father once registered to vote as a communist in the 1930s, retained Philip Morris's sponsorship of her popular program, other performers were not as fortunate. Although no evidence was ever introduced to show how entertainment programs circulated communist propaganda, by the early 1950s the TV networks were asking actors and other workers to sign loyalty oaths denouncing communism—a low point for the First Amendment.

The communist witch-hunts demonstrated key differences between print and broadcast protection under the First Amendment. On the one hand, licenses for printers and publishers have been outlawed since the eighteenth century. On the other hand, in the late 1920s commercial broadcasters themselves asked the federal government to step in and regulate the airwaves. At that time, they wanted the government to clear up technical problems, channel noise, noncommercial competition, and amateur interference. Ever since, most broadcasters have been trying to free themselves from the government intrusion they once demanded.

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THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE attempted to expose performers, writers, and musicians as "communist subversives," blacklisting them from working in Hollywood without any evidence of criminal wrongdoing. In 1947, movie stars like Humphrey Bogart, Evelyn Keyes, and Lauren Bacall, pictured here, visited Washington to protest the committee's methods.

ELSEWHERE IN MEDIA & CULTURE

ARE VIDEO GAMES MISOGYNISTIC?

pp. 94–95

THE ADVENTURES OF HUCKLEBERRY FINN IS STILL THE MOST BANNED BOOK IN U.S. HISTORY

p. 360

HOW IS ADVERTISING SPENDING CHANGING?

39%

Share of U.S. advertising dollars that go to television

25%

Share of U.S. advertising dollars that go to digital/mobile

10%

Share of U.S. advertising dollars that go to newspapers

p. 385

HOW PIRACY CHANGED THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

p. 140

The FCC Regulates Broadcasting

Drawing on the argument that limited broadcast signals constitute a scarce national resource, the Communications Act of 1934 mandated that radio broadcasters operate in "the public interest, convenience, and necessity." Since the 1980s, however, with cable and, later, DBS increasing channel capacity, station managers have lobbied to own their airwave assignments. Although the 1996 Telecommunications Act did not grant such ownership, stations continue to challenge the "public interest" statute. They argue that because the government is not allowed to dictate content in newspapers, it should not be allowed to control broadcasting via licenses or mandate any broadcast programming.

Two cases—*Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC* (1969) and *Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo* (1974)—demonstrate the historic legal differences between broadcast and print. The *Red Lion* case began when WGCB, a small-town radio station in Red Lion, Pennsylvania, refused to give airtime to Fred Cook, author of a book that criticized Barry Goldwater, the Republican Party's presidential candidate in 1964. A conservative radio preacher and Goldwater fan, the Reverend Billy James Hargis, verbally attacked Cook on the air. Cook asked for response time from the two hundred stations that carried the Hargis attack. Most stations complied, granting Cook free reply time. But WGCB offered only to sell Cook time. He appealed to the FCC, which ordered the station to give Cook free time. The station refused, claiming that its First Amendment rights granted it control over its program content. On appeal, the Supreme Court sided with the FCC, deciding that whenever a broadcaster's rights conflict with the public interest, the public interest must prevail. In interpreting broadcasting as different from print, the Supreme Court upheld the 1934 Communications Act by reaffirming that broadcasters' responsibilities to program in the public interest may outweigh their right to program whatever they want.

In contrast, five years later, in *Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo*, the Supreme Court sided with the newspaper. A political candidate, Pat Tornillo Jr., requested space to reply to an editorial opposing his candidacy. Previously, Florida had a right-to-reply law, which permitted a candidate to respond, in print, to editorial criticisms from newspapers. Counter to the *Red Lion* decision, the Court in this case struck down the Florida state law as unconstitutional. The Court argued that mandating that a newspaper give a candidate space to reply violated the paper's First Amendment rights to control what it chose to publish. The two decisions demonstrate that the unlicensed print media receive protections under the First Amendment that have not always been available to licensed broadcast media.

Dirty Words, Indecent Speech, and Hefty Fines

In theory, communication law prevents the government from censoring broadcast content. Accordingly, the government may not interfere with programs or engage in prior restraint, although it may punish broadcasters for **indecency** or profanity after the fact. Over the years, a handful of radio stations have had their licenses suspended or denied after an unfavorable FCC review of past programming records. Concerns over indecent broadcast programming began in 1937 when NBC was scolded by the FCC for running a sketch featuring comic actress Mae West on ventriloquist Edgar Bergen's network program. West had the following conversation with Bergen's famous wooden dummy, Charlie McCarthy:

WEST: That's all right. I like a man that takes his time. Why don't you come home with me? I'll let you play in my woodpile . . . you're all wood and a yard long. . . .
CHARLIE: Oh, Mae, don't, don't . . . don't be so rough. To me love is peace and quiet.
WEST: That ain't love—that's sleep.[20]

INDECENT SPEECH
The sexual innuendo of an "Adam and Eve" radio sketch between sultry film star Mae West and dummy Charlie McCarthy (voiced by ventriloquist Edgar Bergen) on a Sunday evening in December 1937 enraged many listeners of Bergen's program. The networks banned West from further radio appearances for what was considered indecent speech.

© Bettmann/Corbis

After the sketch, West did not perform on radio for years. Ever since, the FCC has periodically fined or reprimanded stations for indecent programming, especially during times when children might be listening.

In the 1960s, *topless radio* featured deejays and callers discussing intimate sexual subjects in the middle of the afternoon. The government curbed the practice in 1973, when the chairman of the FCC denounced topless radio as "a new breed of air pollution . . . with the suggestive, coaxing, pear-shaped tones of the smut-hustling host."[21] After an FCC investigation, a couple of stations lost their licenses, some were fined, and topless radio was temporarily over. It reemerged in the 1980s, this time with doctors and therapists—instead of deejays—offering intimate counsel over the airwaves.

The current precedent for regulating broadcast indecency stems from a complaint to the FCC in 1973. In the middle of the afternoon, WBAI, a nonprofit Pacifica network station in New

York, aired George Carlin's famous comedy sketch about the seven dirty words that could not be uttered by broadcasters. A father, riding in a car with his fifteen-year-old son, heard the program and complained to the FCC, which sent WBAI a letter of reprimand. Although no fine was issued, the station appealed on principle and won its case in court. The FCC, however, appealed to the Supreme Court. Although no court had legally defined indecency (and still hasn't), the Supreme Court's unexpected ruling in the 1978 *FCC v. Pacifica Foundation* case sided with the FCC and upheld the agency's authority to require broadcasters to air adult programming at times when children are not likely to be listening. The Court ruled that so-called indecent programming, though not in violation of federal obscenity laws, was a nuisance and could be restricted to late-evening hours. As a result, the FCC banned indecent programs from most stations between 6:00 A.M. and 10:00 P.M. In 1990, the FCC tried to ban such programs entirely. Although a federal court ruled this move unconstitutional, it still upheld the time restrictions intended to protect children.

CBS/Photofest

2 BROKE GIRLS has become a favorite target of the Parents Television Council (PTC) since its debut in 2011. The PTC, which collects indecency complaints via its Web site and directs them to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), evaluates shows based on occurrences of gratuitous sex, explicit dialogue, violent content, or obscene language. *2 Broke Girls* attracts the PTC's ire for its frequent references to sex.

This ruling provides the rationale for the indecency fines that the FCC has frequently leveled against programs and stations that have carried indecent programming during daytime and evening hours. While Howard Stern and his various bosses held the early record for racking up millions in FCC indecency fines in the 1990s—before Stern moved to unregulated satellite radio—the largest-ever fine was for $3.6 million, leveled in 2006 against 111 TV stations that broadcast a 2004 episode of the popular CBS program *Without a Trace* that depicted teenage characters taking part in a sexual orgy.

After the FCC later fined broadcasters for several instances of "fleeting expletives" during live TV shows, the four major networks sued the FCC on grounds that their First Amendment rights had been violated. In its fining flurry, the FCC was partly responding to organized campaigns aimed at Howard Stern's vulgarity and at the Janet Jackson exposed-breast incident during the 2004 Super Bowl halftime show. In 2006, Congress substantially increased the FCC's maximum allowable fine to $325,000 per incident of indecency—meaning that one fleeting expletive in a live entertainment, news, or sports program could cost millions of dollars in fines, as it is repeated on affiliate stations across the country. But in 2010, a federal appeals court rejected the FCC's policy against fleeting expletives, arguing that it was constitutionally vague and had a chilling effect on free speech "because broadcasters have no way of knowing what the FCC will find offensive."[22]

Political Broadcasts and Equal Opportunity

In addition to indecency rules, another law that the print media do not encounter is **Section 315** of the 1934 Communications Act, which mandates that during elections, broadcast stations must provide equal opportunities and response time for qualified political candidates. In other words, if broadcasters give or sell time to one candidate, they must give or sell the same opportunity to others. Local broadcasters and networks have fought this law for years, complaining that it has required them to give marginal third-party candidates with little hope for success equal airtime in political discussions. Broadcasters claim that because no similar

rule applies to newspapers or magazines, the law violates their First Amendment right to control content. In fact, because of this rule, many stations avoid all political programming, ironically reversing the rule's original intention. The TV networks managed to get the law amended in 1959 to exempt newscasts, press conferences, and other events—such as political debates—that qualify as news. For instance, if a senator running for office appears in a news story, opposing candidates cannot invoke Section 315 and demand free time. The FCC has subsequently ruled that interview portions of programs like the *700 Club* and *TMZ* also count as news.

Due to Section 315, many stations from the late 1960s through the 1980s refused to air movies starring Ronald Reagan. Because his film appearances did not count as bona fide news stories, politicians opposing Reagan as a presidential candidate could demand free time in markets that ran old Reagan movies. For the same reason, in 2003, TV stations in California banned the broadcast of Arnold Schwarzenegger movies when he became a candidate for governor, and dozens of stations nationwide preempted an episode of *Saturday Night Live* that was hosted by Al Sharpton, a Democratic presidential candidate.

However, supporters of the equal opportunity law argue that it has provided forums for lesser-known candidates representing views counter to those of the Democratic and Republican parties, further noting that the other main way for alternative candidates to circulate their messages widely is to buy political ads, thus limiting serious outside contenders to wealthy candidates, such as Ross Perot, Steve Forbes, or members of the Bush or Clinton families.

The Demise of the Fairness Doctrine

Considered an important corollary to Section 315, the **Fairness Doctrine** was to controversial issues what Section 315 is to political speech. Initiated in 1949, this FCC rule required stations (1) to air and engage in controversial-issue programs that affected their communities, and (2) to provide competing points of view when offering such programming. Antismoking activist John Banzhaf ingeniously invoked the Fairness Doctrine to force cigarette advertising off television in 1971. When the FCC mandated antismoking public service announcements to counter "controversial" smoking commercials, tobacco companies decided not to challenge an outright ban rather than tolerate a flood of antismoking spots authorized by the Fairness Doctrine.

Over the years, broadcasters argued that mandating opposing views every time a program covered a controversial issue was a burden not required of the print media, and that it forced many of them to refrain from airing controversial issues. As a result, the Fairness Doctrine ended with little public debate in 1987 after a federal court ruled that it was merely a regulation rather than an extension of Section 315 law.

Since 1987, however, periodic support for reviving the Fairness Doctrine has surfaced. Its supporters argue that broadcasting is fundamentally different from—and more pervasive than—print media, requiring greater accountability to the public. Although many broadcasters disagree, supporters of fairness rules insist that as long as broadcasters are licensed as public trustees of the airwaves—unlike newspaper or magazine publishers—legal precedent permits the courts and the FCC to demand responsible content and behavior from radio and TV stations.

Communication Policy and the Internet

Many have looked to the Internet as the one true venue for unlimited free speech under the First Amendment because it is not regulated by the government, it is not subject to the

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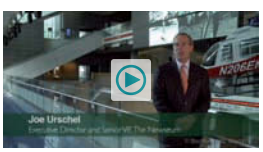


Bloggers and Legal Rights
Legal and journalism scholars discuss the legal rights and responsibilities of bloggers.
Discussion: What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of the audience's turning to blogs, rather than traditional sources, for news?

Communications Act of 1934, and little has been done in regard to self-regulation. Its current global expansion is comparable to that of the early days of broadcasting, when economic and technological growth outstripped law and regulation. At that time, noncommercial experiments by amateurs and engineering students provided a testing ground that commercial interests later exploited for profit. In much the same way, amateurs, students, and various interest groups have explored and extended the communication possibilities of the Internet. In fact, they have experimented so successfully that commercial vendors have raced to buy up pieces of the Internet since the 1990s.

Mark Wilson/Getty Images

NET NEUTRALITY HEARINGS
The long-debated issue of net neutrality came to the forefront of politics in early 2015, as politicians made their cases for and against the policy. Many argued that net neutrality would preserve a free and open Internet, while others, including large broadband companies, argued that any government restrictions would hurt innovation. Here, Senator Al Franken, Senator (and presidential candidate) Bernie Sanders, and Senator Edward Markey appear at a news conference advocating for the reclassification of broadband Internet as a Title II utility. The FCC made this change in February 2015.

Public conversations about the Internet have not typically revolved around ownership. Instead, the debates have focused on First Amendment issues, such as civility and pornography. However, as we watch the rapid expansion of the Internet, an important question confronts us: Will the Internet continue to develop as a democratic medium? In late 2010, the FCC created net neutrality rules for wired (cable and DSL) broadband providers, requiring that they provide the same access to all Internet services and content. But the FCC's net neutrality rules were rejected by federal courts twice. The courts argued that because the FCC had not defined the Internet as a utility, it couldn't regulate it in this manner. Telecommunication companies were pleased with the decision, as they don't want any rules governing how they distribute access to the Internet. However, citizens and entrepreneurs opposed an unregulated system that would allow telecommunication companies to create fast lanes (for those who pay more) and slow lanes on the Internet. The debate generated a record number of comments to the FCC, the vast majority in favor of net neutrality.[23] In February 2015, the FCC reclassified broadband Internet as a Title II utility and voted to approve net neutrality rules. Although the FCC has said that it does not seek to control broadband prices, ISPs are still unhappy with the decision to redefine Internet connections as an essential utility to which everyone has access (like electricity or phone service).

Critics and observers hope that a vigorous debate about ownership will develop—a debate that will go beyond First Amendment issues. The promise of the Internet as a democratic forum encourages the formation of all sorts of regional, national, and global interest groups. In fact, many global movements use the Internet to fight political forms of censorship. Human Rights Watch, for example, encourages free-expression advocates to use blogs "for disseminating information about, and ending, human rights abuses around the world."[24] Where oppressive regimes have tried to monitor and control Internet communication, Human Rights Watch suggests bloggers post anonymously to safeguard their identity. Just as fax machines, satellites, and home videos helped expedite and document the fall of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, the Internet helps spread the word and activate social change today.

EXAMINING ETHICS

A Generation of Copyright Criminals?

As a student reading this book, you have probably already composed plenty of research papers and quoted, with attribution, from various printed sources. This is a routine practice, and you are within the legal bounds of fair use of the sources you sampled. The concept of *fair use* has existed in U.S. case law for more than 150 years.

But what if you are composing a song or creating a video, and you decide to sample bits of music or a clip of film? Under current law, you have little protection and may be subject to a lawsuit from the recording or motion-picture industry alleging copyright infringement.

As inexpensive digital technology became available, artists began sampling sounds and images, much like scholars and writers might sample texts. University of Iowa communication studies professor Kembrew McLeod explains that in the late 1980s, sampling "was a creative window that had been forced open by hip-hop artists," but "by the early 1990s, the free experimentation was over. . . . Everyone had to pay for the sounds that they sampled or risk getting sued."[1] The cost for most acts was far too prohibitive. Fees to use snippets of copyrighted sounds in the Beastie Boys' 1989 sample-rich *Paul's Boutique* recording cost $250,000.[2] Today, a recording based on creative mash-ups of samples probably couldn't even be made, as some copyright owners demand up to $50,000 for sampling just a few seconds of a song.

Nevertheless, some artists are still trying. Pittsburgh-based mash-up deejay Girl Talk (Gregg Gillis) has no problem performing his sample-heavy music, in which he remixes a dozen or more samples on his laptop with some of his own beats to create a new song. Copyright royalties are covered for his live public performances, since many venues already have public performance agreements with copyright management agencies BMI, ASCAP, and SESAC. (These are the same agencies that collect fees from restaurants and radio stations for publicly performed music.) But—and this is one of the many inconsistencies in copyright law—if Gillis wants to make a recording of his music, the cost of the copyright royalty payments (should they even be granted by the copyright holder) would exceed the revenue generated by selling the recording. On the other hand, if he doesn't get copyright permission for the samples used, he risks hundreds of thousands of dollars in penalties.

Despite the threat of lawsuits, Gillis and an independent label—appropriately named Illegal Art—released the acclaimed *Night Ripper* album in 2006 and *Feed the Animals* (which uses 322 samples) in 2008. His 2010 album *All Day* was released as a free download with 372 samples. In defending the recording against potential lawsuits, Gillis and his label argue that they are protected from copyright infringement by the fair-use exemption, which allows for *transformative use*—creating new work from bits of copyrighted work.[3]

Joey Foley/FilmMagic/Getty Images

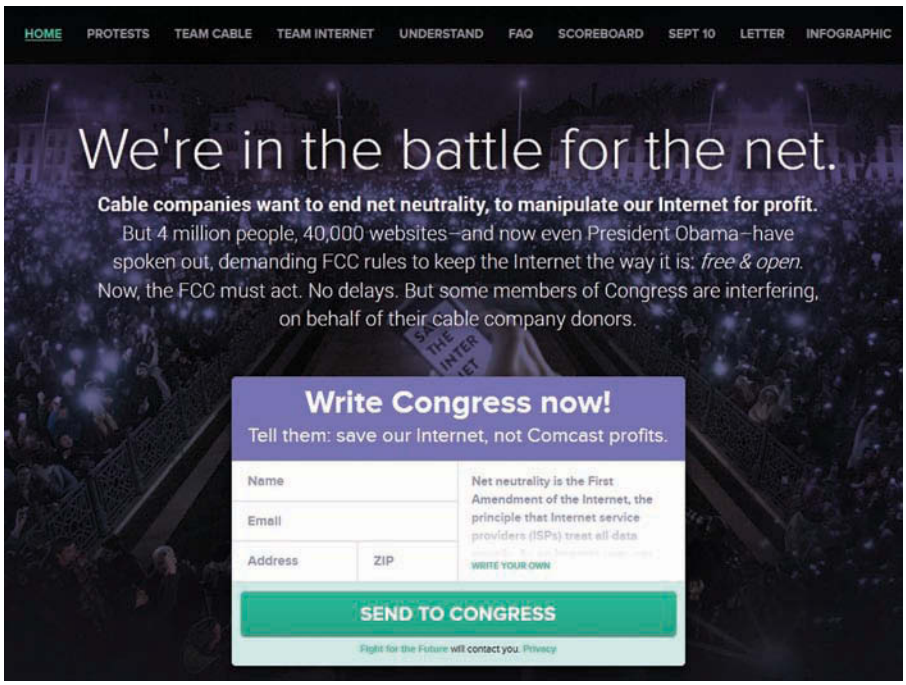
DJ GIRL TALK mixes his beats with samples from other artists to create new music.

The uneven and unclear rules for the use of sound, images, video, and text have become one of the most contentious issues of today's digital culture. As digital media make it easier than ever to create and re-create cultural content, copyright law has yet to catch up with these new forms of expression.

"There's no way to kill this technology. You can only criminalize its use," Harvard Law professor and Internet activist Lawrence Lessig notes. "If this is a crime, we have a whole generation of criminals."[4]

The First Amendment and Democracy

For most of our nation's history, citizens have counted on journalism to monitor abuses in government and business. During the muckraking period, writers like Upton Sinclair, Ida Tarbell, and Sinclair Lewis made strong contributions in reporting corporate expansion and social change. Unfortunately, however, news stories about business issues today are usually reduced to consumer affairs reporting. In other words, when a labor strike, factory recall, or business shutdown is covered, the reporter mainly tries to answer the question, How do these events affect consumers? Although this is an important news angle, discussions about media ownership or labor management ethics are not part of the news that journalists typically report. Similarly, when companies announce mergers, reporters do not routinely question the economic wisdom or social impact of such changes but instead focus on how consumers will be affected.



Courtesy of kickstarter.com

NET NEUTRALITY DAY OF ACTION
On September 10, 2014, several popular Internet sites—including Netflix, Kickstarter, Reddit, Tumblr, Foursquare, Etsy, and Vimeo—held a Day of Action to support net neutrality and oppose the FCC's proposal to have fast and slow lanes. The companies featured messages on their pages to contact the FCC and Congress along with images of spinning wheels to signify what the slow lane of an Internet without net neutrality might look like. These messages may have been instrumental in the passage of net neutrality in 2015.

At one level, journalists have been compromised by the ongoing upheavals of their own media businesses. As newspapers, magazines, and broadcast stations consolidate, downsize, outsource, or close down completely, and digital outlets spring up without a history or mission of news reporting, there are fewer journalists available to adequately cover and lead discussions on issues of politics, the economy, and media ownership. In fact, the very companies they work for are the prime buyers and sellers of major news-media outlets and are often participants in a political system rife with advertising money during campaign season.

As a result, it is becoming increasingly important that the civic role of watchdog be shared by both citizens and journalists. Citizen action groups like Free Press, the Media Access Project, and the Center for Digital Democracy have worked to bring media ownership issues into the mainstream. However, it is important to remember that the First Amendment protects not only the news media's free-speech rights but also the rights of all of us to speak out. Mounting concerns over who can afford access to the media go to the heart of free expression. As we struggle to determine the future of converging print, electronic, and digital media and to strengthen the democratic spirit underlying media technology, we need to stay engaged in spirited public debates about media ownership and control, and about the differences between commercial speech and free expression. As citizens, we need to pay attention to who is included and excluded from opportunities not only to buy products but also to speak out and shape the cultural landscape. To accomplish this, we need to challenge our journalists and our leaders. More important, we need to challenge ourselves to become watchdogs—critical consumers and engaged citizens—who learn from the past, care about the present, and map mass media's future.

CHAPTER REVIEW

COMMON THREADS

One of the Common Threads discussed in Chapter 1 is the role that media play in a democracy. Is a free media system necessary for democracy to exist, or must democracy first be established to enable a media system to operate freely? What do the mass media do to enhance or secure democracy?

In 1787, as the Constitution was being formed, Thomas Jefferson famously said, "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." Jefferson supported the notion of a free press and free speech. He stood against the Sedition Act, which penalized free speech, and did not support its renewal when he became president in 1801.

Nevertheless, as president, Jefferson had to withstand the vitriol and allegations of a partisan press. In 1807, near the end of his second term, Jefferson's idealism about the press had cooled, as he remarked, "The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer the truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors."

Today, we contend with mass media that extend far beyond newspapers—a media system that is among the biggest and most powerful institutions in the country. Unfortunately, it is also a media system that too often envisions us as consumers of capitalism, not citizens of a democracy. Media sociologist Herbert Gans argues that the media alone can't guarantee a democracy.[25] "Despite much disingenuous talk about citizen empowerment by politicians and merchandisers, citizens have never had much clout. Countries as big as America operate largely through organizations," Gans explains.

But in a country as big as America, the media constitute one of those critical organizations that can help or hurt us in creating a more economically and politically democratic society. At their worst, the media can distract or misinform us with falsehoods and errors. But at their Jeffersonian best, the media can shed light on the issues, tell meaningful stories, and foster the discussions that can help a citizens' democracy flourish.

KEY TERMS

The definitions for the terms listed below can be found in the glossary at the end of the book. The page numbers listed with the terms indicate where the term is highlighted in the chapter.

authoritarian model, 540
communist or state model, 540
social responsibility model, 540
Fourth Estate, 541
libertarian model, 541
prior restraint, 542
copyright, 545
public domain, 545
libel, 546
slander, 546
actual malice, 547
qualified privilege, 547
opinion and fair comment, 547
obscenity, 548
right to privacy, 549
gag orders, 551
shield laws, 552
indecency, 559
Section 315, 561
Fairness Doctrine, 562

For review quizzes, chapter summaries, links to media-related Web sites, and more, go to macmillanhighered.com/mediaculture10eupdate.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

The Origins of Free Expression and a Free Press

1. Explain the various models of the news media that exist under different political systems.
2. What is the basic philosophical concept that underlies America's notion of free expression?
3. What happened with the passage of the Sedition Act of 1798, and what was its relevance to the United States' new First Amendment?
4. How has censorship been defined historically?
5. What is the public domain, and why is it an important element in American culture?
6. Why is the case of *New York Times v. Sullivan* so significant in First Amendment history?
7. What does a public figure have to do to win a libel case? What are the main defenses that a newspaper can use to thwart a charge of libel?
8. What is the legal significance of the *Falwell v. Flynt* case?
9. How has the Internet changed battles over what constitutes obscenity?
10. What issues are at stake when First Amendment and Sixth Amendment concerns clash?

Film and the First Amendment

11. Why were films not constitutionally protected as a form of speech until 1952?
12. Why did film review boards develop, and why did they eventually disband?
13. How did both the Motion Picture Production Code and the current movie rating system come into being?

Expression in the Media: Print, Broadcast, and Online

14. The government and the courts view print and broadcasting as different forms of expression. What are the major differences?
15. What's the difference between obscenity and indecency?
16. What is the significance of Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934?
17. Why didn't broadcasters like the Fairness Doctrine?

The First Amendment and Democracy

18. What are the similarities and differences between the debates over broadcast ownership in the 1920s and those over Internet ownership today?
19. Why is the future of watchdog journalism in jeopardy?

QUESTIONING THE MEDIA

1. Have you ever had an experience in which you thought personal or public expression went too far and should be curbed? Explain. How might you remedy this situation?
2. If you owned a community newspaper and had to formulate a policy for your editors about which letters from readers could appear in a limited space on your editorial page, what kinds of letters would you eliminate, and why? Would you be acting as a censor in this situation? Why or why not?
3. The writer A. J. Liebling once said that freedom of the press belonged only to those who owned one. Explain why you agree or disagree.
4. Should the United States have a federal shield law to protect reporters?
5. What do you think of the current movie rating system? Should it be changed? Why or why not?
6. Should the Fairness Doctrine be revived? Why or why not?
7. Should corporations, unions, and rich individuals be able to contribute any amount of money they want to support particular candidates and pay for TV ads? Why or why not?

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- VIDEO: THE FIRST AMENDMENT AND STUDENT SPEECH
  Legal and newspaper professionals explain how student newspapers are protected by the First Amendment.

Phil Peterson/Barcroft Media/ Landov

Extended Case Study

Mobile Video Reveals Police Brutality and Racism

571
Step 1: Description

572
Step 2: Analysis

572
Step 3: Interpretation

573
Step 4: Evaluation

574
Step 5: Engagement

If you have been following events of the past few years—uprisings and protests in Ferguson, Missouri; Baltimore, Maryland; North Charleston, South Carolina; Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; Madison, Wisconsin; New York, New York; and elsewhere, all covered by news outlets and on social media—you would certainly be aware of concerns about police brutality across the United States and the fact that the victims of many cases of brutality were black.

Policing is a difficult job. Officers are obliged to protect the public and work under great risk every day. But in instances where police put certain members of the public at risk, that obligation is not met. The accompanying instinct of police officers to protect themselves at the expense of the public can be a sign of institutional racism, and African Americans are inordinately victims of such police violence.

Unfortunately, this is an old and persistent issue. In 1968, after racial uprisings in Newark, Detroit, and more than one hundred other cities in the year before, the federal government released the Report of the National Advisory Commission

on Civil Disorders (or the Kerner Report, after the Illinois governor who headed the commission).[1] The Commission found police practices to be the number one grievance in black communities across the United States that contributed to uprisings. Even now, we have sayings like "driving while black" to describe the common problem of racial profiling of African Americans by police.

We find out about most of these instances of police violence through the mass media. Fifty years ago, the Kerner Report charged the news media with sensationalizing racial uprisings and at times relying too heavily on official police accounts rather than citizen and community leader accounts for their reports.[2] While this criticism could still be applied today, modern technology does allow for some positive changes. What citizens did not have in 1968 was access to small, mobile video cameras—security cameras, dash cams, police body cams, and, most significantly, citizens with smartphones. Where the word of the police was previously often the final word in news stories, informal video footage (and sometimes the police's own footage, thanks to dash cams and body cams) has today shed new light on police brutality cases.

Here are just three recent cases in which video provided illuminating evidence on standards of justice and protection for black Americans.

- On July 17, 2014, cell phone videos captured the death of Eric Garner, a forty-three-year-old African American man suspected of selling loose cigarettes in Staten Island, New York, as he was slammed to the ground by several police officers and put in an illegal chokehold. Garner said "I can't breathe" eleven times before he died. The narrator of one mobile phone video capturing the situation said, "It's going viral right here."[3]
- On April 4, 2015, a white North Charleston, South Carolina, police officer shot a fifty-year-old African American man, Walter Scott, who had been pulled over and fled from his car, unarmed. The shocked young man who recorded the scene with his phone was initially afraid to share the video, but after hearing the police report of the situation, he said he was angered by the differences between that report and what he saw.
- On July 19, 2015, a white University of Cincinnati police officer shot Samuel DuBose, a forty-three-year-old African American man, as he sat in his car after he had been pulled over for allegedly missing a license tag. The officer said he shot DuBose because he thought he was going to get run over by him. But video from the body camera worn by the officer showed a different sequence of events.

These kinds of videos, often posted to social media sites, are as powerful as the photos and news film of the Civil Rights movement more than a half century ago, particularly the infamous case of the Birmingham, Alabama, police department attacking nonviolent black protesters with police dogs and high-pressure water hoses in 1963. The shocking images, shown in newspapers and on the evening news, were pivotal in revealing the treatment of African Americans and leading to national support for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In the 2010s, contemporary video recording made news stories of incidents that might have been overlooked otherwise. The videos advanced the Black Lives Matter movement, begun after the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the 2012 Florida shooting death of seventeen-year-old African American Trayvon Martin, a young man in a hoodie sweatshirt walking back to his father's house with a can of juice and bag of Skittles candy. The movement spread on Twitter via the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag.

ONE LAW PROFESSOR AND FORMER PROSECUTOR CALLED THIS NEW WAVE OF VIDEO EVIDENCE "THE C-SPAN OF THE STREETS."[4] But do these new videos of police shootings change the charge from the Kerner Report almost fifty years ago that the news media tend to rely more on official sources and less on citizen sources? For this case study, we will look at stories of police shootings of African Americans, and whether or not available video evidence changes news media narratives about the events.

As developed in Chapter 1, a media-literate perspective involves mastering five overlapping critical stages that build on one another: (1) *description*: paying close attention, taking notes, and researching the subject under study; (2) *analysis*: discovering and focusing on significant patterns that emerge from the description stage; (3) *interpretation*: asking and answering the "What does that mean?" and "So what?" questions about your findings; (4) *evaluation*: arriving at a judgment about whether something is good, bad, poor, or mediocre, which involves subordinating one's personal views to the critical assessment resulting from the first three stages; and (5) *engagement*: taking some action that connects our critical interpretations and evaluations with our responsibility as citizens.

Step 1: Description

Given our research question, in the description phase you will need to research news media coverage of deadly police shootings of unarmed African Americans. Such shootings are certainly on the media agenda. In 2015, both the *Washington Post* and the *Guardian* newspaper developed sophisticated databases of police shootings. Either database is a good place to start. You can drill down your search and select filters to analyze only unarmed victims, and also analyze by race, gender, age, and location. You may wish to look at police shooting cases in just your state.

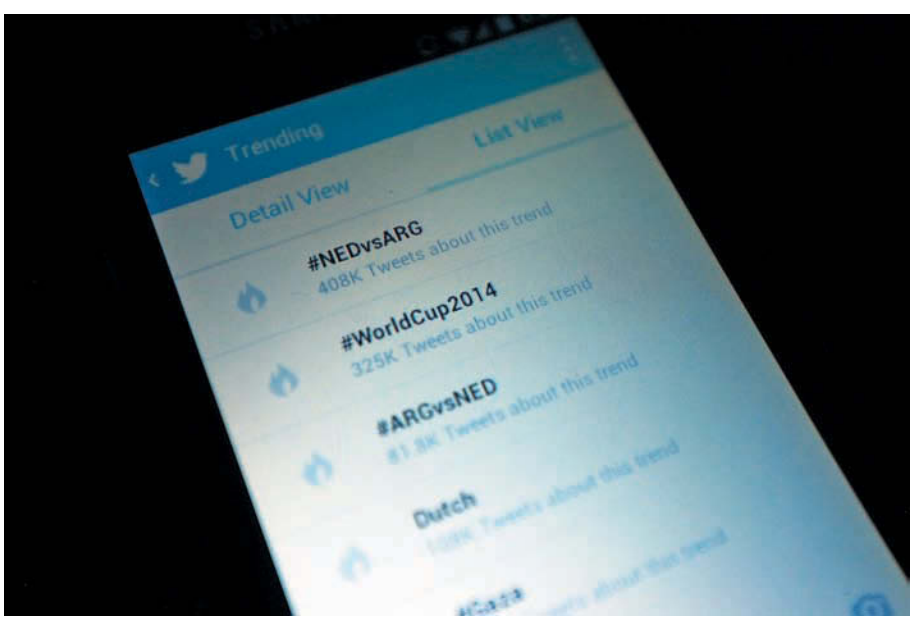
See:

- *Washington Post*, Police Shootings: http://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings/
- *The Guardian*, The Counted: People Killed by Police in the US: http://theguardian.com/thecounted/list

First, examine at least five cases of African Americans killed by police in 2015 in which video was available (e.g., Christian Taylor, Samuel DuBose, Walter Scott, Freddy Gray, and Eric Harris). Read the sample news media stories at the bottom of the profile of each of the five cases.

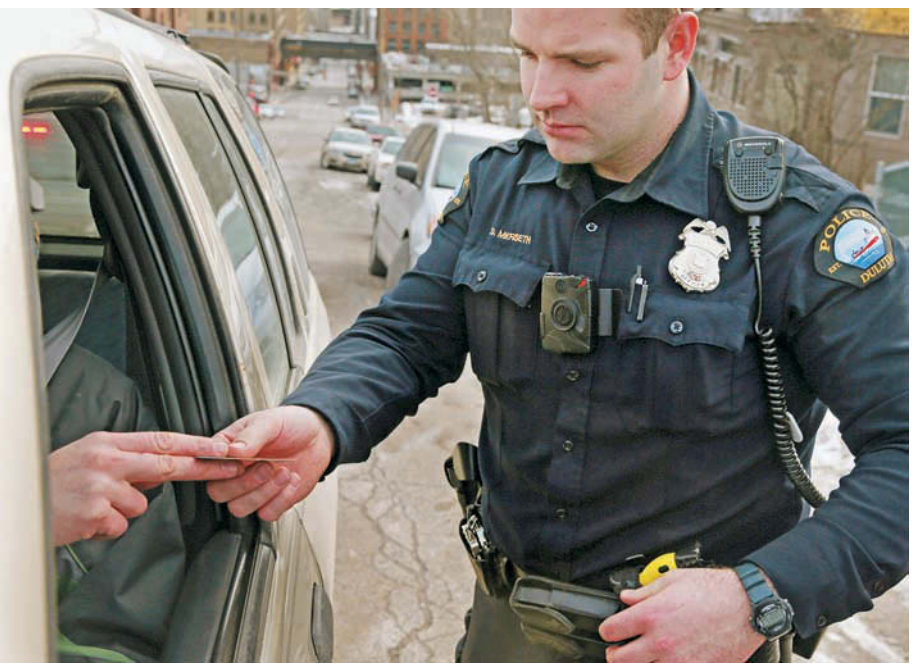
Then, select five more cases of unarmed African Americans killed by police without video footage of the incidents. Again, read the news stories linked for each case.

TWITTER can help spread news stories that might otherwise be overlooked. The Black Lives Matter movement gained momentum with its Twitter hashtag and users spreading videos and reports of police misconduct.



AP Photo/Jose Luis Magana

Step 2: Analysis



AP Photo/Jim Mone

BODY CAMS can capture video footage of police actions, and many protestors have demanded increased use of them following a number of incidents of police violence.

In the second stage of the critical process, you will isolate patterns that emerge that call for closer attention. For example, the *Guardian* has found from its analysis that "black Americans are more than twice as likely to be unarmed when killed during encounters with police as white people."[5]

Specifically, though, first look at sources. In the cases with video available, does the news media tend to rely more on official sources and less on citizen sources? What about in the cases where there is no video available?

Second, look at patterns in outcomes between the cases with video available and the other cases. What is the status of the case? Was the shooting found to be justified, is the case still under investigation, or was an officer charged with a crime?

Step 3: Interpretation

In the interpretation stage, you will determine the larger meanings of the patterns you have analyzed. The most difficult stage in criticism, interpretation demands an answer to the questions "So what?" and "What does all this mean?"

The newspaper databases themselves increase visibility by archiving these cases and enabling us to look closer and do our own analysis. But does the existence of citizen or police video change the story for journalists, in terms of emphasis on official points of view versus citizen points of view? Does it seem to you that citizen and police videos help to better resolve these cases, or does it become just one more disputed piece of evidence?

Step 4: Evaluation

The evaluation stage of the critical process is about making informed judgments. Building on description, analysis, and interpretation, you can better evaluate the impact of social media on its users.

Based on your critical research, what do you think about the ability of citizens to record events as they are happening and post the videos to social media? What do you think about the widening call for police dashboard cameras and body cameras? Although some police unions have resisted body cams for officers, 92 percent of Americans supported the idea of body cams in a 2015 national survey.[6] Is our desire that all patrolling officers wear body cams justified? Could we, as the *New York Times* notes, "have unrealistic expectations" that the cameras will "provide a kind of impartial witness to every interaction?"[7] Do you have concerns about who gets to see the video footage, and under what circumstances?[8] Finally, instead of body cams, is there something about the training of police officers that needs to change?

THE BLACK LIVES MATTER movement sprang up in response to police killings of black Americans including Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, and Eric Garner. The movement has no formal structure, but citizens of all ethnicities have staged protests in cities from New York to San Francisco.

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Step 5: Engagement

The fifth stage of the critical process—engagement—encourages you to take action, adding your own voice to the process of shaping our culture and environment.

Monitor cases in your own community. Consider your position on advocacy for police dash cams and body cams, and see what the present policy is in your own city and state.

You can also engage through a number of organizations: the National Association Against Police Brutality, HandsUpUnited, Mothers Against Police Brutality, #BlackLivesMatter, and the U.S. Department of Justice's Community Oriented Policing Services are a few of them. Once you've gathered more information and have something to say, share with friends on social media, or consider sending a letter to your local newspaper.

You can also comment on any shootings around the country or in your area. Both the *Washington Post* and *Guardian* interactive sites above have links to retweet or send tips or additions to any of the cases listed on their sites.

What's most important is to remember that police departments are public services, and, as a member of the public, you have the power and ability to participate in conversations and be part of the solution.

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Glossary

A&R (artist & repertoire) agents talent scouts of the music business who discover, develop, and sometimes manage performers.

access channels in cable television, a tier of nonbroadcast channels dedicated to local education, government, and the public.

account executives in advertising, client liaisons responsible for bringing in new business and managing the accounts of established clients.

account reviews in advertising, the process of evaluating or reinvigorating an ad campaign, which results in either renewing the contract with the original ad agency or hiring a new agency.

acquisitions editors in the book industry, editors who seek out and sign authors to contracts.

action games games emphasizing combat-type situations that ask players to test their reflexes and to punch, slash, shoot, or throw as accurately as possible so as to strategically make their way through a series of levels.

actual malice in libel law, a reckless disregard for the truth, such as when a reporter or an editor knows that a statement is false and prints or airs it anyway.

adult contemporary (AC) one of the oldest and most popular radio music formats, typically featuring a mix of news, talk, oldies, and soft rock.

adventure games games requiring players to interact with individual characters and a sometimes hostile environment in order to solve puzzles.

advergames video games created for purely promotional purposes.

affiliate station a radio or TV station that, though independently owned, signs a contract to be part of a network and receives money to carry the network's programs; in exchange, the network reserves time slots, which it sells to national advertisers.

agenda-setting a media-research argument that says that when the mass media pay attention to particular events or issues, they determine—that is, set the agenda for—the major topics of discussion for individuals and society.

album-oriented rock (AOR) the radio music format that features album cuts from mainstream rock bands.

alternative rock nonmainstream rock music, which includes many types of experimental music and some forms of punk and grunge.

AM amplitude modulation; a type of radio and sound transmission that stresses the volume or height of radio waves.

analog in television, standard broadcast signals made of radio waves (replaced by digital standards in 2009).

analog recording a recording that is made by capturing the fluctuations of the original sound waves and storing those signals on records or cassettes as a continuous stream of magnetism—analogous to the actual sound.

analysis the second step in the critical process, it involves discovering significant patterns that emerge from the description stage.

anthology dramas a popular form of early TV programming that brought live dramatic theater to television; influenced by stage plays, anthologies offered new teleplays, casts, directors, writers, and sets from week to week.

arcade an establishment that gathers multiple coin-operated games together and can be considered a newer version of the penny arcade.

ARPAnet the original Internet, designed by the U.S. Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA).

association principle in advertising, a persuasive technique that associates a product with some cultural value or image that has a positive connotation but may have little connection to the actual product.

astroturf lobbying phony grassroots public affairs campaigns engineered by public relations firms; coined by U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas (it was named after AstroTurf, the artificial-grass athletic field surface).

audience studies cultural studies research that focuses on how people use and interpret cultural content. Also known as reader-response research.

audiotape lightweight magnetized strands of ribbon that make possible sound editing and multiple-track mixing; instrumentals or vocals can be recorded at one location and later mixed onto a master recording in another studio.

authoritarian model a model for journalism and speech that tolerates little public dissent or criticism of government; it holds that the general public needs guidance from an elite and educated ruling class.

avatar a graphic interactive "character" situated within the world of a game, such as *World of Warcraft* or *Second Life*.

bandwagon effect an advertising strategy that incorporates exaggerated claims that everyone is using a particular product, so you should, too.

basic cable in cable programming, a tier of channels composed of local broadcast signals, nonbroadcast access channels (for local government, education, and general public use), a few regional PBS stations, and a variety of cable channels downlinked from communication satellites.

Big Five/Little Three from the late 1920s through the late 1940s, the major movie studios that were vertically integrated and that dominated the industry. The Big Five

were Paramount, MGM, Warner Brothers, Twentieth Century Fox, and RKO. The Little Three were those studios that did not own theaters: Columbia, Universal, and United Artists.

Big Six the six major Hollywood studios that currently rule the commercial film business: Warner Brothers, Paramount, Twentieth Century Fox, Universal, Columbia Pictures, and Disney.

block booking an early tactic of movie studios to control exhibition, involving pressuring theater operators to accept marginal films with no stars in order to get access to films with the most popular stars.

blockbuster the type of big-budget special effects film that typically has a summer or holiday release date, heavy promotion, and lucrative merchandising tie-ins.

block printing a printing technique developed by early Chinese printers, who hand-carved characters and illustrations into a block of wood, applied ink to the block, and then printed copies on multiple sheets of paper.

blogs sites that contain articles in reverse chronological journal-like form, often with reader comments and links to other articles on the Web (from the term *Weblog*).

blues originally a kind of black folk music, this music emerged as a distinct category in the early 1900s; it was influenced by African American spirituals, ballads, and work songs in the rural South, and by urban guitar and vocal solos from the 1930s and 1940s.

book challenge a formal complaint to have a book removed from a public or school library's collection.

boutique agencies in advertising, small regional ad agencies that offer personalized services.

broadband data transmission over a fiber-optic cable—a signaling method that handles a wide range of frequencies.

broadcasting the transmission of radio waves or TV signals to a broad public audience.

browsers information-search services, such as Microsoft's Internet Explorer, Firefox, and Google Chrome, that offer detailed organizational maps to the Internet.

cartridge early physical form of video games that were played on consoles manufactured by companies like Nintendo, Sega, and Atari.

casual games games that have very simple rules and are usually quick to play, such as *Tetris* or *Angry Birds*.

CATV (community antenna television) an early cable system that originated where mountains or tall buildings blocked TV signals; because of early technical and regulatory limits, CATV contained only twelve channels.

celluloid a transparent and pliable film that can hold a coating of chemicals sensitive to light.

chapter show in television production, any situation comedy or dramatic program whose narrative structure includes self-contained stories that feature a problem, a series of conflicts, and a resolution from week to week (for contrast, see **serial program** and **episodic series**).

cinema verité French term for *truth film*, a documentary style that records fragments of everyday life unobtrusively; it often features a rough, grainy look and shaky, handheld camera work.

citizen journalism a grassroots movement wherein activist amateurs and concerned citizens, not professional journalists, use the Internet and blogs to disseminate news and information.

codex an early type of book in which paperlike sheets were cut and sewed together along an edge, then bound with thin pieces of wood and covered with leather.

collective intelligence the sharing of knowledge and ideas, particularly in the world of gaming.

commercial speech any print or broadcast expression for which a fee is charged to the organization or individual buying time or space in the mass media.

common carrier a communication or transportation business, such as a phone company or a taxi service, that is required by law to offer service on a first-come, first-served basis to whoever can pay the rate; such companies do not get involved in content.

communication the process of creating symbol systems that convey information and meaning (for example, language, Morse code, film, and computer codes).

Communications Act of 1934 the far-reaching act that established the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the federal regulatory structure for U.S. broadcasting.

communist or state model a model for journalism and speech that places control in the hands of an enlightened government, which speaks for ordinary citizens and workers in order to serve the common goals of the state.

compact discs (CDs) playback-only storage discs for music that incorporate pure and very precise digital techniques, thus eliminating noise during recording and editing sessions.

conflict of interest considered unethical, a compromising situation in which a journalist stands to benefit personally from the news report he or she produces.

conflict-oriented journalism found in metropolitan areas, newspapers that define news primarily as events, issues, or experiences that deviate from social norms; journalists see their role as observers who monitor their city's institutions and problems.

consensus narratives cultural products that become popular and command wide attention, providing shared cultural experiences.

consensus-oriented journalism found in small communities, newspapers that promote social and economic harmony by providing community calendars and meeting notices and carrying articles on local schools, social events, town government, property crimes, and zoning issues.

consoles devices people use specifically to play video games.

contemporary hit radio (CHR) originally called *Top 40 radio*, this radio format encompasses everything from hip-hop to children's songs; it appeals to many teens and young adults.

content analysis in social science research, a method for studying and coding media texts and programs.

content communities online communities that exist for the sharing of all types of content, from text to photos and videos.

convergence the first definition involves the technological merging of media content across various platforms (see also **cross platform**). The second definition describes a business model that consolidates various media holdings under one corporate umbrella.

cookies information profiles about a user that are usually automatically accepted by a Web browser and stored on the user's own computer hard drive.

copy editors the people in magazine, newspaper, and book publishing who attend to specific problems in writing, such as style, content, and length.

copyright the legal right of authors and producers to own and control the use of their published or unpublished writing, music, and lyrics; TV programs and movies; or graphic art designs.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) a private, nonprofit corporation created by Congress in 1967 to funnel federal funds to nonprofit radio and public television.

correlations observed associations between two variables.

country claiming the largest number of radio stations in the United States, this radio format includes such subdivisions as old-time, progressive, country-rock, western swing, and country-gospel.

cover music songs recorded or performed by musicians who did not originally write or perform the music; in the 1950s, some white producers and artists capitalized on popular songs by black artists by "covering" them.

critical process the process whereby a media-literate person or student studying mass communication forms and practices employs the techniques of description, analysis, interpretation, evaluation, and engagement.

cross platform a particular business model that involves a consolidation of various media holdings—such as cable connection, phone service, television transmission, and Internet access—under one corporate umbrella (also known as **convergence**).

cultivation effect in media research, the idea that heavy television viewing leads individuals to perceive reality in ways that are consistent with the portrayals they see on television.

cultural imperialism the phenomenon of American media, fashion, and food dominating the global market and shaping the cultures and identities of other nations.

cultural studies in media research, the approaches that try to understand how the media and culture are tied to the actual patterns of communication used in daily life; these studies focus on how people make meanings, apprehend reality, and order experience through the use of stories and symbols.

culture the symbols of expression that individuals, groups, and societies use to make sense of daily life and to articulate their values; a process that delivers the values of a society through products or other meaning-making forms.

data mining the unethical gathering of data by online purveyors of content and merchandise.

deficit financing in television, the process whereby a TV production company leases its programs to a network for a license fee that is actually less than the cost of production; the company hopes to recoup this loss later in rerun syndication.

demographic editions national magazines whose advertising is tailored to subscribers and readers according to occupation, class, and zip code.

demographics in market research, the study of audiences or consumers by age, gender, occupation, ethnicity, education, and income.

description the first step in the critical process, it involves paying close attention, taking notes, and researching the cultural product to be studied.

design managers publishing industry personnel who work on the look of a book, making decisions about type style, paper, cover design, and layout.

desktop publishing a computer technology that enables an aspiring publisher/editor to inexpensively write, design, lay out, and even print a small newsletter or magazine.

development the process of designing, coding, scoring, and testing a game.

developmental editor in book publishing, the editor who provides authors with feedback, makes suggestions for improvements, and obtains advice from knowledgeable members of the academic community.

digital in television, the type of signals that are transmitted as binary code.

digital communication images, texts, and sounds that use pulses of electric current or flashes of laser light and are converted (or encoded) into electronic signals represented as varied combinations of binary numbers (ones and zeros); these signals are then reassembled (decoded) as a precise reproduction of a TV picture, a magazine article, or a telephone voice.

digital divide the socioeconomic disparity between those who do and those who do not have access to digital technology and media, such as the Internet.

digital recording music recorded and played back by laser beam rather than by needle or magnetic tape.

digital video the production format that is replacing celluloid film and revolutionizing filmmaking because the cameras are more portable and production costs are much less expensive.

dime novels sometimes identified as pulp fiction, these cheaply produced and low-priced novels were popular in the United States beginning in the 1860s.

direct broadcast satellite (DBS) a satellite-based service that for a monthly fee downlinks hundreds of satellite channels and services; DBS began distributing video programming directly to households in 1994.

direct payment in media economics, the payment of money, primarily by consumers, for a book, a music CD, a movie, an online computer service, or a cable TV subscription.

documentary a movie or TV news genre that documents reality by recording actual characters and settings.

domestic comedy a TV hybrid of the sitcom in which characters and settings are usually more important than complicated situations; it generally features a domestic problem or work issue that characters have to solve.

drive time in radio programming, the periods between 6 and 10 A.M. and 4 and 7 P.M., when people are commuting to and from work or school; these periods constitute the largest listening audiences of the day.

e-book a digital book read on a computer or electronic reading device.

e-commerce electronic commerce, or commercial activity, on the Web.

electromagnetic waves invisible electronic impulses similar to visible light; electricity, magnetism, light, broadcast signals, and heat are part of such waves, which radiate in space at the speed of light, about 186,000 miles per second.

electronic publishers communication businesses, such as broadcasters or cable TV companies, that are entitled to choose what channels or content to carry.

e-mail electronic mail messages sent over the Internet; developed by computer engineer Ray Tomlinson in 1971.

engagement the fifth step in the critical process, it involves actively working to create a media world that best serves democracy.

Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB) a self-regulating organization that assigns ratings to games based on six categories: EC (Early Childhood), E (Everyone), E 10+, T (Teens), M 17+, and AO (Adults Only 18+).

episodic series a narrative form well suited to television because the main characters appear every week, sets and locales remain the same, and technical crews stay with the program; episodic series feature new adventures each week, but a handful of characters emerge with whom viewers can regularly identify (for contrast, see **chapter show**).

e-publishing Internet-based publishing houses that design and distribute books for comparatively low prices for authors who want to self-publish a title.

ethnocentrism an underlying value held by many U.S. journalists and citizens, it involves judging other countries and cultures according to how they live up to or imitate American practices and ideals.

evaluation the fourth step in the critical process, it involves arriving at a judgment about whether a cultural product is good, bad, or mediocre; this requires subordinating one's personal taste to the critical assessment resulting from the first three stages (description, analysis, and interpretation).

evergreens in TV syndication, popular, lucrative, and enduring network reruns, such as the *Andy Griffith Show* or *I Love Lucy.*

evergreen subscriptions magazine subscriptions that automatically renew on the subscriber's credit card.

experiments in regard to the mass media, research that isolates some aspect of content, suggests a hypothesis, and manipulates variables to discover a particular medium's impact on attitudes, emotions, or behavior.

Fairness Doctrine repealed in 1987, this FCC rule required broadcast stations to both air and engage in controversial-issue programs that affected their communities and, when offering such programming, to provide competing points of view.

famous-person testimonial an advertising strategy that associates a product with the endorsement of a well-known person.

feature syndicates commercial outlets or brokers, such as United Features and King Features, that contract with newspapers to provide work from well-known political writers, editorial cartoonists, comic-strip artists, and self-help columnists.

Federal Communications Commission (FCC) an independent U.S. government agency charged with regulating interstate and international communications by radio, television, wire, satellite, cable, and the Internet.

Federal Radio Commission (FRC) a body established in 1927 to oversee radio licenses and negotiate channel problems.

feedback responses from receivers to the senders of messages.

fiber-optic cable thin glass bundles of fiber capable of transmitting along cable wires thousands of messages converted to shooting pulses of light; these bundles of fiber can carry broadcast channels, telephone signals, and all sorts of digital codes.

fin-syn (Financial Interest and Syndication Rules) FCC rules that prohibited the major networks from running their own syndication companies or from charging production companies additional fees after shows had completed their prime-time runs; most fin-syn rules were rescinded in the mid-1990s.

first-person shooter (FPS) games that allow players to feel as if they are actually holding a weapon and to feel physically immersed in the drama.

first-run syndication in television, the process whereby new programs are specifically produced for sale in syndication markets rather than for network television.

flack a derogatory term that, in journalism, is sometimes applied to a public relations agent.

FM frequency modulation; a type of radio and sound transmission that offers static-less reception and greater fidelity and clarity than AM radio by accentuating the pitch or distance between radio waves.

focus groups a common research method in psychographic analysis in which moderators lead small-group discussions about a product or an issue, usually with six to twelve people.

folk music music performed by untrained musicians and passed down through oral traditions; it encompasses a wide range of music, from Appalachian fiddle tunes to the accordion-led zydeco of Louisiana.

folk-rock amplified folk music, often featuring politically overt lyrics; influenced by rock and roll.

format radio the concept of radio stations developing and playing specific styles (or formats) geared to listeners' age, race, or gender; in format radio, management, rather than deejays, controls programming choices.

Fourth Estate the notion that the press operates as an unofficial branch of government, monitoring the legislative, judicial, and executive branches for abuses of power.

fourth screens technologies like smartphones, iPods, iPads, and mobile TV devices that are forcing major changes in consumer viewing habits and media content creation.

fringe time in television, the time slot either immediately before the evening's prime-time schedule (called *early fringe*) or immediately following the local evening news or the network's late-night talk shows (called *late fringe*).

gag orders legal restrictions prohibiting the press from releasing preliminary information that might prejudice jury selection.

gameplay the way in which a game's rules, rather than the graphics, sound, and narrative style, structure how players interact with a game.

gangster rap a style of rap music that depicts the hardships of urban life and sometimes glorifies the violent style of street gangs.

gatekeepers editors, producers, and other media managers who function as message filters, making decisions about what types of messages actually get produced for particular audiences.

general-interest magazines types of magazines that address a wide variety of topics and are aimed at a broad national audience.

genre a narrative category in which conventions regarding similar characters, scenes, structures, and themes recur in combination.

grunge rock music that takes the spirit of punk and infuses it with more attention to melody.

guilds or clans in gaming, coordinated, organized teamlike groups that can be either small and easygoing or large and demanding.

HD radio a digital technology that enables AM and FM radio broadcasters to multicast two to three additional compressed digital signals within their traditional analog frequency.

hegemony the acceptance of the dominant values in a culture by those who are subordinate to those who hold economic and political power.

herd journalism a situation in which reporters stake out a house or follow a story in such large groups that the entire profession comes under attack for invading people's privacy or exploiting their personal tragedies.

hidden-fear appeal an advertising strategy that plays on a sense of insecurity, trying to persuade consumers that only a specific product can offer relief.

high culture a symbolic expression that has come to mean "good taste"; often supported by wealthy patrons and corporate donors, it is associated with fine art (such as ballet, the symphony, painting, and classical literature), which is available primarily in theaters or museums.

hip-hop music that combines spoken street dialect with cuts (or samples) from older records and bears the influences

of social politics, male boasting, and comic lyrics carried forward from blues, R&B, soul, and rock and roll.

Hollywood Ten the nine screenwriters and one film director subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) who were sent to prison in the late 1940s for refusing to disclose their memberships or to identify communist sympathizers.

HTML (hypertext markup language) the written code that creates Web pages and links; a language all computers can read.

human-interest stories news accounts that focus on the trials and tribulations of the human condition, often featuring ordinary individuals facing extraordinary challenges.

hypodermic-needle model an early model in mass communication research that attempted to explain media effects by arguing that the media figuratively shoot their powerful effects into unsuspecting or weak audiences; sometimes called the *bullet theory* or *direct effects model.*

hypotheses in social science research, tentative general statements that predict a relationship between a dependent variable and an independent variable.

illuminated manuscripts books from the Middle Ages that featured decorative, colorful designs and illustrations on each page.

indecency an issue related to appropriate broadcast content; the government may punish broadcasters for indecency or profanity after the fact, and over the years a handful of radio stations have had their licenses suspended or denied over indecent programming.

indies independent music and film production houses that work outside industry oligopolies; they often produce less mainstream music and film.

indirect payment in media economics, the financial support of media products by advertisers, who pay for the quantity or quality of audience members that a particular medium attracts.

individualism an underlying value held by most U.S. journalists and citizens, it favors individual rights and responsibilities above group needs or institutional mandates.

in-game advertisements integrated, often subtle advertisements, such as billboards, logos, or storefronts in a game, that can be either static or dynamic.

instant book in the book industry, a marketing strategy that involves publishing a topical book quickly following a major event.

instant messaging a Web feature that enables users to chat with buddies in real time via pop-up windows assigned to each conversation.

intellectual properties in gaming, the stories, characters, personalities, and music that require licensing agreements.

Internet the vast network of telephone and cable lines, wireless connections, and satellite systems designed to link and carry computer information worldwide.

Internet radio online radio stations that either "stream" simulcast versions of on-air radio broadcasts over the Web or are created exclusively for the Internet.

Internet service provider (ISP) a company that provides Internet access to homes and businesses for a fee.

interpretation the third step in the critical process, it asks and answers the "What does that mean?" and "So what?" questions about one's findings.

interpretive journalism a type of journalism that involves analyzing and explaining key issues or events and placing them in a broader historical or social context.

interstitials advertisements that pop up in a screen window as a user attempts to access a new Web page.

inverted-pyramid style a style of journalism in which news reports begin with the most dramatic or newsworthy information—answering *who*, *what*, *where*, and *when* (and less frequently *why* or *how*) questions at the top of the story—and then trail off with less significant details.

investigative journalism news reports that hunt out and expose corruption, particularly in business and government.

irritation advertising an advertising strategy that tries to create product-name recognition by being annoying or obnoxious.

jazz an improvisational and mostly instrumental musical form that absorbs and integrates a diverse body of musical styles, including African rhythms, blues, big band, and gospel.

joint operating agreement (JOA) in the newspaper industry, an economic arrangement, sanctioned by the government, that permits competing newspapers to operate separate editorial divisions while merging business and production operations.

kinescope before the days of videotape, a 1950s technique for preserving television broadcasts by using a film camera to record a live TV show off a studio monitor.

kinetograph an early movie camera developed by Thomas Edison's assistant in the 1890s.

kinetoscope an early film projection system that served as a kind of peep show in which viewers looked through a hole and saw images moving on a tiny plate.

leased channels in cable television, channels that allow citizens to buy time for producing programs or presenting their own viewpoints.

libel in media law, the defamation of character in written expression.

libertarian model a model for journalism and speech that encourages vigorous government criticism and supports the highest degree of freedom for individual speech and news operations.

limited competition in media economics, a market with many producers and sellers but only a few differentiable products within a particular category; sometimes called *monopolistic competition.*

linotype a technology introduced in the nineteenth century that enabled printers to set type mechanically using a typewriter-style keyboard.

literary journalism news reports that adapt fictional storytelling techniques to nonfictional material; sometimes called *new journalism.*

Little Three See **Big Five/Little Three**.

lobbying in governmental public relations, the process of attempting to influence the voting of lawmakers to support a client's or an organization's best interests.

longitudinal studies a term used for research studies that are conducted over long periods of time and often rely on large government and academic survey databases.

low culture a symbolic expression supposedly aligned with the questionable tastes of the "masses," who enjoy the commercial "junk" circulated by the mass media, such as soap operas, rock music, talk radio, comic books, and monster truck pulls.

low-power FM (LPFM) a new class of noncommercial radio stations approved by the FCC in 2000 to give voice to local groups lacking access to the public airwaves; the 10-watt and 100-watt stations broadcast to a small, community-based area.

magalog a combination of a glossy magazine and retail catalogue that is often used to market goods or services to customers or employees.

magazine a nondaily periodical that comprises a collection of articles, stories, and ads.

manuscript culture a period during the Middle Ages when priests and monks advanced the art of bookmaking.

market research in advertising and public relations agencies, the department that uses social science techniques to assess the behaviors and attitudes of consumers toward particular products before any ads are created.

mass communication the process of designing and delivering cultural messages and stories to diverse audiences through media channels as old as the book and as new as the Internet.

massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs) role-playing games set in virtual fantasy worlds that require users to play through an avatar.

mass market paperbacks low-priced paperback books sold mostly on racks in drugstores, supermarkets, and airports, as well as in bookstores.

mass media the cultural industries—the channels of communication—that produce and distribute songs, novels, news, movies, online computer services, and other cultural products to a large number of people.

mass media channel newspapers, books, magazines, radio, movies, television, or the Internet.

media buyers in advertising, the individuals who choose and purchase the types of media that are best suited to carry a client's ads and reach the targeted audience.

media effects research the mainstream tradition in mass communication research, it attempts to understand, explain, and predict the impact—or effects—of the mass media on individuals and society.

media literacy an understanding of the mass communication process through the development of critical-thinking tools—description, analysis, interpretation, evaluation, engagement—that enable a person to become more engaged as a citizen and more discerning as a consumer of mass media products.

mega-agencies in advertising, large firms or holding companies that are formed by merging several individual agencies and that maintain worldwide regional offices; they provide both advertising and public relations services and operate in-house radio and TV production studios.

megaplexes movie theater facilities with fourteen or more screens.

messages the texts, images, and sounds transmitted from senders to receivers.

microprocessors miniature circuits that process and store electronic signals, integrating thousands of electronic components into thin strands of silicon along which binary codes travel.

minimal-effects model a mass communication research model based on tightly controlled experiments and survey findings; it argues that the mass media have limited effects on audiences, reinforcing existing behaviors and attitudes rather than changing them.

modding the most advanced form of **collective intelligence**; slang for modifying game software or hardware.

modern the term describing a historical era spanning the time from the rise of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the present; its social values include celebrating the individual, believing in rational order, working efficiently, and rejecting tradition.

monopoly in media economics, an organizational structure that occurs when a single firm dominates production and

distribution in a particular industry, either nationally or locally.

Morse code a system of sending electrical impulses from a transmitter through a cable to a reception point; developed by the American inventor Samuel Morse.

movie palaces ornate, lavish single-screen movie theaters that emerged in the 1910s in the United States.

MP3 short for MPEG-1 Layer 3, an advanced type of audio compression that reduces file size, enabling audio to be easily distributed over the Internet and to be digitally transmitted in real time.

muckrakers reporters who used a style of early-twentieth-century investigative journalism that emphasized a willingness to crawl around in society's muck to uncover a story.

multichannel video programming distributors (MVPDs) the cable industry's name for its largest revenue generators, including cable companies and DBS providers.

multiple-system operators (MSOs) large corporations that own numerous cable television systems.

multiplexes contemporary movie theaters that exhibit many movies at the same time on multiple screens.

must-carry rules rules established by the FCC requiring all cable operators to assign channels to and carry all local TV broadcasts on their systems, thereby ensuring that local network affiliates, independent stations (those not carrying network programs), and public television channels would benefit from cable's clearer reception.

myth analysis a strategy for critiquing advertising that provides insights into how ads work on a cultural level; according to this strategy, ads are narratives with stories to tell and social conflicts to resolve.

narrative the structure underlying most media products, it includes two components: the story (what happens to whom) and the discourse (how the story is told).

narrative films movies that tell a story, with dramatic action and conflict emerging mainly from individual characters.

narrowcasting any specialized electronic programming or media channel aimed at a target audience.

National Public Radio (NPR) noncommercial radio established in 1967 by the U.S. Congress to provide an alternative to commercial radio.

net neutrality the principle that every Web site and every user—whether a multinational corporation or you—has the right to the same Internet network speed and access.

network a broadcast process that links, through special phone lines or satellite transmissions, groups of radio or TV stations that share programming produced at a central location.

network era the period in television history, roughly from the mid-1950s to the late 1970s, that refers to the dominance of the Big Three networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC—over programming and prime-time viewing habits; the era began eroding with a decline in viewing and with the development of VCRs, cable, and new TV networks.

news the process of gathering information and making narrative reports—edited by individuals in a news organization—that create selected frames of reference and help the public make sense of prominent people, important events, and unusual happenings in everyday life.

newshole the space left over in a newspaper for news content after all the ads are placed.

newspaper chain a large company that owns several papers throughout the country.

newsreels weekly ten-minute magazine-style compilations of filmed news events from around the world organized in a sequence of short reports; prominent in movie theaters between the 1920s and the 1950s.

news/talk/information the fastest-growing radio format in the 1990s, dominated by news programs or talk shows.

newsworthiness the often unstated criteria that journalists use to determine which events and issues should become news reports, including timeliness, proximity, conflict, prominence, human interest, consequence, usefulness, novelty, and deviance.

nickelodeons the first small makeshift movie theaters, which were often converted cigar stores, pawnshops, or restaurants redecorated to mimic vaudeville theaters.

ninjas game players who snatch loot out of turn and then leave a group, or **PUG**.

noobs game players who are clueless beginners.

O & Os TV stations "owned and operated" by networks.

objective journalism a modern style of journalism that distinguishes factual reports from opinion columns; reporters strive to remain neutral toward the issue or event they cover, searching out competing points of view among the sources for a story.

obscenity expression that is not protected as speech if these three legal tests are all met: (1) the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that the material as a whole appeals to prurient interest; (2) the material depicts or describes sexual conduct in a patently offensive way; (3) the material, as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.

off-network syndication in television, the process whereby older programs that no longer run during prime time are made available for reruns to local stations, cable operators, online services, and foreign markets.

offset lithography a technology that enabled books to be printed from photographic plates rather than metal casts,

reducing the cost of color and illustrations and eventually permitting computers to perform typesetting.

oligopoly in media economics, an organizational structure in which a few firms control most of an industry's production and distribution resources.

online fantasy sports games in which players assemble teams and use actual sports results to determine scores in their online games. These games reach a mass audience, have a major social component, and take a managerial perspective on the game.

online piracy the illegal uploading, downloading, or streaming of copyrighted material, such as music or movies.

open-source software noncommercial software shared freely and developed collectively on the Internet.

opinion and fair comment a defense against libel that states that libel applies only to intentional misstatements of factual information rather than to statements of opinion.

opt-in or **opt-out policies** controversial Web site policies over personal data gathering: *opt-in* means Web sites must gain explicit permission from online consumers before the site can collect their personal data; *opt-out* means that Web sites can automatically collect personal data unless the consumer goes to the trouble of filling out a specific form to restrict the practice.

option time a business tactic, now illegal, whereby a radio network in the 1920s and 1930s paid an affiliate station a set fee per hour for an option to control programming and advertising on that station.

Pacifica Foundation a radio broadcasting foundation established in Berkeley, California, by journalist and World War II pacifist Lewis Hill; he established KPFA, the first nonprofit community radio station, in 1949.

paperback books books made with less expensive paper covers, introduced in the United States in the mid-1800s.

papyrus one of the first substances to hold written language and symbols; produced from plant reeds found along the Nile River.

Paramount decision the 1948 U.S. Supreme Court decision that ended vertical integration in the film industry by forcing the studios to divest themselves of their theaters.

parchment treated animal skin that replaced papyrus as an early pre-paper substance on which to document written language.

partisan press an early dominant style of American journalism distinguished by opinion newspapers, which generally argued one political point of view or pushed the plan of the particular party that subsidized the paper.

pass-along readership the total number of people who come into contact with a single copy of a magazine.

payola the unethical (but not always illegal) practice of record promoters paying deejays or radio programmers to favor particular songs over others.

pay-per-view (PPV) a cable-television service that allows customers to select a particular movie for a fee, or to pay $25 to $40 for a special one-time event.

paywall an online portal that charges consumers a fee for access to news content.

penny arcade the first thoroughly modern indoor playground, filled with coin-operated games.

penny papers (also *penny press*) refers to newspapers that, because of technological innovations in printing, were able to drop their price to one cent beginning in the 1830s, thereby making papers affordable to the working and emerging middle classes and enabling newspapers to become a genuine mass medium.

phishing an Internet scam that begins with phony e-mail messages that appear to be from an official site and request that customers send their credit card numbers and other personal information to update their account.

photojournalism the use of photos to document events and people's lives.

pinball machine the most prominent mechanical game, in which players score points by manipulating the path of a metal ball on a playfield in a glass-covered case.

plain-folks pitch an advertising strategy that associates a product with simplicity and the common person.

podcasting a distribution method (coined from "iPod" and "broadcasting") that enables listeners to download audio program files from the Internet for playback on computers or digital music players.

political advertising the use of ad techniques to promote a candidate's image and persuade the public to adopt a particular viewpoint.

political economy studies an area of academic study that specifically examines interconnections among economic interests, political power, and how that power is used.

pop music popular music that appeals either to a wide cross section of the public or to sizable subdivisions within the larger public based on age, region, or ethnic background; the word *pop* has also been used as a label to distinguish popular music from classical music.

portal an entry point to the Internet, such as a search engine.

postmodern the term describing a contemporary historical era spanning the 1960s to the present; its social values include opposing hierarchy, diversifying and recycling culture, questioning scientific reasoning, and embracing paradox.

premium channels in cable programming, a tier of channels that subscribers can order at an additional monthly fee

over their basic cable service; these may include movie channels and interactive services.

press agent the earliest type of public relations practitioner, who seeks to advance a client's image through media exposure.

press releases in public relations, announcements—written in the style of news reports—that give new information about an individual, a company, or an organization, and pitch a story idea to the news media.

prime time in television programming, the hours between 8 and 11 P.M. (or 7 and 10 P.M. in the Midwest), when networks have traditionally drawn their largest audiences and charged their highest advertising rates.

Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR) an FCC regulation that reduced networks' control of prime-time programming to encourage more local news and public-affairs programs, often between 6 and 7 P.M.

printing press a fifteenth-century invention whose movable metallic type technology spawned modern mass communication by creating the first method for mass production. It reduced the size and cost of books; made them the first mass medium affordable to less affluent people; and provided the impetus for the Industrial Revolution, assembly-line production, modern capitalism, and the rise of consumer culture.

prior restraint the legal definition of censorship in the United States; it prohibits courts and governments from blocking any publication or speech before it actually occurs.

product placement the advertising practice of strategically placing products in movies, TV shows, comic books, and video games so that the products appear as part of a story's set environment.

professional books technical books that target various occupational groups and are not intended for the general consumer market.

Progressive Era a period of political and social reform that lasted from the 1890s to the 1920s.

progressive rock an alternative music format that developed as a backlash to the popularity of Top 40.

propaganda in advertising and public relations, a communication strategy that tries to manipulate public opinion to gain support for a special issue, program, or policy, such as a nation's war effort.

propaganda analysis the study of propaganda's effectiveness in influencing and mobilizing public opinion.

pseudo-events in public relations, circumstances or events created solely for the purpose of obtaining coverage in the media.

pseudo-polls typically call-in, online, or person-in-the-street nonscientific polls that the news media use to address a "question of the day."

psychographics in market research, the study of audience or consumer attitudes, beliefs, interests, and motivations.

Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 the act by the U.S. Congress that established the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which oversees the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR).

Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) noncommercial television established in 1967 by the U.S. Congress to provide an alternative to commercial television.

public domain the end of the copyright period for a work, at which point the public may begin to access it for free.

publicity in public relations, the positive and negative messages that spread controlled and uncontrolled information about a person, a corporation, an issue, or a policy in various media.

public journalism a type of journalism, driven by citizen forums, that goes beyond telling the news to embrace a broader mission of improving the quality of public life; also called *civic journalism.*

public relations the total communication strategy conducted by a person, a government, or an organization attempting to reach and persuade its audiences to adopt a point of view.

public service announcements (PSAs) reports or announcements, carried free by radio and TV stations, that promote government programs, educational projects, voluntary agencies, or social reform.

public sphere those areas or arenas in social life—like the town square or coffeehouse—where people come together regularly to discuss social and cultural problems and try to influence politics; the public sphere is distinguished from governmental spheres, where elected officials and other representatives conduct affairs of state.

PUGs in gaming, temporary teams usually assembled by match-making programs integrated into a game (short for Pick-Up Groups).

pulp fiction a term used to describe many late-nineteenth-century popular paperbacks and dime novels, which were constructed of cheap machine-made pulp material.

punk rock rock music that challenges the orthodoxy and commercialism of the recording business; it is characterized by loud, unpolished qualities, a jackhammer beat, primal vocal screams, crude aggression, and defiant or comic lyrics.

qualified privilege a legal right allowing journalists to report judicial or legislative proceedings even though the public statements being reported may be libelous.

Radio Act of 1912 the first radio legislation passed by Congress, it addressed the problem of amateur radio operators cramming the airwaves.

Radio Act of 1927 the second radio legislation passed by Congress; in an attempt to restore order to the airwaves, the act stated that licensees did not own their channels but could license them if they operated to serve the "public interest, convenience, or necessity."

Radio Corporation of America (RCA) a company developed during World War I that was designed, with government approval, to pool radio patents; the formation of RCA gave the United States almost total control over the emerging mass medium of broadcasting.

radio waves a portion of the electromagnetic wave spectrum that was harnessed so that signals could be sent from a transmission point and obtained at a reception point.

random assignment a social science research method for assigning research subjects; it ensures that every subject has an equal chance of being placed in either the experimental group or the control group.

rating in TV audience measurement, a statistical estimate expressed as a percentage of households tuned to a program in the local or national market being sampled.

receivers the targets of messages crafted by senders.

reference books dictionaries, encyclopedias, atlases, and other reference manuals related to particular professions or trades.

regional editions national magazines whose content is tailored to the interests of different geographic areas.

responsible capitalism an underlying value held by many U.S. journalists and citizens, it assumes that businesspeople should compete with one another not primarily to maximize profits but to increase prosperity for all.

retransmission fee the fee that cable providers pay to broadcast networks for the right to carry their channels.

rhythm and blues (or **R&B**) music that merges urban blues with big-band sounds.

right to privacy addresses a person's right to be left alone, without his or her name, image, or daily activities becoming public property.

rockabilly music that mixes bluegrass and country influences with those of black folk music and early amplified blues.

rock and roll music that merges the African American influences of urban blues, gospel, and R&B with the white influences of country, folk, and pop vocals.

role-playing games (RPGs) games that are typically set in a fantasy or sci-fi world in which each player (there can be multiple players in a game) chooses to play as a character that specializes in a particular skill set.

rotation in format radio programming, the practice of playing the most popular or best-selling songs many times throughout the day.

satellite radio pay radio services that deliver various radio formats nationally via satellite.

saturation advertising the strategy of inundating a variety of print and visual media with ads aimed at target audiences.

scientific method a widely used research method that studies phenomena in systematic stages; it includes identifying a research problem, reviewing existing research, developing working hypotheses, determining appropriate research design, collecting information, analyzing results to see if the hypotheses have been verified, and interpreting the implications of the study.

search engines sites or applications that offer a more automated route to finding content by allowing users to enter key words or queries to locate related Web pages.

Section 315 part of the 1934 Communications Act; it mandates that during elections, broadcast stations must provide equal opportunities and response time for qualified political candidates.

selective exposure the phenomenon whereby audiences seek messages and meanings that correspond to their preexisting beliefs and values.

selective retention the phenomenon whereby audiences remember or retain messages and meanings that correspond to their preexisting beliefs and values.

senders the authors, producers, agencies, and organizations that transmit messages to receivers.

serial program a radio or TV program, such as a soap opera, that features continuing story lines from day to day or week to week (for contrast, see **chapter show**).

share in TV audience measurement, a statistical estimate of the percentage of homes tuned to a certain program, compared with those simply using their sets at the time of a sample.

shield laws laws protecting the confidentiality of key interview subjects and reporters' rights not to reveal the sources of controversial information used in news stories.

simulation games games that involve managing resources and planning worlds that are typically based in reality.

situation comedy a type of comedy series that features a recurring cast and set as well as several narrative scenes; each episode establishes a situation, complicates it, develops increasing confusion among its characters, and then resolves the complications.

sketch comedy short television comedy skits that are usually segments of TV variety shows; sometimes known as *vaudeo*, the marriage of vaudeville and video.

slander in law, spoken language that defames a person's character.

slogan in advertising, a catchy phrase that attempts to promote or sell a product by capturing its essence in words.

small-town pastoralism an underlying value held by many U.S. journalists and citizens, it favors the small over the large and the rural over the urban.

snob-appeal approach an advertising strategy that attempts to convince consumers that using a product will enable them to maintain or elevate their social station.

social learning theory a theory within media effects research that suggests a link between the mass media and behavior.

social media digital applications that allow people worldwide to have conversations, share common interests, and generate their own media content online.

social networking sites sites on which users can create content, share ideas, and interact with friends.

social responsibility model a model for journalism and speech, influenced by the libertarian model, that encourages the free flow of information to citizens, so they can make wise decisions about political and often more social issues.

soul music that mixes gospel, blues, and urban and southern black styles with slower, more emotional, and melancholic lyrics.

sound bite in TV journalism, the equivalent of a quote in print; the part of a news report in which an expert, a celebrity, a victim, or a person on the street is interviewed about some aspect of an event or issue.

space brokers in the days before modern advertising, individuals who purchased space in newspapers and sold it to various merchants.

spam a computer term referring to unsolicited e-mail.

spiral of silence a theory that links the mass media, social psychology, and the formation of public opinion; the theory says that people who hold minority views on controversial issues tend to keep their views silent.

split-run editions editions of national magazines that tailor ads to different geographic areas.

spyware software with secretive codes that enable commercial firms to "spy" on users and gain access to their computers.

stereo the recording of two separate channels or tracks of sound.

storyboard in advertising, a blueprint or roughly drawn comic-strip version of a proposed advertisement.

strategy games games in which perspective is omniscient and the player must survey the entire "world" or playing field and make strategic decisions.

studio system an early film production system that constituted a sort of assembly-line process for moviemaking; major film studios controlled not only actors but also directors, editors, writers, and other employees, all of whom worked under exclusive contracts.

subliminal advertising a 1950s term that refers to hidden or disguised print and visual messages that allegedly register on the subconscious, creating false needs and seducing people into buying products.

subsidiary rights in the book industry, selling the rights to a book for use in other media forms, such as a mass market paperback, a CD-ROM, or the basis for a movie screenplay.

supermarket tabloids newspapers that feature bizarre human-interest stories, gruesome murder tales, violent accident accounts, unexplained phenomena stories, and malicious celebrity gossip.

superstations local independent TV stations, such as WTBS in Atlanta or WGN in Chicago, that have uplinked their signals onto a communication satellite to make themselves available nationwide.

survey research in social science research, a method of collecting and measuring data taken from a group of respondents.

syndication leasing TV stations or cable networks the exclusive right to air TV shows.

synergy in media economics, the promotion and sale of a product (and all its versions) throughout the various subsidiaries of a media conglomerate.

talkies movies with sound, beginning in 1927.

Telecommunications Act of 1996 the sweeping update of telecommunications law that led to a wave of media consolidation.

telegraph invented in the 1840s, it sent electrical impulses through a cable from a transmitter to a reception point, transmitting Morse code.

textbooks books made for the el-hi (elementary and high school) and college markets.

textual analysis in media research, a method for closely and critically examining and interpreting the meanings of culture, including architecture, fashion, books, movies, and TV programs.

third-person effect the theory that people believe others are more affected by media messages than they are themselves.

third screens the computer-type screens on which consumers can view television, movies, music, newspapers, and books.

time shifting the process whereby television viewers record shows and watch them later, when it is convenient for them.

Top 40 format the first radio format, in which stations played the forty most popular hits in a given week, as measured by record sales.

trade books the most visible book industry segment, featuring hardbound and paperback books aimed at general readers and sold at bookstores and other retail outlets.

transistors invented by Bell Laboratories in 1947, these tiny pieces of technology, which receive and amplify radio signals, make portable radios possible.

trolls players who take pleasure in intentionally spoiling a gaming experience for others.

underground press radical newspapers, run on shoestring budgets, that question mainstream political policies and conventional values; the term usually refers to a journalism movement of the 1960s.

university press the segment of the book industry that publishes scholarly books in specialized areas.

urban contemporary one of radio's more popular formats, primarily targeting African American listeners in urban areas with dance, R&B, and hip-hop music.

uses and gratifications model a mass communication research model, usually employing in-depth interviews and survey questionnaires, that argues that people use the media to satisfy various emotional desires or intellectual needs.

Values and Lifestyles (VALS) a market-research strategy that divides consumers into types and measures psychological factors, including how consumers think and feel about products and how they achieve (or do not achieve) the lifestyles to which they aspire.

vellum a handmade paper made from treated animal skin, used in the Gutenberg Bibles.

vertical integration in media economics, the phenomenon of controlling a mass media industry at its three essential levels: production, distribution, and exhibition; the term is most frequently used in reference to the film industry.

video news releases (VNRs) in public relations, the visual counterparts to press releases; they pitch story ideas to the TV news media by mimicking the style of a broadcast news report.

video-on-demand (VOD) cable television technology that enables viewers to instantly order programming, such as movies, to be digitally delivered to their sets.

video subscription services a new term for cable and video-on-demand providers introduced to include streaming-only companies, like Hulu Plus and Netflix.

viral marketing short videos or other content that marketers hope will quickly gain widespread attention as users share it with friends online or by word of mouth.

vitascope a large-screen movie projection system developed by Thomas Edison.

Webzine a magazine that publishes on the Internet.

wiki Web sites Web sites that are capable of being edited by any user; the most famous is Wikipedia.

wireless telegraphy the forerunner of radio, a form of voiceless point-to-point communication; it preceded the voice and sound transmissions of one-to-many mass communication that became known as broadcasting.

wireless telephony early experiments in wireless voice and music transmissions, which later developed into modern radio.

wire services commercial organizations, such as the Associated Press, that share news stories and information by relaying them around the country and the world, originally via telegraph and now via satellite transmission.

World Wide Web (WWW) a data-linking system for organizing and standardizing information on the Internet; the WWW enables computer-accessed information to associate with—or link to—other information, no matter where it is on the Internet.

yellow journalism a newspaper style or era that peaked in the 1890s, it emphasized high-interest stories, sensational crime news, large headlines, and serious reports that exposed corruption, particularly in business and government.

zines self-published magazines produced on personal computer programs or on the Internet.

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Credits

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Index

AAA game titles, 103
AAA Living magazine, 325
A&E, 223, 227
A&R (artist & repertoire) agents, 139
Aaron, Craig, 459
AARP (American Association of Retired Persons), 329
AARP Bulletin, 313, 325, 329
  circulation of, 336
AARP The Magazine, 313, 325, 329
  circulation of, 336
ABC (American Broadcasting Company), 162, 187, 270, 376
  Disney's purchase of, 198, 212, 447, 451, 463
  loss of audience by, 9
  ratings of, 223
  trends in programming and, 195
"ABC" (Jackson 5), 130
ABC/Disney, 200
ABC Family, 457
ABC News, 207, 496
  as media corporation, 468
  profits of, 451
ABC Radio Network, 460
ABC World News Tonight, 207
Abduction, 245
Abdul, Paula, 383
Abercrombie & Fitch, wage gap and, 453
above-the-line costs, 217
Abrams, J. J., 232
Abramson, Jill, 284
absolute ethics, 486
Absolut Vodka, advertising of, 403
Academy Chicago Publishers, 367
Accenture, 394
access-channel mandates, 212, 214
Access Hollywood, 28, 276
account executives, 389–390
accounts, 67
  advertising and planning of, 386–393
  reviews of, 390
AC/DC, 169
acquisitions editors, 362–363
Acta Diurna, 271–272
action digital games, 75, 86, 88
Action for Children's Television (ACT), 401
Action News, 496
Activision Blizzard, 101–102, 103
actual malice, 547
Adams, Eddie, 321
Adams, John, 542
Adams, Ryan, 125
Adbusters Media Foundation, 400
Ad Council, 382
addiction, electronic gaming and, 94
Adele, 137, 139
Adidas, 394, 427
AdMob, 59
Adorno, T. W., 527
Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), 42
advance money, 363
Advance Publications, 334–335
advancing graphics, 79–80
Adventure, Mystery, and Romance (Cawelti), 22
adventure games, 75, 88
Adventure of Huckleberry Finn (Twain), 360
advergames, 93
adversaries, journalists as, 494–495
advertising
  account, 386–393
  alcohol, 379, 395, 398, 403
  appeal of, to consumers, 382
  association principle in, 394, 396
  bandwagon effect in, 394
  business-to-business, 377
  children and, 401
  classified, 377
  commercial speech and regulating, 399–403, 405–407
  cost of, 389
  critical issues in, 400–403
  deceptive, 406–407
  digital, 270, 372, 375–376
  early American, 378–383
  in the 1800s, 379–381
  electronic gaming and, 93
  future of, 409
  in global market, 404
  green, 406
  health and, 402–403, 405
  impressions of, 392
  indirect payments of, 446
  in-game, 93
  irritation, 394
  jobs in, 409
  magazine, 375
  as myth and story, 396–397
  newspaper, 375, 378, 381
  online trends in, 390–393
  persuasive techniques in, 393–394, 396–397, 399–401
  plain-folks pitch in, 394
  politics of, 408
  pop-up, 377
  of prescription drugs, 405
  product placement and, 397, 399
  in promoting social change and dictating values, 381–382
  public service, 398
  on radio, 178–179
  saturation, 389
  in schools, 401–402
  seductive, 21
  shape of United States, 383–393
  in social media, 392–393
  subliminal, 383
  for Super Bowl, 395
  targeted, 60, 62
  television, 333, 375
  tobacco, 379, 398, 402–403, 407
  watching over, 405–407
Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion (Schudson), 397
Advertising Age, 269, 325
advertising agencies
  first, 378, 379
  mega, 379
  structure of, 386–393
  types of, 384–386
Advertising in America (Goodrum and Dalrymple), 380–381
advertising magazines, 332–333
advocacy journalism, 282
Advocate, The, 331
AdWorks, 444
Aerosmith, 135
affiliate stations, 207, 218
Affleck, Ben, 28
AFL-CIO, 422
African Americans
  breaking through Hollywood's race barrier and, 247
  media ownership, 458–459
  newspapers of, 272, 288–289
Afro-American, 288
After Earth, 246
Against the Current magazine, 336
Agee, James, 281, 505
Agence France-Presse, 294
agenda-setting, 524–525
Agents of S.H.I.E.L.D., 221
Age of Conan, 91
ages, magazines for all, 328–329
Aida, 20
"Aiden Pearce," 85
"Ain't That a Shame," 127
Air1, 181
Airbnb, 326
Akira, 93
Akuma, 93
album-oriented rock (AOR), 169, 172
alcohol, advertising of, 379, 395, 398, 403
Alexander, Charles, 314
Alfred Hitchcock Presents, 203, 205
Alice in Chains, 135
Alienated American, 288
Alkaline Trio, 143
"All along the Watchtower," 127
Allegiant, 342
Allen, Gracie, 161
Allen, Woody, 60, 204
all-female bands, 134
Alliance for Audited Media, 382
Allied Heroes (Edsel), 356
All the President's Men, 480
All Things Considered, 173
Ally McBeal, 205
Alpert, Phillip, 550
Altamont racetrack, 132
Alter, Jonathan, 493
Alterman, Eric, 484
alternative journalism, 292
alternative magazines, 335–336
alternative rock music, 134
AM (amplitude modulation), 166, 167, 180
amateur radio, 152
Amazing Spider-Man, The, 92
Amazon, 67, 187, 393, 458, 462
  apps on, 357
  Appstore on, 105, 357
  Barnes & Noble and, 365–366
  book digitizing and, 360
  book distribution and, 345
  book sales and, 359
  business strategy of, 12
  Cloud Player of, 60
  CreateSpace and, 367
  digital media and, 57, 139, 461
  dot-com companies and, 68
  e-reader and e-book store and, 345
  Foxconn's electronic devices for, 452
  Internet and, 67
  as media giant, 373, 445
  mobile device distribution and, 260
  movie downloads on, 254, 260
  net neutrality and, 67
  new story "content" of, 23
  online purchasing of college textbooks, 351
  original programming of, 188
  prime streaming services of, 60
  print media and, 266
  sounds and image distribution on, 110
  start of, 43, 56, 60
  streaming music and, 121
  as video game store, 105
  video-on-demand service of, 256
  warehouses of, 367

Amazon Fire Phone, bringing media content to users, 461
Amazon Fire TV, 53
bringing media content to users, 461
Amazon Kindle, 54, 60, 61
introduction of, 345, 357, 365
media content of, 461
print media and, 266
Amazon Kindle Fire, 54, 60, 333, 357
competition and, 334
Amazon Prime, 222, 270, 376
AMC Entertainment, 23, 188, 207, 257, 258
Amélie, 248
American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA), 383
American Bandstand, 128
American Booksellers Association (ABA), 349
American Broadcasting Company (ABC). *See* ABC (American Broadcasting Company)
American Cancer Society, 422
American Dictionary of the English Language, 355
American dream stories, 454–455
American Family Association, 181
American Farmer, 314
American Graffiti, 245
American Horror Story, 206
American Hustle, 249
American Idol, 399
American Journalism Review, 478
American Journal of Education, 314
American Journal of Science, 314
American Law Journal, 314
American Legion Magazine, 325
American Library Association, 361
American Magazine, 312
American Marconi, 153
RCA and, 156
Sarnoff, David, and, 159
as subsidiary of British Marconi, 156
Wireless Telephone Company competition with, 154
American Media, 331
American Medical Association, 422
American Newspaper Publishers Association, 436
American Revolution, 284
American Rifleman Magazine, 325
Americans, The, 22
American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), 121
American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), 281, 289
workforce decline and, 293
American Spectator, 336
American Tobacco Company, 381, 446
hiring of Bernays by, 420
Sherman Antitrust Act and, 449
America's Got Talent, 517
AM/FM radio, 177, 180
Amini, Hossein, 263
Amos 'n' Andy, 163
all black cast of, 189
broadcasting of in restaurants and movie theaters, 164
Amsterdam News, 288
analog recording, 118
analog standard, 191, 192
Anchorman, 22–23, 497
Anderson, Laurie Halse, 531
Anderson, Wes, 22, 249
Anderson Cooper 360°, 497
Andreessen, Marc, 45
Andrews, Jesse, 251
Andrews, Julie, 356
Andrews Sisters, 123
Android Market, 83–84
android phones, 54
Android Wear, 59
Andronicus, Titus, 139
Andrzejewski, Alexa, 69
Andy Griffith, 24
Angel, 28
Angelou, Maya, 361
Angels, 129
Angie's List, 326
Angry Birds, 84, 89, 101, 102, 104, 106
as mobile game, 93
Anik, 196
Animals on American Top 40 charts, 129
Annenberg, Walter, 322
"Annie Had a Baby," 124
Anonymous, 50–51, 474
#OpISIS campaign of, 50–51
anthology dramas, 205–206
Anthropologie, 364
anti-paparazzi laws, 551
antislavery magazines, 329–330
antitrust laws, 449
charging of RCA with violations of, 160–161
Clayton Antitrust Act as, 446, 449
limits of, 465, 467
Sherman Antitrust Act as, 446, 449
AOL, 43, 45, 304, 334
as leading force on Internet, 57
merger and acquisitions of, 447, 455, 463
purchase by Verizon, 451
AOL Instant Messenger (AIM), 46
Apple, 460. *See also* iPad; iPhone; iPod
agency-model pricing and, 366
Apps store of, 54, 106
computers made by, 61
devices of, 55
as digital company, 57, 373
dot-com companies and, 68
e-book percentage of sales of, 366
establishment of, 59, 462
Foxconn's electronic devices for, 452
Game Center of, 83
global marketing brand of, 396
iChat of, 46
iCloud of, 59
introduction of social gaming and, 77
Jobs, Steve, and, 457
as media giant, 12, 445
Napster and, 56
print media and, 266
purchase of Beats music by, 121
selling of music, 36
The Simpsons allusions to, 25
Siri, 36, 56–57
Apple Music, 114, 121, 176
Apple TV, 53, 254
Apple Watch, 36, 54
Apprentice, The, 3
appropriateness, 64–65
apps, 55
April 4, 1968: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Death and How It Changed America (Dyson), 533
Apu Trilogy, 246
Arab Spring uprisings (2011 and 2012), 499
beginning of, 49, 51, 52
Occupy Wall Street movement inspired by, 284
press freedom and, 474
use of smartphones and laptops during, 31
Árbenz, Jacobo, 428
Arbuckle, Fatty, 555
Arcade Fire, 143
arcades, 78–79
Archon, 102
Arctic Monkeys, 134
Areopagitica (Milton), 541
Are You My Mother? (Bechdel), 350
Are You Smarter Than a Fifth Grader?, 517
Aristotle, 15, 489
Armies of the Night (Mailer), 282
Armstrong, Edwin, 154
prediction of radio's demise, 166–167
Armstrong, Louis, 123, 384
Arnaz, Desi, 203
Arnold Worldwide, 389
Aronofsky, Darren, 249
Around the World in Eighty Days (Verne), 277, 310
ARPAnet, 42
Arrested Development, 55
Arrow, 517
art form, journalism as an, 281–282
art-house theaters, 246
Arthritis Foundation, 422
Artist, The, 242
Asian American newspapers, 290
Asian cinema, 250
Asian Week, 331
Assange, Julian, 506, 545
Assassin's Creed, 80, 91, 102
Associated Press (AP), 303
founding of, 275–276
manual for editors, 433
wire services and feature syndication and, 294
Association of Alternative Newsweeklies (AAN), 291
Association of American Publishers (AAP), 348–349, 358
association principle in advertising, 394, 396
Asteroids, 78
Astro Boy, 93
astroturf lobbying, 430–431
Atari, 78, 79, 104
consoles of, 79, 101
A-Team, The, 28
Atkinson, Samuel Coate, 314
Atlantic Monthly, 329
Atlantic's Cat label, 127
A to Z, 216
AT&T, 120
advertising by, 376
affiliates of, 159
broadband access and, 66
Comcast merger and, 451
development into competitor for cable and DBS, 224
DirecTV and, 467
global marketing brand of, 396
launch of Telstar, 196
making and selling of radio receivers by, 158

merger and acquisitions of, 223, 463
monopoly practices by, 277
public relations and, 418
radio stations owned by, 158
RCA and, 156, 159
WEAF on, 163
attention, 524
audience
global, 460
studies of, 528, 530
audio books, 357
Audion, 154
audiotapes, 116, 118
Audit Bureau of Circulations, 331, 382
augmented reality, 324
Aulderheide, Pat, 533
Austen, Jane, 26
auteurs, 244
authoritarian model, 540
Authors Guild, 358
Author Solutions, 367
Autobiography of Malcolm X, The (Marx), 360
Avalon, Frankie, 129
avatar, 79, 87
Avatar, 73, 232, 233, 235, 256
Avengers: Age of Ultron, 232, 256
Avengers, The, 232, 233, 256, 353
Avett Brothers, 125

Babbage, 105
"Baby Love," 131
Bach, 17
Back to the Future II, 257
"Bad Blood," 113, 136
Bad Boy Entertainment, 135
Bad Judge, 216
Bad Religion, 143
Baer, Ralph, 78
Baez, Joan, 131, 291
bagatelles, 76
Bagdikian, Ben, 465
Baidu, market share of, 47
Bailey, F. Lee, 551
Baker, Belle, 123
Baker, Ray Stannard, 317
Baldwin, Alec, 413
Baldwin, Faith, 310
Ball, Lucille, 203, 557
Ballantine Bantam Dell, 362
Baltimore Sun, 293
banana republic, 428
bananas, public relations and, 428
Bancroft, Anne, 205
Bandello, Roco, 515
Band Perry, The, 122
Bandura, Albert, 524
bandwagon effect in advertising, 394
Bank of America, 295
banned books, 360–361
Banshees, 133
Bantam Books, 354
Baquet, Dean, 485
Bard's Tale, The, 102
Barnes & Noble
apps on, 357
brick-and-mortar bookstores of, 366
e-book sales of, 366
online purchasing of college textbooks, 351
store closings by, 364
Barney & Friends, 209
Barnum, Phineas Taylor (P. T.), 416–417, 427
barter deals, 219
Bartles & Jaymes, 396
Basecamp, 48
basic cable services, 197
Basie, Count, 123
Batman: Arkham Asylum, 93
Batman for DC comics, 93, 352, 353
Battlefield, 102
Baumgartner, Felix, 427
Baxter, Ted, 497
Bay Psalm Book, The (Daye), 347
BBDO Worldwide, 385
Beach Boys, 129
Beastie Boys, 135
Beatles, 17, 25
drug arrests of, 132
imitation of Chuck Berry and Little Richard by, 129–130
as musical phenomena, 208
Beats by Dr. Dre headphones, 120, 121
Beats Music, 120, 121
as streaming service, 141
Beat the Clock, 163
Beauty and the Beast, 456, 457
Bechdel, Allison, 350
Beck, Glenn, 169, 171, 492
Beckham, David, 394
Bee Gees, 134
beer advertising, 379, 395, 398, 403
Beggars Banquet, 143
Bejeweled, 84, 102
Bell, Alexander Graham, 116–117, 328
Bell, Chichester, 116–117
Bellan-White, Nadja, 409
Bell Labs, 242
Beloved (Morrison), 356
below-the-line costs, 217
Ben ali, Zine el-Abidine, 51
Ben-Hur, 242
Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream's Facebook page, 392
Bennett, James Gordon, 274–275, 277
Benny, Jack, 161
Benthan, Jeremy, 489
Bergen, Candice, 204
Bergen, Edgar, 204, 559–560
Bergman, Ingmar, 246
Berkeley Barb, 291
Berkshire Hathaway, 295
Berle, Milton, 204
Berlin, Irving, 122, 123
Berliner, Emile, 115, 117
Berman & Co., 430
Bernays, Edward, 161, 416, 420–421, 428, 453
Berners-Lee, Tim, 45, 56
Bernstein, Carl, 283, 480
Bernstein, Leonard, 557
Berry, Chuck, 28, 124–125, 134
arrest of, 128
Beatles imitation of, 129
British invasion and, 129
"duck walk" of, 125
influence of, on rock and roll music, 125
Bertelsmann and Pearson, 361–362
Best Buy, 105, 139
DVDs sales at, 200
luring customers with wholesale prices, 140
best-sellers, 355–356
BET, 197
Betamax (Beta), 200
Better Business Bureau, 382
nonprofit advertising and, 405
Better Call Saul, 22
Better Homes and Gardens, 322, 323, 327, 334
Betty Crocker's Cookbook, 349
Beverly Hillbillies, 221, 528
Bewitched, 528
Beyoncé, 136, 138, 141, 393, 413
Beyoncé: Life Is but a Dream, 414
Beyond the Lights, 258
Bezos, Jeff, 56, 269, 270
establishment of Amazon by, 365
purchase of *Washington Post* by, 301
same-sex marriage referendum and, 470
BH Media Group, 295
Bianchini, Gina, 69
bias
in the news, 484
political, 483
Bias (Goldberg), 484
Biden, Joe, 506
Bieber, Justin, 30, 143, 413, 444
Big Bang, 142
Big Bang Theory, 203, 206, 216, 517
as huge hit, 221
salary demands by actors of, 217
as situation comedy, 204
big business, press agents and, 418
Big C, The, 205
Big Cable, 458
Bigelow, Kathryn, 245, 246
Big Five studios, 234, 241
Biggest Loser, The, 216
Big Hero 6, 456
Big Juice, 138
Big Machine Records, 114, 122, 137, 177
"Big Mac" theory, 21
Big Media, 471
Big Network, 458
Big Sleep, The, 244
Big Three networks, 203, 211
Big Valley, The, 517
Bill of Rights, 273, 542
Binch, Winston, 409
Bing, 59
advertising and, 390
market share of, 47
search on, 462
travel pages on, 93
binge drinking, alcohol ads and, 398
binge watching, 222
BioShock, 28
BioWare, 102
Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (2002), 470
Birth of a Nation, The, 242
Bisland, Elizabeth, 310
Bissinger, H. G., 356
Biswas-Diener, Robert, 40, 574
bits, 46, 79
BitTorrent, 120
Black, Hugo, 542–543
Black, Rebecca, 400
Blackberry, 53
black cinema, 247
Blacklist, The, 203, 216
Black Nativity, 245
Black Panther Party, 282
blacks. *See* African Americans
Black Swan, 249
Blackwell, Otis, 126
Blade Runner (Scott), 29
Blade Runner in Pop Culture Wars (Romanowski), 29
Blanche, Catherine, 359
"Blank Space," 113
blaxploitation movies, 247
Blek, 83

Bling Ring, The, 249
Blizzard Entertainment, 88, 92
BlizzCon, 92
block booking, 240
Blockbuster
  distribution to mobile devices by, 260
  filing of bankruptcy by, 254
blockbuster mentality, 259
block printing, 7, 346
Blogger (blogging platform), 48, 52, 59
blogs/blogging, 12, 33, 43, 47–48, 297–298, 304
  public relations and, 431
Blondie, 133
Bloomberg, 428
"Blueberry Hill," 125
Blue Bloods, 203
BlueDigital, 422
Blue Jasmine, 60
Bluem, William, 495
Blues Brothers, The, 204
blues music, 123–124
Blume, Judy, 361
Blumlein, Alan, 118
Blu-ray, 83, 200, 254, 256
Bly, Nellie, 277, 310
BMG, 137
  merger of Sony and, 137
Boardwalk Empire, 356
Bob & Tom Show, The, 179
Bogart, Humphrey, 257
"Bohemian Rhapsody" (song), 28
Bok, Edward, 316
Boland, John, 211
Bollier, David, 68
Bollywood, 248, 250
Bonanza, 187
Bones, 216, 218, 219
Bon Iver, 143
Bonzer, Eric, 69
book(s)
  audio, 357
  college text, 349, 350–351
  comic, 352–353
  early, 7, 344
  future of democracy and, 367–368
  Google, 345
  history of, 344–348
  influences of television and film on, 356–357
  instant, 354
  manga, 349
  modern publishing and book industry, 348–351, 354–355
  online, 365–366
  paperback, 345, 347
  preserving and digitizing, 357, 358, 360
  professional, 345, 350
  reference, 354–355
  religious, 349, 354
  selling, 364–366
  trade, 349, 362, 363
  trends and issues in publishing, 355–358, 360–361
  types of, 348–349
  university press, 355
book challenge, 361
book clubs, 345, 364–365
BookCon, 362
BookExpo America (BEA), 362
Book-of-the-Month Club, 345, 364–365
book publishing
  organization and ownership of, 361–367
  structure of, 362–364
Bookseller of Kabul, The (Seierstad), 282
bookstores, 359
Boone, Daniel, 416
Boone, Pat, 127–128
Boorstin, Daniel, 427
Borden, 381
Borders, 266
  as book superstore, 364
  establishment of, 345
Borgen, 500
bosses, 87
Boston, 133
Boston Globe, 269, 300, 465
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
Boston Marathon terrorist bombing (2013), 302
Boston News-Letter, 272
Boston Public Library, 360
Bouazizi, Mohamed, 49, 52
Bourke-White, Margaret, 319, 320
boutique agencies, 384, 385–386
Bowie, David, 125, 133, 134
Bowles, Eammon, 261
Bowling for Columbine, 249
Boy George, 125
Boy's Life, 329
Boyz N the Hood, 247
Bradford, Andrew, 312
Brady, Matthew, photographs of, 315
Brande, Dorothea, 351
brands, influence of, on consumer, 399
BrandZ, 396
Brant Rock, Massachusetts, 155
Brave, 92, 456
Brave New World (Huxley), 26
Bravo, 188, 197, 200, 223
Breaking Bad, 23, 207, 217, 220, 222, 524
Breeders, 134
Breitbart, Andrew, 492
Brennan, William, Jr., 539
Brewster, Jordana, 413
brick-and-mortar stores, 364, 366
Brides, 324
Brin, Serger, 444
British American Tobacco (BAT), advertising bans and, 404
British Marconi, 156
British Petroleum oil spill, 417, 432
broadband, 45
broadcasting, 155
  cable threats to, 196–197
  FCC regulation of, 559
  toll, 158
Broadcasting Corporation of America (BCA), 159, 160
broadcast news, interpretive journalism and, 281
Broad City, 23
Broder, David, 507
Brokaw, Tom, 207
Brokeback Mountain, 233
Brookings Institution, 27
Brooklyn Eagle, 163
Brooks, Mel, 17, 204
Brown, Chris, 138, 143
Brown, Helen Gurley, 309, 310, 327
Brown, James, audiences of, 130
Brown, Jay, 138
Brown, Margaret Wise, 24
Brown-Miller Communications, 430
Brown v. Board of Education, 124
browsers, 45
Bruner, Jerome, 14
Brüno, 557
Brunswick Group, 422
Bryan, Luke, 136
Bubble Island, 102
Bubble Witch Saga, 102
Buckley, William F., 336
Buckley v. Valeo, 538
Buddhadharma, 336
Bud Light, 393
Budweiser, advertising of, 395, 403
Buena Vista, 456
Buenos Aires, bookstores in, 359
Buffalo News, 295
Buffett, Warren, 269, 270, 295
Buffy the Vampire Slayer, 28, 207
Buick Circus Hour, 193
Bully, 249
bundling of digital cable television, 215
bureau reporters, 293
Burger King, 93
Burgundy, Ron, 497
Burke, James E., 432
Burke, John, 417
Burnett, Leo, 400
Burns, George, 161
Burson-Marsteller, 422, 436
  Tylenol tragedy and, 432–433
Burstyn v. Wilson, 555–556
Bush, George W., 363
  criticism of news media by, 19
  media coverage of, 483
Bush, Jeb, 4
Bushido Blade, 86
Bush v. Gore, 479
business magazines, 325
business news, 434–435
business tendencies in media industries, 451–454
business-to-business ads, 377
BusinessWeek, 301
Butler, The, 245, 247
Butterfield 8, 254
Buzzcocks, 133
BuzzFeed, 305, 414
Bynes, Amanda, 413
Byrds, 131

Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, The, 246
cable, 9, 187–188, 191, 197, 460
  balancing growth against broadcasters' interests, 212, 214
  basic services, 197
  democracy and, 225–227
  development of, 195–197, 199
  digital, 197
  economics and ownership of, 216–221, 223–225
  premium services, 197, 199
  regulatory challenges to, 211–215
  threats to broadcasting, 196–197
  wires and satellites behind, 195–196
Cablevision, 120, 202, 218, 224
Caesar, Julius, 272
Caesar, Sid, 204
Cage the Elephant, 172
Cairo, Egypt, pro-democracy gatherings in, 52
Cajun music, 16
California, Channel One contracts in, 401
California Center for Public Health Advocacy, 430
California State Board of Education, 350
"Call Me Maybe," 136
Call of Duty, 94, 98, 101, 102
Camel News Caravan, 193

Camel Newsreel Theater, 207
cameras in courtroom, 552
Cameron, James, 232
Campbell, Clive, 135
Campbell, John, 272
Campbell Ewald, 390
Campbell Soup, 380, 406
Campion, Jane, 245
Canada's National Film Board, 248
Canal, Jorge, Jr., 550
Candy Crush Saga, 81, 82, 89, 101, 102
Cannes Film Festival, 250, 251
Canon, 422
Canterbury Tales (Chaucer), 346–347
Cantor, Eddie, 123
Cantril, Hadley, 518–519
Capcom, Marvel vs., 86, 93
capitalism, responsible, 482–483
Capote, Truman, 282, 329
Captain America, 93, 350, 352
Captain America: The Winter Soldier, 232
Captain Underpants (Pilkey), 361
card games, computerized versions of, 75
Care Bear Family, The, 401
Carey, James, 514, 531
Carlin, George, 561
Carmike Cinemas, 258
Carnation, 381
Carnegie, Andrew, 366, 449
Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, 209–210
Carnegie libraries, 368
Carolina Hurricanes, 198
Carr, David, 494, 499
Carrie, 245
Carroll, John, 304, 305
Carson, Rachel, 283, 367
Carter, Chris, 60
Carter, Jimmy, 450
Cartoon Network, 211, 455
cartridge, 100–101
Casablanca, 243
cash deal, 219
Cash Money Records, 139
cash-plus, 219
cassette players, 118
cassettes, 117, 118
Castle, 216
casual games, 89
Casual Vacancy, A (Rowling), 363
catch-up services, 201–202
categorical imperative, 489
cathode ray tubes (CRTs), 76, 78, 190
Catholic Worker, 292
CATV (community antenna television), 190, 195
Caught in the Web, 250
Cawelti, John, 22
CBGB, 133
CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System), 4, 9, 187, 195, 270, 374, 376, 443, 444, 465
  creation of name of, 161
  forming of oligopoly by, 241
  mass media and, 372
  newsroom cultures of, 482–483
  radio programming and, 163, 179
  television news on, 207
  Time Warner and, 188
  Viacom's split with, 223
CBS News, 54
CBS Records, 118
CD Baby, 141
CDs, 117, 119
celebrity spokespeople, 405
Celler-Kefauver Act (1950), 447, 449
celluloid, 234, 235–236
censorship, 360–361, 554
  fears of corruption and, 128–129
  as prior restraint, 542–543
Center for Consumer Freedom (CCF), 430–431
Center for Digital Democracy, 565
Center for Investigative Reporting, 304
Center for Public Integrity, 303, 478
Centipede, 80
CEO-to-worker compensation ratio, 452
Chan, Jackie, 250
Chancellor Media Corporation, 180
Chang-dong, Lee, 250
Change.org, 48
Channel One, 379, 401–402
"Chantilly Lace," 128–129
Chaplin, Charlie, 26, 29, 102, 239
chapter shows, 206–207
Charles, Ray, 126, 128, 383
Charleston, 115
Charlie Hebdo magazine murders, 50, 51, 304
Charlie's Angels, 28
Charlotte Observer, 500
Charmed, 28
Charter, control of broadband access, 66
Charter Communications, 215, 224
Charter Internet service provider (ISP), 45
Chase, Chevy, 23
Chase, Melissa, 183
Chattanooga Times, 278
Chaucer, 346
Chavez, Cesar, 396
Cheers, 13, 221
Chef, 258
Chegg, 351
Chelsea Lately, 142
Chen, Kaige, 250
Chen, Steve, 444
Cherokee Phoenix, 272, 290
Cherokee Rose Bud, 290
Chess, 80, 137
Chester Cheetah, 93
Chic, 135
Chicago, 244
Chicago Defender, 288
Chicago Edison, public relations and, 418
Chicago Tribune, 266, 293
Chick-fil-A, 470
Chico, advertising of, 386
Chieh, Wang, 346
child labor, 449
Child of Light, 80
Child Online Protection Act (1998), 65
children
  advertising and, 401
  Internet and, 65
  magazines for, 329, 333
  television for, 209, 401
Children's Internet Protection Act (2000), 65
Children's Television Act (1990), 401
Child's Play, 91
China
  community control of mass communication in, 52
  student uprisings in, 499
Chiquita Brands, 428
Cho, Seung-Hui, 512
Chomsky, Noam, 533
Chopra, Parineeti, 250
Chords, 127
Chow, Yun-Fat, 250
Christian Science Monitor, 270
Christie, Agatha, 351
Christie, Chris, 438
Chrome (Web browser), 45, 59, 444
Chromebook, 462
Chromecast, 59, 462
Chrome TV, 444
Chuck E. Cheese pizza-arcade restaurant chain, 78
Chun-Li, 93
Church of Scientology, 50–51
cigarettes, advertising of, 398
Cincinnati Enquirer, 294
Cinderella, 237
CinemaNow, 260
Cinemark USA, 258
CinemaScope, 254
cinematograph, 236
cinema verité, 248
Cineplex Entertainment, 258
Cinerama, 254
circulation and distribution magazines, 333–334
Citadel, settlement of FCC payola investigation and, 179
Citizenfour, 249
citizen journalism, 302–303, 500
Citizen Kane, 25, 278
Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, 4, 470, 538
civil rights, 190
Civil Rights movement, 13, 284, 289, 321
Civil War
  magazines in, 315
  photography in, 315
clans, 90
Clara, Lu, and Em, 163
Clarissa (Richardson), 347
Claritin, advertising for, 405
Clark, Annie, 143
Clark, Dick, 126, 128
Clark, Roy Peter, 279
Clarke, Arthur C., 195
Clarkson, Kelly, 138
Clash, 133
Clash of Clans, 104
classical music, 16
classic games, arcades and, 78–79
classic rock music, 134, 172
classified ads, 377
Clayton Antitrust Act, 446, 449
clearance rules, 218
Clear Channel, 122, 150, 176, 177, 180, 458
  settlement of FCC payola investigation and, 179
Clear Channel Communications, 149–150
Cleaver, Eldridge, 291
Clerks, 557
Cleveland Cavaliers, 198
Cleveland Plain Dealer, 270
click-throughs, 392
Clinton, Hillary, 356
Clinton, William (Bill), 356, 450
  affair with Lewinsky, 13, 284
Closer, The, 207
Club Penguin, 82
CNBC, 208, 223

CNN, 4
arrival of, 497
availability of, in other countries, 198
cable services of, 196, 197
drop in audience of, 498
as first 24/7 cable TV new channel, 208
global audiences and, 460
network shows loses to, 9
Cobain, Kurt, 134, 135
Coca-Cola, 381, 422
advertising of, 395
global marketing brand of, 396
product placement and, 399
Cochrane, Elizabeth "Pink" (Nellie Bly), 477
codex, 344, 345
Cody, William F., 417
Colbert, Stephen, 193, 356
Colbert Report, 23, 503, 504
Cold War, 467
Cole, Nat King, music-variety shows hosted by, 193, 218
Coles, Joanna, 330
Colgate Comedy Hour, 193
Colgate-Palmolive, 163, 381
collaborative projects, 48
collective intelligence, 90–91
college textbooks, 349, 350–351
Collier's, 316, 317, 319, 320
Collins, Suzanne, 356, 531
colonial America
magazines in, 312–313
newspapers in, 272–273, 274
color TV standard, 190
Colt 45, advertising and, 403
Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). *See* CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System)
Columbia Dispatch, 282
Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System (CPBS), 161
Columbia Pictures
current film business ruled by, 258
Sony's ownership of, 260
Columbus Dispatch, 270, 286
Columbus Ledger-Enquirer, 502
Combs, Sean "Diddy," 135
Comcast, 120, 188, 224, 443, 444
control of broadband access, 66
future of television and, 188
mass media and, 372
as media giant, 223, 445, 468
merger and acquisitions of, 223, 458, 463, 467
NBCUniversal and, 260
Netflix and, 67, 201
on-demand service of, 223
comedies
domestic, 204
situation, 204
sketch, 204
Comedy Central, 9, 23, 188, 193, 197, 503
The Daily Show on, 23, 208, 503, 504
comedy poetry, 22
"Come See about Me," 131
comic books, 352–353
Comics Magazine Association of America
adoption of censorship code, 352
Coming Home, 250
Comix, 352
Commerce, U.S. Department of, 158
Commercial Alert, 399
in checking commercialization of United States culture, 406
as nonprofit advertising watchdog, 405
commercial e-books, 357
commercialization of the Internet, 44–47
commercial radio, 152
commercial speech, regulating advertising and, 399–403, 405–407
commercial strategies in media industry, 446–448
Committee on Public Information, 420
Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South, 546
Committee to Protect Journalists, 303, 540
common carriers, 214
communication
channels of, 6
as culture, 5–10, 531
defined, 6
digital, 8–9
Internet and, 562–563
oral, 6–7, 12
print, 12
written, 6–7
Communications Act (1934), 153, 162, 214, 559
Internet and, 562–563
Section 315 of, 561
Communications Decency Act (1996), 65
Communications Act (1934)
Wagner-Hatfield Amendment to, 173
communist model, 540
community, public relations and, 429
compact discs (CDs), 117, 119
Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia, 354
computer-generated imagery (CGI), 243
computer technology, photojournalism and, 321
Conan, 193
concussion, 426
Condé Nast magazines, 328, 333, 334–335
conflict of interest, 488
conflict-oriented journalism, 285
Conjuring, The, 244
Connally, John, 494
Conrad, Frank, 157, 158
consensus narratives, 262
consensus-oriented journalism, 285
conservatives, 32
consumer magazines, 325
consumer relations, public relations and, 429
Consumer Reports, 333
consumers
appeal of advertising and, 382
choices of, 467–468
Contact, 421
contemporary hit radio (CHR), 172
contemporary media effects theories, 523–526
content analysis, 522
content communities, 48–49
Contract with God, A (Eisner), 349
control group, 521
controlled circulation, 334
conventions, 91–92
convergence. *See* media convergence
Cook, Fred, 559
cookies, 62, 391–392
Cook's Illustrated, 327, 333
Coolidge, Calvin, 158–159, 420
Cooper, Anderson, 497, 498
Cooper, Gary, 252
Cooper, James Fenimore, 314
Coors, advertising by, 403
Coppola, Francis Ford, 245
Coppola, Sofia, 245, 249
copy editors, 363
copyright, 545
Copyright Act (1790), 545
Copyright Royalty Board, 177
Corddry, Rob, 503–504
Cornwell, Patricia, 351
corporate communications, 435
corporate downsizing, 453
Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), 173, 174, 209, 211, 301
correlations, 522
Correll, Charles, 163, 164
Cosby Show, 187, 517
Cosmo, 311
Cosmo Girl, 310
Cosmopolitan, 278, 309, 325, 335
covers of, 330
as part of Hearst Corporation, 310, 334
"Treason of the Senate, The" of, 316
Walker, John Brisben and, 309–310
women's sexuality and, 327
writers for, 310
Cosmopolitan en Español, 331
Costco, book store business of, 364
counter machines, 76
Counter-Strike, 81, 91, 105
country music, 172
Country Weekly, 328
Couric, Katie, 207
courtrooms, cameras in, 552
Cove, The, 249
cover music, 123
Cox Communications, 45, 66, 224
CPM (cost per mile), 221
Crackberry, 53
Craft, Christine, 497
Crane, Stephen, 281
creative development, advertising in, 388
credibility, neutrality in boosting, 481–482
crime blocks, 496
Criminal Minds, 203, 524
Crisis, 330
crisis, public relations during a, 431–433
critical perspective, benefits of, 30–33
critical process
defined, 30
media literacy and, 32–33, 63, 286, 330, 360, 399, 437, 461, 491, 523, 544
criticism, dealing with, 382
Crockett, Davy, 416
Cronkite, Walter, 207, 208, 504
Croods, The, 405
Crosby, Bing, 13, 123
Cross, Katherine, 96
cross platform, 12
Cruise, Tom, 50
Crumb, R., 353
Crysis, 102
Crystallizing Public Opinion, 420

CSI: Crime Scene Investigation, 203, 206, 218
C-SPAN, 197
Cuarón, Alfonso, 232
Cubreporters.org, 305
cultivation effect, 525
cultural approaches to media research, 526–528, 530
cultural change, media convergence and, 13
cultural imperialism, 461, 468–469
cultural landscape, surveying, 16–17, 20–21
cultural studies research, 513, 527
  conducting, 527–528, 530
  early developments in, 527
  evaluating, 531–532
  theoretical perspectives, 530–531
cultural values and ideals, 6
culture
  communication as, 531
  critiquing, 29–30, 32–33
  defined, 6
  evolution of mass communication, 5–10
  high, 17
  low, 17
  map as, 21, 24–26
  oral, 9
  skyscraper as, 16, 17, 20, 21
Cumulus Media, 181
Curb Your Enthusiasm, 204
Curry, Ann, 496
Curry, Stephan, 198
Curtis, Cyrus, 316, 318
Czitrom, Daniel, 514, 518

Daily Compass, 292
Daily Herd Management, 325
Daily Kos, 298
daily media consumption by platform, 16
Daily Show, 23, 193, 208, 503, 504
Dakota Farmer, 325
Dallas, 13, 23, 221
Dallas Morning News, 300
Daly, John, 207, 495
Dance Dance Revolution, 90, 93
dance games, 90
Dancing with the Stars, 14, 203, 209, 216
Dangerous, 135
Dangerous Liaisons, 250
Daniels, Lee, 245, 247
Daredevil, 188, 222
Dark Knight, The, 256, 349, 512
Dark Souls, 102
Das Kapital (Marx), 360
data mining, 62
  privacy and, 448
  targeted advertising and, 60, 62
Dateline, 218, 495
DatPiff, 144
Dauman, Philippe P., 452
Davis, Bette, 257
Davis, Miles, 20
Davis, Ossie, 205
Davis, Ziff, 91
Davison, W. Phillips, 526
Day, Benjamin, 272, 274
Day, Dorothy, 291, 292
Daye, Matthew, 347
Daye, Stephen, 344, 347
Db5, 395
DC Comics, 352–353
DC Universe Online, 104
DDB Worldwide, 385
DDoS (Distributed Denial of Service), 51, 97
dead air, 168
deadheading, 418
Deadliest Catch, 14, 209
Dead Man, 249
deadmau5, 92
Dead Weather, 172
Deafhaven, 134
Dean, Ester, 138
Dean, James, 205, 253
De Armas Spanish Magazine Network, 331
Death and Life of American Journalism, The (McChesney), 501
Death of Literature, The (Kernan), 368
Death Race, 98
De Beers, 383
deception, deploying, 485–486
deceptive advertising, 406–407
Deciding What's News (Gans), 484
Decision Points (Bush), 363
deep throat, 480
Deezer, 121, 136
Defense, U.S. Department of, Pentagon Pundit program, 430–431
deficit financing, 217
Def Jam, 138
Defoe, Daniel, 311–312
De Forest, Lee, 152, 154, 159, 167
de Graff, Robert, 351
Deitz, Corey, 183
Delaine, Aubry, 138
deliberative democracy, 505, 507
Delilah, 180
Dell, 61
  Bertelsmann's purchase of, 361
  Linux and, 67
Del Monte, 428
Del Rey, Lana, 136
democracy
  books and future of, 367–368
  cable and, 225–227
  deliberative, 505, 507
  effects of media consolidation on, 470
  equating free markets with, 467
  First Amendment and, 565
  Internet and, 68–69
  magazines in, 336–337
  media marketplace and, 469–471
  media research and, 532–533
  movies and, 262–263
  newspapers and, 303–304
  public relations and, 436–438
  radio and, 182–183
  redistribution of power and, 372
  reimagining journalism's role and, 505, 507
  social media and, 49, 52
  sound recordings and, 144–145
  television and, 225–227
Democracy in America (Tocqueville), 513–514
Democratic-Republican Party, 542
demographic editions, 333
demographics, 386
demos, 139
De Palma, Brian, 245
department stores, advertising in, 380–381
dependent variables, 521
deregulation, 449
Der Spiegel, 506
Derulo, Jason, 136
design managers, 363
desktop publishing, 332
"Desolation Row," 168
Destiny, 80
Details, 327
detective journalism, 478
Detroit, soul music in, 130
Dettelbach, Steven M., 550
Deus Ex., 102
developmental editors, 363
development budget, 103
Dexter, 356
Diablo, 81, 92, 102
Diamond Dash, 102
Diamond Sutra (Chieh), 346
Diana, Princess of Wales, 549
Diario Las Americas, 289
Diary of a Young Girl, The (Frank), 360
dibromochloropropane (DBCP), 428
DiCaprio, Leonardo, 427
Dickens, Charles, 275
Dickinson, Emily, 24
Dickson, William Kennedy, 236
dictionaries, 355
Dictionary of the English Language, 355
Diddley, Bo, 125
Didion, Joan, 282
Diener, Ed, 40, 574
Diesel, Vin, 413
Diet Coke, 393
DiGiorno Pizza, 431
digital age, 8–9
  advertising in, 270
  books in, 357
  magazines and, 324–325
  start-up companies in, 462
digital archiving, 68
digital cable, 197
digital communication, 8–9, 45–46
digital distribution, 105
digital divide, preventing, 65–66
digital film production, 235
digital gaming
  business of, 99–106
  development of, 75–81
  First Amendment freedom of speech rights and, 75
  free speech, democracy and, 106–107
  gender problem in, 96–97
  licensing of, 103–104
  marketing of, 104
  ownership and organization of, 100–102
  selling, 104–105
  structure of, 103–104
  trends and issues in, 92–95, 98–99
digital imaging, 358
digital media, convergence and, 36–37
Digital Millennium Copyright Act (1988), 546
digital music, 137, 139
Digital Public Library of America, 360
digital recording, 118–119
digital signals, 192
digital sound recording, evolution of, 119
digital technology, 42
digital theft, crackdown on, 120
digital turn, 36
digital TV standard, 191
digital versions of printed text, 266
digital video, 261
Digitas LBi, 385, 391
dime novels, 347

Direct Broadcast Satellite (DBS), 191, 199, 447, 465, 467
direct effects model, 518
directors, women as, 246
direct payment, 446
direct sales, 353
DirecTV, 199, 224, 463, 465, 467
disassociation as advertising strategy, 396
disaster management, 432
"Disco Sucks," 133
Discover, 328
Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (Schudson), 434
Discovery, 202
"disease awareness" campaigns, 405
Dish, The: Biased and Balanced, 298
Dish Network, 199, 202, 254, 465
Disney, 197, 198, 211, 232, 443, 444, 456–457, 465, 546
  ABC and, 212, 447, 451
  CEO's annual salary and, 453
  current film business ruled by, 258
  diversification and, 451, 465
  ESPN and, 198
  failed suit against Sony, 200
  founding of, 446
  future of television and, 188
  Iger, Robert, 452
  Marvel and, 260, 353, 460
  mass media and, 372
  as media corporations, 468
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
  Miramax and, 251
  partnership of, 201
  Pixar and, 260
  syndication and, 217
  YouTube and, 260
Disney, Walt, 252
Disney Brothers Studio, 44
Disney Channel, 457
Disney Junior, 211
Disneyland, 456
Disneyland Paris, 457
Disney Publishing, 457
Disney studio, 259
Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS), 51, 97
distributed networks, 42
dithyrambic poetry, 22
Divergent (Roth), 356
diversification, 465
Django Unchained, 258
DJ Kool Here, 135
Doc Martin, 206
Dr. Lin's Chinese Blood Pills, 380
Dr. Seuss books, 349
Documentary Filmmakers' Statement of Best Practices in Fair Use, 533
documentary films, 248–249
Documentary in American Television, 495
Dole Food Company, 428
Dollarocracy: How the Money and Media Election Complex Is Destroying America (McChesney), 469
domestic comedies, 204
Domino, Fats, 125, 127
Domino's Pizza, 431
Dong, Arthur, 246
Donkey Kong, 78, 100
"Do Not Track" options, 64
Don't Look Back, 133
Don't Touch the White Tile 4, 83
Doom, 81, 86
Doomsday Fight, The, 511
Doors, The, 132, 133, 168, 282
Dope, 247
Doritos, advertising at Super Bowl, 395
Dorsey, Tommy, 123
DoubleClick, 391
Doubleday, 365
  Bertelsmann's purchase of, 361–362
Doubleday Broadway, 362
Doubleday & McClure Company, 348
Douglass, Frederick, 288
Dove, 391
Dowd, Maureen, 294
Downey, Morton, Jr., 171
"Down Hearted Blues," 124
Downie, Leonard, 301, 302
downloading, 202
downsizing, 452–453
Downton Abbey, 203, 206
Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB), 388, 389
Dr. Dre, 121
Dr. Phil, 219
Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman, 517
Dragnet, 528
Dragon Age: Origins, 102
Drake, 92, 139
dramas, anthology, 205–206
Draw Something, 102
DreamWorks, 250
  partnership with McDonald's, 405
Dreiser, Theodore, 281, 310
Drew, Robert, 249
Drive, 263
drive time, 169
drop lines, 196
Drudge, Matt, 283–284, 298, 488
Drudge Report, 208, 284
Dualtone Records, 137
Du Bois, W. E. B., 30, 330
Duck Dynasty, 14, 227
"duck walk," 125
Duerson, Dave, 426
Duff, Hilary, 330
Dugdale, Scott, 120
Duke Ellington, 123
dumps, 363
Duncan, David, 320
Dungeons & Dragons, 88
Dutton, E. P., 348
DuVernay, Ava, 246
DVDs, 235, 254
  high-definition, 200
DVRs (digital video recorders), 13, 199, 200
Dylan, Bob, 127, 131, 133, 168, 291
Dynasty, 23, 32
Dyson, Michael Eric, 533

E!, 188, 223
Eagles, 125
Earle, Steve, 125
early fringe, 218
earmarks, 430
earned media, 392
Eason, David, 481
Eastman, George, 234, 236, 320
Eastman Kodak, 234, 380, 381
Easy Rider, 245
eating disorders, advertising and, 402
eBay, 64, 66
  net neutrality and, 67
  online purchasing of college textbooks, 351
Ebert, Roger, 232
Ebony, 330
e-books, 357. *See also* Amazon Kindle
  future of, 358
eCampus, 351
EchoStar Communications, 224, 465, 467
  DirecTV merger and, 447
Eclectic Reader, The (McGuffey), 350
e-commerce, 62
Economic Club of New York, 436
economic divide, 65
economics
  coverage of news on, 286
  issues of the Internet and, 57–60
  of magazines, 332–336
economy
  analyzing the media, 445–448
  transition to information, 448–455
Edelman, 422
Edison, Thomas, 115, 155, 234, 242
  development of sound recording and, 236–237
  diligence of, 10–13
  forming of Motion Picture Patents Company, 238
Edison's Trust, 239–240
editorial magazines, 332
editor in chief, 291
editors
  acquisitions, 362–363
  copy, 363
  managing, 291
eDonkey, 120
Edsel, Robert M., 356
Ed Sullivan Show, 15, 163, 208, 221
Educational Media Foundation, 181
Edwards, Douglas, 207
Effects of Mass Communication, The (Klapper), 519
EFM Media, 171
Ehrenreich, Barbara, 533
8 tracks, 177
Eisenstein, Elizabeth, 347
Eisner, Michael, 451, 456
Eisner, Will, 349
El Ateneo, 359
Elder Scrolls, The, 91
El Diario-La Prensa, 289
electric guitars, 124
Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test, The (Wolfe), 282
electromagnetic waves, 152, 154
Electronic Arts, 101, 102, 103, 105
Electronic Communications Privacy Act (1986), 551
Electronic Entertainment Expo (E3), 92
electronic era, 8
electronic gaming
  advertising and, 93
  media culture and, 92–93
electronic publishing, 214
Electronic Software Association (ESA), 84, 94–95
electronic technology, 190–193
Elementary, 216
Elements of Journalism, The (Kovach and Rosenstiel), 23
el-hi texts, 349, 350–351
elite magazines, 329
Elle, 334
Ellen DeGeneres Show, 142, 219
Ellsberg, Daniel, 542, 543
El Mañana Daily News, 289
El Misisipi, 272, 289

Elsa (*Frozen*), 113
e-mail, 9, 42, 46. *See also* Internet
  defined, 43
Emancipator, 329–330
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 314
EMI, 137
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
Eminem, 135, 413
Empire, 22, 55, 203, 207, 376
eMule, 120
Encyclopaedia Britannica, 354–355
Encyclopedia Americana, 354
encyclopedias, 344
"The End," 168
engineering consent, 419, 421
engraving and illustrations, 312
Engstrom, Erika, 523
Entercom, settlement of FCC payola investigation and, 179
entertainment magazines, 327–328
Entertainment Software Association, 100
Entertainment Software Rating Board (ESRB), 99
Entertainment Tonight, 28, 211
Entertainment Weekly, 324, 325
entrepreneurial stage, 11
Environs, 25
Ephedra, 406
Epic of Gilgamesh, 353
epic poetry and tragedy, 22
episodic series, 206–207
Epitaph, 143
e-publishing, 367
equal opportunity, political broadcasts and, 561–562
Equitable Insurance, monopoly practices by, 277
Eriksen, Mikkel, 138
Espionage Act (1917), 544, 545
ESPN (Entertainment Sports Programming Network), 196, 197, 198, 457
ESPN Classic, 198, 457
ESPN Deportes, 198
ESPNEWS, 198, 457
ESPN.go.com, 457
ESPN-HD, 198
ESPN The Magazine, 198, 328, 457
ESPN Radio, 198, 457
ESPNU channels, 457
Esquire, 334
E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial, 233, 257, 399
e-textook sales, 351
ethics
  absolute, 486
  codes of, 486, 487
  news media and, 485–489
  policy development and, 489
  predicaments in, 485–486, 488
  problem resolutions and, 488–489
  situational, 486
ethnocentrism, 482
Euripides, 14
Euronews, 208
European model, 500
European Union, 467
Eve cigarettes, advertising for, 402
Eveready Hour, 163
evergreens, 218
evergreen subscriptions, 333–334
EverQuest, 104
Everquest II, 99
everyday life, power of media stories in, 14–16
Everything Bad Is Good for You, 23
Exorcist, The, 245, 255
Expendables 3, The, 250
experimental group, 521
experiments, 521
experts, relying on, 492–494
exposure, selective, 10
expression
  in media, 557–563
  unprotected forms of, 543–544
Eyes Wide Shut, 557
Eyewitness News, 496
Eyre, Chris, 246

Fabian, 129
Facebook, 40, 67, 188, 305, 413, 422
  as advertising threat, 391
  audience of, 60
  birth of, 36
  business strategy of, 12
  Cairo protesters connection to, 52
  Candy Crush Saga on, 81, 82, 89, 101, 102
  closed Internet and, 55
  competing for young music fans, 177
  digital gaming and, 74
  digital world of, 31, 57, 461
  dot-com companies and, 68
  friends on, 69
  as key player in news and politics, 9
  launching of, 43
  live blogs on, 55
  mass media and, 474
  as media giant, 373, 445
  near-constant use of, 261
  net neutrality and, 67
  as organizational tool, 284
  pages on, 392
  Pandora and, 177
  public debate and news and, 33
  public relations and, 431
  as social media site, 49, 83
  strength of, 461–462
  venue of, 29
  video-sharing service of, 48
  Words with Friends on, 89
Facebook Chat, 46
facts, 483
Fahrenheit 9/11, 233, 249
Fainaru, Steve, 426
Fainaru-Wada, Mark, 426
Fairbanks, Douglas, 102, 239, 555
Fair Labor Association (FLA), 61
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), 493
Fairness Doctrine, 171, 562
fair use, 546, 564
  rules for, 358
"fake" news, 500, 502–505, 503–505
Fallon, Jimmy, 193, 504
Fallows, James, 12
Falwell, Jerry, 548
Family Circle, 322, 323, 334
family entertainment games, 75
Family Guy, 23, 224
family hour, 517
family values, banned books and, 360
famous-person testimonial, 393–394
Famous Players Company, 239
Famuyiwa, Rick, 247
Fandango, 224
FanFiction.net, 48
Fanning, Shawn, 119
Fantasia, 456
Fantastic Four characters, 260
Fantasy Focus, 92
fantasy sports leagues, 75
Fantasy Sports Trade Association, 82
Farber, Erica, 183
Farewell My Concubine, 250
Fargo, 22, 23, 188
Farm Heroes Saga, 82–83
farm magazines, 325
FarmVille, 93, 102, 462
Farnsworth, Philo, 190–191, 192
Fast and Furious, 413
Fat Boys, 135
Fault in Our Stars, The (Green), 244, 356
FCB, 385
FCC v. Pacifica Foundation, 561
Fear Factor, 163
Fear of Missing Out (FOMO), 40, 571
Fear Street series, 349
feature-length film, 242
feature syndicates, 294
Federal Communications Act, 128
Federal Communications Commission (FCC)
  access-channel mandates, 212, 214
  adoption of analog standard, 191
  in assigning frequency and freezing of licenses, 192
  call for stricter warnings on radio news, 165
  classification of Internet as Title II utility, 563
  collection from telecom users by, 301
  EchoStar-DirecTV merger and, 447, 467
  Fairness Doctrine and, 171, 562–563
  introduction of color television, 192–193
  minority media ownership and, 458–459
  must-carry rules, 212
  net neutrality rules of, 66–67, 563
  regulation of broadcasting, 559
Federal Food and Drug Act (1906), 381
Federalist Party, 542
Federal Radio Commission (FRC), 162
Federal Trade Commission (FTC), 449
  advertising regulation and, 406–407
  Bureau of Consumer Protection of, 406–407
  charging of RCA with violations of antitrust laws and, 160–161
  creation of, 383
  "Green Guides of," 438
  information-gathering software of, 62–63
  monitoring advertising abuses and, 378
  shortcomings of, 405
feedback, 9
feeder cables, 196
Fellini, Federico, 246
feminism, women's magazines and, 327
Feminist Frequency Website, 97
Fenton, Roger, 320

Ferrell, Will, 22, 399
Fessenden, Reginald, 154, 155
Fey, Tina, 356
FHM, 324
Fiasco, Lupe, 135
Fibber McGee and Molly, 163
fiber-optic cable, 43, 44
fictional storytelling, evolution of, 23
Field, Sally, 245
FIFA (video game), 102
"Fifteen," 113
Fifty Shades of Grey (James), 366, 367
fighting games, 75
Fiji, 394
Filkins, Dexter, 282
film(s). *See also* movies
  development of, 234–237
  documentary, 248–249
  First Amendment and, 553–557
  foreign, 248
  independent, 249, 251
  influences on books, 356–357
  jobs in, 263
  narrative, 237
  screenings of, in Paris, 234
film exchange system, 239
film noir genre, 244
Filo, David, 46
Final Fantasy, 84, 88, 101, 102
Financial Interest and Syndication Rules, 212
Finding Dory, 232
Finding Nemo, 456
fine art, 17
"finger pointin'" music, 131
Finkel, Michael, 488
Finnegans Wake (Joyce), 20, 25
fin-syn, 212
FIP Radio Reveb, 176
Firefox (Web browser), 45
fireside chats, 163, 164
Firman, Tehrene, 337
First, Harry, 467
First Amendment, 273, 470, 489
  Brennan, William, Jr. and, 539
  defending of, 537
  democracy and, 565
  development of free expression and, 541–542
  enacting of, 544
  film and, 553–557
  Sixth Amendment versus, 551–552
first-person perspective, 87
first-person shooter games, 86, 98
first-run syndication, 219
Fisher, Carrie, 232
Fishman, Seth, 342
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 349
Five Great Tragedies (Shakespeare), 351, 354
500 Days of Summer, 249
fixed book pricing (FBP), 359
flack, 433
Flaggis, Mike, 262
Flaherty, Robert, 248
flat disk, 116
Flatts, Rascal, 114, 137
Fleischman, Doris, 421
Fleishman-Hillard advertising agency, 385, 422
Flickr, 47
  blocking of, 52
  as content community, 48
Flynt, Larry, 548
FM (frequency modulation), 153, 166, 167, 180
focus groups, 386
Fog of War, The, 249
folk music, 131
folk-rock music, 129, 131
Food Marketing Institute, 377
Foodspotting, 69
Ford, Harrison, 232
Ford, Henry, 455
Ford Company, 422
  advertising by, 376
foreign-language movies, 246, 248
Forever (Blume), 361
"Forever," 143
Forever War, The (Filkins), 282
Forgotify, 140
format radio, 167–168
format specialization, 169–170
45-rpm record, 118
Foster, Jodie, 245
Foster, Stephen, 477
4AD (independent record label), 143
Foursquare, 62
Fourth Estate, 541
fourth-screen technologies, 202
Four Tops, 130
Fox, 222, 376
Fox, William, 238
Foxconn, 61
Fox Film Corporation, 238
Fox Movietone, 207, 243
Fox News, 3, 4, 9, 200, 201, 208, 270, 376, 482
  as partisan cable channel, 483
  partnership of, 201
  programs on, 22, 498
  pundit stars on, 498
  ratings of, 496
Fox Searchlight, 251
framing research, 528
franchise fee, 215
Francis, Connie, 129
Franco, James, 488
Frank, Ann, 360
Frank, Reuven, 479–480
Franken, Al, 204, 563
Franken Berry cereal, 17
Frankenstein (Shelley), 17
Franklin, Aretha, audiences of, 130
Franklin, Benjamin, 272, 312
  launching of *Philadelphische Zeitung* by, 285
  sale of colonial novels and, 347
  South Carolina Gazette established by, 274
Franklin, James, 272
Franklin Delano Roosevelt: A Memorial, 354
fraud, online, 64
Freed, Alan, 124, 126, 128
Freedom House, 541
Freedom of Information Act, 551
Freedom's Journal, 272, 288
free expression, origins of, and free press, 539–549, 551–552
Freegate, 52
free market, fallout from, 467–468
freemium, 104
Free Press, 6, 458, 459, 469, 565
Free Speech for Me (Hentoff), 360
free-to-play games, 104
Fresh Off the Boat, 205
Freud, Sigmund, 25, 420
Friday Night Lights: A Town, a Team, and a Dream (Bissinger), 356
Friedkin, William, 245
Friendly, Fred, 283, 495
Friends, 217, 218, 219
Fringe, 28
fringe time, 218
Frogger, 80, 93
Frozen, 113, 245, 456
Fruit Ninja, 84
Fugitive, The, 221, 551
full-body interactivity, 77
funk, 130
Furious 7, 413
FX, 188, 200, 206

G. I. Joe, 401
Gagliano, Gina, 369
gag orders, 551–552
Galavision, 181
Gallo, marketing of, 396
Game Boy, 89
game consoles, 79–80, 83, 89, 100–101, 202
GameFly, 105
Game Informer, 105, 322, 323, 325
Game of Thrones, 20, 197
  audiences of, 55
  multifunctionality and portability of devices showing, 202
  storytelling of, 23
  as TV narrative, 22, 356
GamePad, 80
gameplay, 84, 86, 89–90
game publishers, 101–102
GamerGate controversy, 96–97
games
  action digital, 75, 86, 88
  adventure, 75, 88
  card, 7
  casual, 89
  classic, 78–79
  dance, 90
  family entertainment, 75
  fighting, 75
  first-person shooter, 86, 98
  free-to-play, 104
  future of, 99
  on home computers, 80–81
  Internet in transforming, 81–82
  licensing of digital, 103–104
  maze, 86, 88
  MMORPGs, 77, 81–82, 88, 103, 104
  music, 89
  platform, 86, 88
  racing, 75
  regulating, 98–99
  role-playing, 75, 88
  shooter, 75, 86, 88
  simulation, 75 88–89
  sports, 75, 89, 198
  strategy, 75, 88
  survival horrow, 88
  video, 76, 78, 86–88, 105, 107
game sites, 91
gamespeak, 90
GameStop, 91, 99–100, 105, 325
GameTrailers, 91
"Gangnam Style," 142
gangster rap music, 135
Gannett Company, 299, 465
  as newspaper chain, 294
  starting of *USA Today* by, 282
Gans, Herbert, 482–483, 484
Ganz, 82
Gap stores, 28
  advertising of, 386
Garland, Judy, music-variety shows hosted by, 193
gatekeepers, 9
Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., 533
Gatorade, 394, 427
Gauging Your Distraction, 99
Gawker, 48, 50

Gawker Media, 91
Gaye, Marvin, 130
Gazeta Wyborcza, 500
Geer, Will, 557
Gelbart, Larry, 204
gender
  as factor in game addiction, 94
  as problem in digital games, 96–97
General, The, 241
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (1994), 455
  establishment of, 447
general assignment reporters, 293
General Electric (GE), 155, 156, 160, 188
  advertising for, 394
  Bernays, Edward, and, 420
  helping start up RCA/NBC, 223
  NBC and, 447, 450
  radio group and, 159
  radio stations owned by, 158
  RCA and, 156, 161
  Universal and, 260
General Hospital, 206
general-interest magazines, 309
  fall of, 319, 322–324
  rise of, 317–319
General Magazine and Historical Chronicle (Franklin), 312
General Motors, 60, 160, 249
  advertising for, 376, 390, 400
  Bernays, Edward, and, 420
General Motors Family Party, 163
generations, music preferences across, 132
Genesis, 169
genres, Hollywood, 243–244
Gentleman's Agreement, 254
Gentleman's Magazine, 312
geosynchronous orbit, 196
Gerbner, George, 522, 525
Geritol, 194
Gershwin, George, 122
Gibson, Charles, 208
Gibson, Don, 128
Gibson, Tyrese, 413
Gifford, Barry, 353
Gillette, advertising of, 397
Gilligan, Vince, 220
Gillis, Gregg, 564
Ginsberg, Allen, 291
Gio magazine as online spin-off, 325
Girls, 23, 197
Girl's Life, 329
Girl Talk, 564
Girl with the Dragon Tattoo, The, 50, 248
Gitlin, Todd, 528
Gjoni, Eron, 96
Glamour, 310
Glee, 205, 216, 224
Glenn Beck Program, 180
global audiences, 460
global cinema, 246, 248
Global Dreams, 457, 469
global market, advertising in, 404
global village, 469
Globe, 331
Gmail, 46, 59, 444
GoDaddy, advertising at Super Bowl, 395
Godey's Lady's Book, 314–315
Godfather, The, 233, 245, 255
Godsick, Jeffrey, 405–406
Godzilla, 250
Goffin, Gerry, 122
Going Rogue (Palin), 363
Goldberg, Bernard, 484
Goldberg, Whoopi, 356
golden age of radio, 153
golden mean, 489
Golden Rule, 489
Golden State Warriors, 198
Goldhill, Jonathan, 409
Goldsmith, Thomas T., 78
Goldstein, Daniel, 395
Goldwater, Barry, 559
Golf Channel, 224
Golf Digest, 328
Golin, 385
Gomery, Douglas, 68, 238, 446, 554
Gone Girl, 243
Gone with the Wind, 243
Goode, Will B., 555
Good Housekeeping, 278, 322, 323, 327
  Bernays, Edward, and, 420
Goodman, Benny, 123
Good Morning America, 208, 457
  competition with *Today Show,* 496
Goodnight Moon (Brown), 24
"Good Times," 135
Good Wife, The, 22, 23
Goodwin, Hannibal, 234, 235–237
Google, 12, 43, 66, 67, 304, 305, 444, 458
  acquisition of YouTube, 444
  advertising and, 390
  Ad Words, 392
  digital gaming industry and, 74
  digital media and, 461
  distribution to mobile devices by, 260
  dot-com companies and, 68
  establishment of, 59
  fair use arguments in, 358
  global marketing brand of, 396
  as leading force on Internet, 57
  Life's photographic archive on, 319
  market share of, 47
  as media giant, 373, 445
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
  net neutrality and, 67
  Nexus and, 54, 334
  number of users of, 462
  open Internet and, 56
  Play, 59
  purchase of DoubleClick, 391
  two-speed Internet and, 67
  Voice Search app, 392
Google+, 40
  circles of, 69
  as social networking site, 49
Google Analytics, 423
Google Books, 345, 358
Google Cardboard, 74
Google Chat, 46
Google Chromecast, 53
Google Glass, 59, 379
Google Googles, 47, 392
Google Maps, 48, 58, 444
Google News, 546
Google Now, 56
Google Play, 54, 83–84, 105, 106
  combination of new released and backlist books, 366
  movie downloads on, 254
  start up of, 357–358
  video-on-demand service of, 256
Google Play Music, 121
Google Shopping, 444
Google Voice Search, 47
Gordy, Berry, 130
Gore, Lesley, 129
Gosden, Freeman, 163, 164
Gotham, 216
government relations, public relations and, 429–431
government surveillance, 64
GQ, 324, 329
  as part of Condé Nast division, 334–335
  Web-enabled ads on, 333
GQ.com, 324
Gracenote, 294
Graham, Donald, 270
Graham Holdings Company, 324
Graham's Magazine, 314
gramophone, 117
Gramsci, Antonio, 453, 527
Grand Budapest Hotel, The, 249
Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, 135
Grand Ole Opry, 128, 172
Grand Theft Auto, 85, 88, 91, 95, 98, 104
Granik, Debra, 245
Graphic Canon, The: World's Great Literature as Comics and Visuals, 353
graphic novels, 349–350, 352
graphophone, 116–117
Grateful Dead, 68, 132
Gravity, 232, 243
"Great American Fraud" series, in *Collier's,* 316
"Great Balls of Fire," 126
Greatest Treasure Hunt in History (Edsel), 356
Great Gatsby, The (Fitzgerald), 349
Great Train Robbery, The, 237
Greeley, Horace, 481
Green, Donald Gordon, 60
Green, John, 356
green advertising, 406
Green Day, 134
Green Hornet, The, 163
green marketing, 396
greenwashing, 428, 438
Greenwich Village, 131
Gremlins, 556
Grey Global, 385
Grey's Anatomy, 216
Grierson, John, 248
Griffith, Bill, 353
Griffith, D. W., 22, 102, 239, 242, 243
Grisham, John, 351
Grisko, Carolyn, 438
Groepper, Lindsay, 439
Grokster, 120
Grooveshark, 144
grunge music, 134
Guardian, 506
Guardians of the Galaxy, 232
Guatemala, government reforms in, 428
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?, 247
guilds, 90
guitar, electric, 124
Guitar Hero, 90, 102
"Gulf Coast Blues," 124
Gunsmoke, 206
Guns N' Roses, 24
Gutenberg, Johannes, 7, 344, 346
Gutenberg Bible, 346
Guthrie, Arlo, 131
Guthrie, Woody, 131
Guy, Buddy, 124
Guy Hawkes Day, 50

Habermas, Jürgen, 530–531
Hachette, 362
hackers, 50–51
hacktivism, 51

Hadden, Briton, 318
Haim, 143
Haken, Paul Ten, 409
Hale, Sarah Josepha, 314
Haley, Alex, 206
Haley, Bill, 124
Half-Life, 81, 91
Half-Life 2, 96
Hallmark Channel, 455
Halo, 80, 91, 94, 101
Hamby, Chris, 478
Hamill, Mark, 232
Hamill, Pete, 367
Hamilton, Alexander, 312, 541
Hamilton, Filippa, 321
Hammett, Dashiell, 557
Hancock, John, 312
handheld gaming, 84
Hannity, Sean, 498
happiness, social media and finding, 569–575
happy talk, 497
Harbrecht, Doug, 297–298
Hardee's
  advertising of, 397
  Warner Brothers and, 405
Hardwicke, Catherine, 245
Hare, Jimmy, 320
Harmonix Systems, 89
Harper & Bros., 348
HarperCollins, 348, 362, 369
Harper & Row, 348
Harper's, 314, 329
Harper's Bazaar en Español, 331
Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 315
Harrelson, Woody, 512
Harris, Benjamin, 272
Harris, Jim, 298
Harris, Ken, 321
Harris-Perry, Melissa, 533
Harry, Debbie, 133
Harry Potter series (Rowling), 20, 349, 356, 361, 363
Hart, Michael, 357
Harvey, David, 451
Hatfields and McCoys, 206
HathiTrust Digital Library, 360
Hauptmann, Bruno, 552
Havel, Václav, 31
Hawaii Five-O, 206
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 314, 360
Haynes, Darren, 227
Hays, William, 555
Hays Office, 555
HBO (Home Box Office), 23, 188, 196, 197, 201
  audiences of, 199
  release of films and, 257
  standalone subscription service, 460
HBO GO, 460
HBO Now, 201
HD radio, 175
HDTV (high-definition television), 192
headend, 196
Headline News channel, 208
health, advertising and, 402–403, 405
Hearst, George, 277
Hearst, William Randolph, 331
  media ownership of, 276, 277–278, 310
Hearst Corporation, 310, 334, 335
Hearts, 80
"Heat Wave," 130
Hefner, Hugh, 327
hegemony, 453
Hein, Teresa, 227
Heinz, 381
Hellman, Lillian, 557
Hellmann, 391
Hell's Angels, 132–133
Hell's Angels (Thompson), 282
He-Man and the Masters of the Universe, 401
Hemingway, Ernest, 349
Hendrix, Jimi, 127, 132, 134
  death of, 133
Henry, John, 269
Henson, Taraji, 207
Hentoff, Nat, 360
herd journalism, 492
Here Media, 331
Here TV, 331
Heritage Foundation, 27
Hermansen, Tor, 138
Herman's Hermits, 129
Herrold, Charles "Doc," 158
Hersey, John, 281, 283, 329
Heth, Joice, 416
Hewitt, Don, 490
Hewlett-Packard, 61, 422
Hicks, Wilson, 319
Hidden Blade, 86
Hidden Chronicles, 102
hidden-fear appeal, 394
Hidden Fortress, The, 250
Hidden Persuaders, The (Packard), 400
Hide Away, 246
Higa, Ryan, 444
high culture, 17
  diminished audience for, 21
  tendency to exploit, 17
high-definition DVDs, 200
Highlights for Children, 329, 333
Hill, Jon, 488
Hill, Lewis Kimball, 173
Hillcrest Media, 367
Hill & Knowlton, 385, 422, 436
Hill Street Blues, 206–207
Hine, Lewis, 320
hip-hop music, 115, 117, 124, 134–135
Hiroshima (Hersey), 329
Hispanic Broadcasting, 181
Hispanic Business, 323–324
Historia Naturalis, 354
History, 223
History of a Young Lady, The (Richardson), 347
"History of the Standard Oil Company" (Tarbell), 316
Hitchcock, Alfred, 244
Hits Now!, 179
Hocking, Amanda, 367
Hole, 134
Holkins, Jerry, 91
Holly, Buddy, 125, 126
  death of, 128
Hollywood
  adaptation to, 254
  breaking through race barrier in, 247
  Golden Age of, 14
  impact of television on, 253–254
  studio system in, 238–241
Hollywood genres, 243–244
Hollywood narratives, 243
Hollywood style, development of, 243–246
Hollywood Ten, 235, 251–252
Holmes, James, 512
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 544–545
Holt, Lester, 207
Holtzbrinck, 362
home computers, gaming on, 80–81
home dubbing, 118
Home Education, 336
home entertainment, 254
Homeland, 23, 188, 197, 201
home video, 200
Hong Kong Disneyland Resort, 457
Hon Hai Precision Industry Co., Ltd., 61
Hoover, Herbert, 162
Hope, Bob, 192
Hopper, Dennis, 245
Horgan, Stephen, 320
Horkheimer, Max, 527
Horne, Lena, 557
horror film, 244
HotAir, 48
hot clock, 168
Hot Country, 179
Hotmail, 46
Hottle, Olivia, 85n
Houghton Mifflin, 348
"Hound Dog," 125
House of Flying Daggers, 250
House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), 235, 251, 557
Howard, Terrence, 207
Howlin' Wolf, 123, 124
Howth Castle, 25
How to Get Away with Murder, 203, 216
How To Train Your Dragon, 405
HTC, 54
HTC Vibe, 74
Hubbard, Gardiner Green, 328
Huffington Post, 48, 208, 298, 496
  AOL purchase of, 447, 451
  coverage of economic crisis and, 304
  credibility of, 298
Hulk, 93
Hulu, 13, 36, 55, 67, 110, 188, 201, 214, 222, 460
  as attempt to divert attention from YouTube, 260
  competition with, 462
  as data-heavy service, 67
  distribution to mobile devices by, 260
  future of television and, 188
  movie downloads on, 254
  parents groups and, 517
  streaming programming from, 83
  watching of videos online and, 200
Hulu Plus, 191
  starting of, by Hulu, 201
  video-on-demand service of, 256
  as video subscription service, 223
human-interest stories, 274
Human Rights Watch, 563
Humor Times, 336
Humphrey, Hubert, 249
Hunger Games, The, 24, 104, 258, 261, 356, 531
Huntley Brinkley Report, 207
Hurley, Chad, 444
Hurricane Katrina (2005), 499
Hurricane Sandy, 491
Hurt Locker, The, 245, 246
Hushmail, 52
Hüsker Dü, 134
Husni, Samir, 326
Hutchins Commission, 540
Huxley, Aldous, 26
hybrid, 206–207
Hyman, Mark, 19
Hynde, Chrissie, 133
Hype Machine, 144

hypertext, 43, 45
hypodermic-needle model, 518–519
hypotheses, 521

IBM, 61
  global marketing brand of, 396
  operating of Linux and, 67
"I Can't Help Myself," 130
"I Can't Stop Loving You," 128
Ice-T, 135
iconscope, 191
"Ida Red," 125
identity theft, 64
Iger, Robert, 232, 452, 453
Iggy Pop, 133
IGN, 91, 99–100
"I Got a Woman," 126
"I Hear a Symphony," 131
"I Heard It through the Grapevine," 130
iHeartMedia, 122, 150, 176, 180, 181
iHeartRadio, 110, 122, 140, 141, 176, 177
IHOP, advertising of, 397
Il Miracolo (The Miracle), 555–556
IKEA, 422
"I Knew You Were Trouble," 113
I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (Angelou), 361
Illinois Central, 418
illuminated manuscripts, 344, 346
illustrations in magazines, 314–315
I Love Lucy, 203, 204, 557
  network reruns of, 218
  as situation comedy, 204
Images, 444
IMAX, 243, 258, 261
Imitation of Life, 247
Impossible Voyage, The, 237
Imus, Don, 171
Ince, Thomas, 239
In Cold Blood (Capote), 282, 329
Inconvenient Truth, An, 249, 525
Incredibles, The, 456
indecency, 559–560
independent bookstores, 366
independent films, 139, 143
  festivals for, 251
  rise of, 249, 251
Independent Reflector, 313
independent studios, 258
independent variables, 521
Indiana Jones, 260, 460, 556
Indian Country Today, 290
IndieCommerce, 366
indies, 137, 139, 249
  rise of, 235
indirect payments, 446
individualism, 483
  print media and, 266
Industrial Light & Magic special effects company, 260, 263
Industrial Revolution, 7, 26, 75
inFAMOUS Second Son, 80
information age, journalism in, 479–483
informational model, 500
information economy, transition to, 448–455
information glut, 479
Information Please, 163
information superhighway, 41
infotainment programs, 211
in-game advertisements, 93
in-game chat, 90
Inside Amy Schumer, 23, 188
Inside Out, 232
Insight, 336
Instagram, 40, 413
  start-up of, 462
instant books, 354
instant messaging (IM), 46
institutional relations, 435
Instructions Not Included, 248
InStyle, 334
Insurgent, 342
intellectual properties, 103–104
interactive environments, future of, 99
interest films, 248
International Copyright Law (1891), 351
International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT), 450
Internet, 9, 29
  advertising for, 62
  changing relationship with, 55–56
  commercialization of, 44–47
  communication policy and, 562–563
  controlling, 57–60
  democracy and, 68–69
  economics and issues of, 57–60
  evil uses of, 50
  freedom and openness of, 474
  hackers of, 50–51
  jobs in, 69
  magazines on, 324–325
  maintaining open, 66–67
  origin of, 10, 41–43
  public relations and, 431
  reclassification of, as Title II utility, 563
  in transforming gaming, 81–82
  TV convergence with, 200–202
  widening of, 43–44
Internet Archive's Open Library, 360
Internet Explorer, 45
Internet radio, 175, 177
Internet service provider (ISP), 45
Internet vigilantism, 50
interpretive journalism, 280–281
Interpublic Group, 384, 385
Interstate Commerce Act (1887), 418
interstitials, 390
In the Heat of the Night, 247
In the Lonely Hour, 113
In These Times, 335, 533
In Touch Weekly, 324
Invasion from Mars, The: A Study in the Psychology of Panic (Cantril), 518–519
inverted-pyramid style, 279
investigative journalism, 276, 485–486
Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), 478
Iovine, Jimmy, 121
iPad, 61, 202, 266
  Apple's release of, 43
  attracting readers and advertisers, 313
  iBook store services for, 357
  introduction of, 36, 345
  iPhone and, 54
  magazines on, 333, 334
  reading on, 325
  in transforming media industry, 461
iPhone, 43, 53–54, 61, 325
  applications for, 54
  as e-readers, 357
  iBook store services for, 357
  introduction of, 53–54
  in transforming media industry, 461
iPod, 61, 202
  iBook store services for, 357
  in transforming media industry, 461
iPod Touch, 54
  devices for, 83
  as e-readers, 357
Iraq, journalists in, 540
Iron Man, 260, 460
Iron Man, 232
irritation advertising, 394
Irving, Washington, 314
ISIS, 50–51
Island Records, 143
isometric perspective, 87
It Happened One Night, 243
It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia, 204
iTunes, 55, 59, 67, 120, 176, 177, 260, 325
  Apple's launch of, 36, 120
  competing for music fans on, 177
  digital downloads of, 139
  distributor of sounds and images, 110
  Fox and, 460
  listing songs on, 372
  movie downloads on, 254
  parents groups and, 517
  partnering with NBC, 460
  producing of massive hit on, 136
  profits of, 140
  reemergence of pop music and, 135
  selling of twenty-fifth billion song download, 117
  video-on-demand service of, 256
  video rental and, 200
iUniverse, 367
Izanskey, Chris, 48

Jab Tak Hai Jaan, 250
Jack FM, 179
Jackson, Janet, 561
Jackson, Michael, 14, 135, 383
Jackson, Peter, 356
Jackson 5, 130
Jacor Communications, 180
Jae-Sang, Park, 142
Jagger, Mick, 125, 130
James, E. L., 366, 367
James, LeBron, 198
James I, King of England, 50
Jan & Dean, 129
Jarmusch, Jim, 249
Jaws, 245, 255, 525
Jay-Z, 140, 177, 413
jazz music, 16, 115, 123
Jazz Singer, 234, 242, 243
JCPenney, advertising of, 386
Jee-woon, Kim, 250
Jefferson, Thomas, 542
Jefferson Airplane, 132
Jenckes, Marcien, 201
Jennings, Peter, 207–208
Jeopardy!, 208, 214
Jepsen, Carly Rae, 136
Jersey Shore, 14
Jet, 330
JetBlue Airways, 427
Jet Li, 250
Jetpack Joyride, 106
Jett, Joan, 133
Jewell, Richard, 489
Jewish Currents, 336
Jimmy Kimmel Live!, 193
jitterbug, 115
"JK Wedding Entrance Dance," 143

jobs
in advertising industry, 409
in film industry, 263
in Internet industry, 69
in magazine industry, 337
in media, 227
in music industry, 145
in newspaper industry, 305
in public relations industry, 439
in publishing industry, 369
in radio industry, 183
in television industry, 227
in video game industry, 107
Jobs, Steve, 59, 61, 457
Joe Camel, 379
John, Elton, 125, 133, 383
John Madden Football, 102
"Johnny B. Goode," 125
Johnson, Dwayne, 413
Johnson, Jack, 68
Johnson, John H., 330
Johnson, Lyndon B., 209
Johnson, Robert, 123, 124
Johnson, Samuel, 312, 355
Johnson & Johnson, 417, 422, 432
joint operating agreements, 295–296
Jolie, Angelina, 28
Jolson, Al, 123, 242
Jones, Grace, 125
Jones, LeRoi, 291
Jones, Mary Harris, 336
Joplin, Janis, 132, 133
Joplin, Scott, 122
journalism
advocacy, 282
alternative, 292
as art form, 281–282
of assertion, 482
attack on objectivity in, 282
citizen, 302–303, 500
conflict-oriented, 285
consensus-oriented, 285
contemporary, in television and Internet age, 282–284
cultural values of, 482–483
culture of, 477–507
democracy and reimagining role of, 505, 507
detective or stunt, 478
herd, 492
impact of convergence, 498–499
in information age, 479–483
interpretive, 280–281
investigative, 276, 485–486
in Iraq, 540
literary forms of, 281–282
modern print, 278–284
new, 281
new models for, 300–302
objectivity in modern, 278–280
online, 283–284
precision, 282
pro-am model for, 303
public, 500, 502–505
satiric, 503–505
scoops in, 491–492
values in American, 481–482
yellow, 272, 276–278, 316
Joy, 249
Joyce, James, 25, 360, 548–549
Joyner, Tom, 169
JPMorgan Chase, 295
Corporate Challenge of, 429
Judas Priest (music group), 511
Jules and Jim, 246
Jumbo the Elephant, 416, 427
Jungle, The (Sinclair), 317
Ju-on: The Grudge, 250
Jurassic World, 256, 257, 452
Jurkowitz, Mark, 305
Just Dance, 90
Justified, 22, 188
"just the facts" model, 278
JVC, 200

Kafka, 25
Kalish, Rachel, 529
Kalman, Maira, 350
Kaltenborn, H. V., 163
Kane, Bob, 352
Kane, Charles Foster, 278
Kang, Sung, 413
Kansas, 133
Kant, Immanuel, 489
Karim, Jawed, 444
Karloff, Boris, 17
Katz, Jackson, 529
Katz, Jon, 283, 481–482
Kazaa, 120
Kazan, Ella, 252
KCBS, 158
KCOR, 172
KDJE-FM, 183
KDKA, 157, 158
Keating, Zoë, 141
Keaton, Buster, 241
Ke$ha, 138
Keller, Bill, 485, 506
Keillor, Garrison, 329
Kelly, Grace, 205
Kelly, Megyn, 3–4
Kennard, William E., 181
Kennedy, Anthony, 470
Kennedy, John F., 249
assassination of, 189, 320–321, 499
Kernan, Alvin, 368
Kerouac, Jack, 291
Ketchum advertising agency, 385, 422
KEXP, 176
Keys, Alicia, 172
KGO, 171
Khalifa, Wiz, 413
Khan, Shahrukh, 250
Kia Motors, advertising of, 384
Kickstarter, 48, 106
Kidman, Nicole, 250
Kid Rock, 135
Killing Fields of Dr. Haing S. Ngor, The, 246
Kimmel, Jimmy, 193
Kimmel, Michael, 529
Kindle entries. *See* Amazon Kindle
Kinect, 77
kinescope, 203
kinetograph, 236
kinetoscope, 76, 236
kinetoscope parlors, 234
King (game developer), 82–83, 102
King, B. B., 124
King, Carole, 122
King, Martin Luther, Jr., assassination of, 189, 499
King, Stephen, 351
King Features Syndicate, 278
Kings of Leon, 125
Kinks on American Top 40 charts, 129
Kipling, Rudyard, 310
Kiss, 134
Kissinger, Henry, 506
Klapper, Joseph, 519
Klein, Calvin, 324
Klein, Ezra, 298
Klondike Lite ice cream bar, 406
K-Love, 181
Kmart, advertising of, 386
KMBC, 497
Knickerbocker, 314
Knight Ridder, 295
Knopf, Alfred A., 348, 362
KNOW, 175
Knowles-Carter, Beyoncé, 412, 413–414
Kobo e-book device, 366
Kodak camera, 320
Kohl's, advertising of, 386
Koppel, Ted, 19
Korean War, photography of, 320
Koreeda, Hirokazu, 250
Kotaku, 91, 96
Kovach, Bill, 23, 482
"K-pop," 142
KQNY, 176
Kraft's Cheez Whiz, 205
Kraft Television Theater, 205
Krahulik, Mike, 91
Kravitz, Lenny, 134
KSI, 444
Ku Klux Klan (KKK), 242, 288
Kurosawa, Akira, 246, 250
Kutcher, Ashton, 413
KVUE-TV, 496
Kweli, Talib, 135

L.A. Confidential, 244
"La Bamba," 128
Labor Statistics, U.S. Bureau of, 305
labor unions, decline of, 451–452
Laden, Osama bin, 18, 506
Ladies' Companion, 347
Ladies Home Journal
advertising in, 316, 323
circulation of, 313, 327, 336
Curtis, Cyrus, and, 318
muckraking reports and, 317
ranking of, 322
Ladies' Magazine, 314
La Dolce Vita, 246
Lady, The, 250
Lady Gaga, 9–10, 125, 138
Lady Vengeance, 250
Lagardère, 362
La Información, 289
Lam, Ringo, 250
Lamar, Kendrick, 136
Lambert, Adam, 125
lamp black, 116
Land Is Their Land, The: Reports from a Divided Nation (Ehrenreich), 533
language
foreign, movies, 246, 248
power of visual, 499
Spanish, 172, 209, 289
La Opinión, 289
Lara Croft: Tomb Raider series, 92
La Raza, 289
Lasch, Christopher, 507
Lassie, 24
Lasswell, Harold, 514
Last.fm, 177
Last Stand, The, 250
Last Tango in Paris, 233
Last Week Tonight, 20, 23, 28, 504
late fringe, 218
Late Show, 193
Latino
launching of, 331
as online spin-off, 325
Latvia, 422
Laugh-O-Gram, 456
Lauren, Ralph, 321, 432
La Voz, 289
Law & Order, 219, 465
Lawrence, Jennifer, 531
Lazarus Effect, The, 258
LBET, 455
Lead Belly (Huddie Ledbetter), 131
"Leader of the Pack," 129
League, The, 92

League of Denial: The NFL Concussions, and the Battle for Truth (ESPN), 426
League of Legends, 81, 88
Learning Tree, The, 247
leased channels, 214
least objectionable programming (LOP) strategy, 17, 21
Leaves of Grass (Whitman), 360
LeBlanc, Adrian Nicole, 282
Lee, Ang, 246
Lee, Christopher, 413
Lee, Harper, 360
Lee, Ivy Ledbetter, 416, 419–420, 434
Lee, Jennifer, 245
Lee, "Poison Ivy," 416
Lee, Spike, 245, 250
Lee, Timothy B., 545
Legend of Zelda, 101
Lego Movie, The, 257
Leiber, Jerry, 122
Leigh, Janet, 245
leisure magazines, 327–328
leisure time, emergence of, 75
Lemony Snicket series, 349
Lennox, Annie, 125
Leno, Jay, 356
Lens, 321
Leo Burnett Worldwide, 385
LePage, Camille, 321
Le Prince, Louis Aimé Augustin, 234–235
Les Mesérables, 244
Lessig, Lawrence, 533, 564
Lethal Weapon 4, 250
"Let It Go," 113
"Let's Spend Some Time Together," 130
"Let's Spend the Night Together," 130
Letterman, David, 504
Let Us Now Praise Famous Men (Agee), 505
Levi Strauss, 380
Lévy, Pierre, 91
Lewinsky, Monica, 13, 284
Lewis, Jerry Lee, 126, 128
Lewis, Juliette, 512
Lewis, Sinclair, 310, 565
Lexis Nexis database, 286
LG, 54
LGBT community, 331
libel, 272, 546–547
  defenses against, 547–548
  obscenity and, 548
  seditious, 273
liberal, 32
  bias of, 484
libertarian model, 541
Liberty and the News (Lippmann), 514
Liberty Media, 224
Library of Congress, 68
licensing of digital games, 103–104
Lieberman, Joe, 99
Liebling, A. J., 329
Life, 193, 249, 322, 323, 330
  close of, 313
  as general-interest genre, 319
Life of an American Fireman, The, 237
Life of Pi, 246
lifestyle ad appeals, 403
"lifestyle" books, 364
Lifetime, 223, 455
Li Gong, 250
Like Father, Like Son, 250
Lilo & Stitch, 456
Limbaugh, Rush, 30, 169, 488
LimeWire, 120
limited competition, 446
limited model, 519
Limp Bizkit, 135
Lincoln, Abraham, 279
Lind, Jenny, 416
Lind, Phil, 128
Lindbergh, Anne, 552
Lindbergh, Charles, 160, 243, 552
linear model of mass communication, 9
Linkedln, 40, 49
linotype, 345, 348
Linux, 67–68
Lion King, The, 456, 457
Lionsgate Entertainment, 258, 261, 322
Lipitor, advertising for, 405
Lippmann, Walter
  agenda-setting and, 524
  as author of *Public Opinion,* 421
  influence of, 27
  informed radical society and, 27
  journalism psychology and, 514
  promoting publicity and, 434–435
  public perception and, 416
  responsibilities of journalists and, 280
  ties among national reporters and, 492
Lipton, 391
literary forms of journalism, 281–282
Literary Guild, 345, 364–365
Little, Brown & Company, 348, 367
Little Caesar, 515
Little House on the Prairie, 517
Little Mermaid, The, 456
Little Miss Sunshine, 249
Little Review, 549
Little Richard (Penniman), 125, 126
  Beatles imitation of, 129
  British invasion and, 129
  image of, 128
  "Long Tall Sally" and, 127
Little Three, 241
LiveJournal, 49
Lively, Blake, 549
live-tweeting, 13
LL Cool J, 135
lobbying, 418, 429–430
  Astroturf, 430–431
Local Community Radio Act (2011), 182
Lolita (Nabokov), 254, 360
Lone Ranger, The, 163, 189
Long Island Newsday, 280
longitudinal studies, 522
long lines, 159
long-playing record (LP), 118
"Long Tall Sally," 127–128
Lonny, 325
Look, 322
  close of, 313, 323
Looking for Alaska, 342
Lord of the Rings, The (Tolkien), 233, 356
Los Angeles Times, 305
  bankruptcy at, 266
  consolidation and cutbacks at, 293
  as daily newspaper, 280
  ethics and, 485
  launching of paywalls, 300
  Pulitzer Prize-winning reports at, 304
  Spanish-language supplement of, 289
  Tribune Company ownership of, 270, 294
Lost, 28, 207
Lost in Translation, 245, 249
Lost Weekend, The, 254
"Love Story," 113
low culture, 17
Lowe, Zane, 176
Lowe and Partners, 385
Lowenthal, Leo, 527
low-power FM (LPFM), 181–182
LSD, 132
Lucas, George/Lucasfilm, 231–232
  American Graffiti and, 245
  Indiana Jones and, 260, 460, 556
  Industrial Light & Magic special effects company of, 260
  Star Wars and, 231–232, 233, 245, 255, 256, 259, 260, 460
Lucasfilm, 232
Luce, Henry, 318, 319, 327
Lucky, 324, 336–337
Lucky Strike Orchestra, 163
Ludacris, 413
Ludlow, Colorado, coal strike in, 419–420
Lumière, Auguste, 236
Lumière, Louis, 236
Lumineers, The, 137
Lyle, Jack, 519

MacFarlane, Seth, 142
MacGruber, 204
Mackey, John, 431
Macmillan, 348, 362
Macy's, wage gap at, 453
Mad Catz, 89
Madden, John, 89, 102
Madden NFL, 81, 82, 89
Maddow, Rachel, 498
Madea Christmas, A, 245
Mad Men, 23, 55, 201
Madonna, 10, 221, 383
magalogs, 335
magazines. *See also specific by name*
  advertising in, 332–333
  age and, 328–329
  alternative, 335–336
  business, 325
  children's, 329
  circulation and distribution of, 333–334
  in colonial America, 312–313
  consumer, 325
  defined, 311
  in democratic society, 336–337
  departments and duties, 332–334
  development of modern American, 313–319, 322–325
  devoted to music, 328
  digital age and, 324–325
  domination of specialization, 325, 327–331
  early history of, 311–315
  editorial, 332
  elite, 329
  farm, 325
  general interest, 317–319, 322–324
  growth of published, 316
  illustrations in, 314–315
  jobs in, 337
  major chains, 334–335
  minority-targeted, 329–331
  narrowcasting in, 332
  national, 314, 315–316
  organization and economics of, 332–336
  paper domination, 326
  production, 332
  sales, 332–333

magazines (*continued*)
sports, entertainment, and leisure, 327–328
trade, 325
for women, 311, 314
magic bullet theory, 518
Magic Lantern, 234
Magna Carta Holy Grail, 140–141
Magnavox, 78
release of *Odyssey,* 78
Magnificent Seven, The, 250
Magnolia Pictures, 261
Magnum, advertising and, 403
"Magnum Pleasure Hunt," 93
Mailer, Norman, 282
mail-order services, 364–365
Maine, sinking of, in Spanish-American War, 320
Mainstream Media's Liberal Bias (MMLB), 171
Major Crimes, 219
Making Stories (Bruner), 14
Malaeska: The Indian Wife of the White Hunter (Stephens), 347
Maleficent, 92
Mali, 525
malice, actual, 547
managing editors, 291
manga books, 349
Mann, Estle Ray, 78
Manning, Bradley (now Chelsea), 545
Man of Steel, 397, 405
Manson, Charles, 133, 282
Manson, Marilyn, 125, 512
Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and The Media, 533
manuscript culture, development of, 345–346
manuscripts, illuminated, 344, 346
Man with the Golden Arm, The, 254
"Maple Leaf Rag," 122
map model, 16, 21, 24–26
Marbles, Jenna, 444
Marciani, Juan Pablo, 359
Marconi, Guglielmo, 152–154
Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, 153
Marie Claire, 310
Mario, 91
Mario Bros., 79, 80
Mario Kart, 96
Mario Kart 8, 80
marketing
of digital games, 104
green, 396
viral, 388
marketing research, 386, 516, 518
Markey, Edward, 563
Mark Levin Show, The, 179
Markoff, John, 101
marriage, same sex, 514
Married with Children, 517
Mars, Bruno, 127
Marshall, Penny, 245
Martha and the Vandellas, 130
Martin Chuzzlewit (Dickens), 275
Marvel, 232
Marvel Comics, 352
Marvel Entertainment, 257, 352–353
Captain America and, 352
Disney's ownership of, 260, 353, 460
Marvel vs. Capcom, 86, 93
Marx, Groucho, 161
Marx, Karl, 360, 527
Mary Tyler Moore Show, 497
masculinity problem, 529
*M*A*S*H,* 204, 221
Mashable, 48
"mash-up," 26
mass communication
cultural model for understanding, 9–10
defined, 6
linear model of, 9
Mass Effect, 102
massively multiplayer online role-playing games (MMORPGs), 77, 81–82, 88, 103, 104
mass market paperbacks, 345, 351
mass media, 6
business of, 372
mass media channel, 9
mass medium stage, 11
Masterpiece Classic, 206
Masterpiece Mystery!, 206
Masterpiece Theatre, 206
Masters of Sex, 197
Matador, 143
Mattel, advertising of, 386
Matthews, Christopher, 369, 503
Matthews, Christopher, Publishing, 369
Maus: A Survivor's Tale (Spiegelman), 353
Maxim, 324, 327, 329
Maxwell, James, 152, 172
"Maybellene," 125
maze games, 86, 88
MC5, 133
MCA, failed suit against Sony, 200
McCain-Feingold Act, 470
McCall's, 322
McCann Erickson, 385
McCarthy, Charlie, 559–560
McCarthy, Joseph, 205, 557
McChesney, Robert, 467, 469, 471, 501
McClatchy Company, 295
McClure Magazine, 316, 419
McDonald's
advertising of, 384
DreamWorks partnership with, 405
global marketing brand of, 396
wage gap and, 453
McGracken, Grant, 222
McGraw, Tim, 114, 122
McGraw-Hill Book Company, 348
McGuffey, William Holmes, 345, 350
McKay, Adam, 22
McLaughlin, Ed, 171
McLean, Don, 129
McLeod, Kembrew, 564
McNally, Rand, 348
McQueen, Steve, 247
Me and Earl and the Dying Girl, 251
Meat Inspection Act (1906), 317
mechanical gaming, 76–77
media. *See also* press
critiquing, 29–30, 32–33
early promotions through, 416
evolution of, 10–13
expression in, 557–563
social (*See* social media)
stories as foundation of, 13–14
Media Access Project, 565
media business news, covering, 286
media buyers, 388
media companies
in converged world, 12
top United States, 468
media conglomerates
deregulation in spurring formation of, 449–450
rise of new digital, 460–462
media consolidation, 456–457
effects of, on democracy, 470
media convergence, 6, 11–13
cultural change and, 13
digital media and, 36–37, 54–56
dual roles of, 11–12
media businesses and, 12
mobile media and, 53–57
on PCs and TVs, 53
radio and, 175, 177–178
media coordination, advertising in, 388–389
media culture, electronic gaming and, 92–93
media economics
analyzing, 445–448
changes in structure of, 372
social issues in, 463–465, 467
media effects, early theories of, 518–520
media effects research, 513, 518–526
conducting, 520–523
evaluating, 526
media industries
business tendencies in, 451–454
structure of, 446–448
media jobs, 227
media literacy
critical process and, 32–33, 63, 286, 330, 360, 399, 437, 461, 491, 523, 544
defined, 30
media marketplace, democracy and, 469–471
Media Matters, 469
Media Monopoly, The (Bagdikian), 465
media multitasking, 13
media powerhouses, 450–451
media production company, 325
media reform movement, 471
media relations, public relations and, 425, 427
media research
cultural approaches to, 526–528, 530
democracy and, 532–533
early methods of, 513–516, 518
media stories, power of, in everyday life, 14–16
media takeovers, 445
Medical Repository, 314
Meet the Press, 20, 207
mega-agencies, 384–385
megaplexes, 235, 258
Méliès, Georges, 237
Memoirs of a Geisha, 250
Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, 288
Memphis Free Speech, 292
Mencken, H. L., 283
Men's Health, 327, 335
Mentalist, The, 465
Mercury label, 127
Mercury Theater of the Air, 164
Meredith, Burgess, 557
Meredith Corporation, 335
Merge Records, 139, 143
Merritt, Davis "Buzz," 500
Merriwell, Frank, 347
Merry Frolics of Satan, The, 237
"The Message," 135
messages
in public relations, 423–425
wide range of, 25
Messi, Leo, 413
Metal Gear, 91
Methodist Christian Journal and Advocate, 313

Metroid, 83, 88
metropolitan dailies, 284
Meyer, Stephanie, 356, 531
MGM, 234, 241
  Supreme Court's ruling against, 252
M.I.A., 135
Miami Heat, 198
Miami Herald, 289
Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo, 559
Michelson, Ingrid, 48
Mickey Mouse, 456, 546
Microbe Killer, 380
microprocessors, 42, 43
Microsoft, 67, 103, 422. *See also* Xbox
  advertising for, 394
  competition between console makers and, 79–80
  competition in digital media world, 462
  digitizing of books with expired copyrights, 360
  domination of, 100
  Encarta, 355
  Foxconn's electronic devices for, 452
  Games Marketplace of, 105
  global marketing brand of, 396
  HD DVD format and, 200
  HoloLens project of, 92
  maintaining of controlling hand with dot-com companies, 68
  as media giant, 57, 59, 373, 445, 461
  net neutrality and, 67
  video game business of, 78
Microsoft (Surface), 54
Microsoft Cortana, 56
Microsoft Skype, 46
Microsystems, operating of Linux and, 67
mid-city movie theaters, 241
Middle American virtues, 454
Middleton, Kate, 354
Midwest Video, ruling in case of, 191, 214
Mightybell, 69
Mill, John Stuart, 489
Miller, Arthur, 557
Miller, Glenn, 123
Miller Brewing, 427
  advertising and, 403
Miller v. California, 549
Milton, John, 541
Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 300, 543
Minaj, Nicki, 138, 139
Mindy Project, The, 201, 222
Minecraft, 88, 92
Minecraft: Pocket Edition, 83
Minesweeper, 89
mini-majors, 258
minimal-effects model, 519
Minions, 93
miniseries, 206
Minneapolis Star Tribune, 295, 500
MinnPost, 304
minority media ownership, 458–459
minority-targeted magazines, 329–331
Minow, Newton, 171
Minutemen, 134
Miracle case, 555–556
Miracles, 130
Miramax, 465
  Disney's selling of, 457, 460
  purchase of, by Disney, 251
misogyny, electronic gaming and, 94–95
Mission Impossible, 28
Mister Rogers' Neighborhood, 209
Miyamoto, Shigeru, 79
Miyazaki, Hayao, 250
MNF, 198
Moana, 248
mobile gaming, 83–84
mobile media
  convergence and, 53–57
  impact of media convergence on, 54–56
mobile video, 202
modding, 91
models of expression, 540–541
Modern Family, 20, 203, 204, 221, 397
modern model, 500
modern period, cultural values of, 26–27
modern print journalism, competing models of, 278–284
Modern Times (Chaplin), 26, 29
Mod Squad, The, 206
Mom, 216
Momentum, 326
Monday Night Football, 198, 203
Monkey King, The, 248
monopoly, 156, 446
Monroe, Marilyn, 327
Monsanto, 51
Monsters, Inc., 456
Monsters University, 232
Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies, A, 312
Monuments Men, The, 356
Moore, Michael, 249
Morning Edition, 173
morning news shows, 496
Morpheus, 120
Morris, Philip, 557
Morrison, Jim, death of, 133
Morrison, Toni, 356
Morse, Samuel, 151, 152
Morse code, 151
Morsi, Mohamed, 52
Mortal Kombat, 99
Mother Jones, 282, 336, 499
Motion Picture Association of America, 254
Motion Picture Production Code, 254, 515, 555
  establishment of, 516
motion pictures, 115. *See also* film(s); movies
motivation, 524
Motorola, 54, 61
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
motor reproduction, 524
Motown, 129, 130, 137
Moulin Rouge!, 244
Mountain Goats, The, 143
movable type, 344, 346
Movie Gallery, 254
movie palaces, 234, 240, 241
movies, 231–263. *See also* film(s)
  adjustment to digital turn, 260–261
  arrival of nickelodeons, 237–238
  Asian cinema, 250
  democracy and, 262–263
  documentary, 248–249
  economics of business of, 255–262
  evolution of, 233–238
  golden age of, 241–246, 248–249, 251
  Hollywood style of, 238–241, 243–246
  independent films and, 249, 251
  narratives in, 237
  outside the Hollywood system, 246, 248–249, 251
  race barrier and, 247
  self-regulation and, 554–556
  social and political pressures on, 554
  sound in, 234, 242–243
  studio system and, 251–254
Movietone, 243
movie trailers, advertising and, 377
Mozart in the Jungle, 188
MP3 file format, 117, 120
MPAA ratings system, 556–557
Mr. Natural (Crumb), 353
"Mr. Tambourine Man," 131
Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup, 380–381
Ms., 327, 333
Ms. Consumer Reports, 327
MSL Group, 385, 422
MSNBC, 9, 208, 223, 482, 498
  election coverage on, 455
  as partisan cable channel, 483
MTV, 9, 197, 198
  founding of, 149
  global audiences and, 460
  visual techniques of, 383–384
Mubarak, Hosni, 52
muckrakers, 310, 316–317
Muir, David, 208
Mulan, 456
M.U.L.E., 102
multichannel video programming distributors (MVPDs), 223
multimedia manifesto, 512
multiplexes, 241
Munsters, The, 17
Murder of Roger Ackroyd, The (Christie), 351
Murdoch, Rupert, 156, 295, 322, 453
Murphy, Debra, 409
Murrow, Edward R., 161, 283, 495
music
  alternative rock, 134
  blues, 123–124
  Cajun, 16
  classical, 16
  classical rock, 172
  country, 172
  cover, 123
  digital, 137, 139
  folk, 131
  folk-rock, 129, 131
  gangster, 135
  grunge, 134
  hip-hop, 115, 117, 124, 134–135
  jazz, 16, 115, 123
  magazines devoted to, 328
  pop, 115, 122–139
  preferences across generations, 132
  progressive rock, 168
  psychedelic, 129, 132–133
  rhythm and blues, 124
  rock, 122, 168
  rock and roll, 16, 115, 117, 123–129
  salsa, 16
  soul, 130
  streaming, 121
  white cover, 127–128
musicals, 244
music formats, 172–173
music games, 89
music labels, influence of, 137, 139

music streaming, 117
must-carry rules, 212, 215
Mutual v. Ohio, 554
Muybridge, Eadweard, 234, 235
My Best Girl, 239
"My Boyfriend's Back," 129
Myers, Maddy, 96
My Ford, 335
"My Girl," 130
"My Guy," 130
My Little Pony and Friends, 401
My Opus Radio, 176
MySpace, 144, 455, 462
  Facebook eclipsing of, 49
Myst, 81, 88
myths
  advertising as, 396–397
  analysis of, 396–397

Nabokov, Vladimir, 360
Nader, Ralph, 405, 417, 429
Namco Bandal, 102
Nanook of the North, 248
Napoleon, 242
Napster, 110
  Apple's response to, 56
  Fanning, Shawn's development of, 119
  free file-sharing service of, 120
narrative films, 237
narratives, 14, 454
  consensus, 262
  creating conflict in, 492–493
  Hollywood, 243
  introduction of, 237
  right versus left, 4
narrowcasting, 155, 196
  in magazines, 332
Naruto, 93
Nas, 403
NASCAR (video game), 102
Nation, 312, 314, 335
National, The, 143
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 330
National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ), 288
National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), 178, 180, 214, 383, 422, 459
National Association of Television Program Executives (NATPE) convention, 218
National Broadcasting Company (NBC). *See* NBC (National Broadcasting Company)
National Cable & Telecommunications Association (NCTA), 223
National Center for Supercomputing Applications (NCSA), 45
National Conference for Media Reform, 471
National Consumer League, 405
National Council of Public Opinion Polls, 515
National Dairy Council, 401
National Employment Law Project, 453
National Endowment for the Arts, 367
National Enquirer, 331
National Federation for Decency, 181
National Football League (NFL), concussion crisis in, 426
National Geographic, 322, 335
National Geographic *History,* 326
National Geographic Traveler, 328
National Guard, advertising of, 397
nationalism, printing press in fostering, 8
national magazines, 314, 315–316
National Music Publishers Association, 143
national newspapers, 284
National Press Club, 292
National Public Radio (NPR), 158, 173, 174, 175
National Resources Defense Council, 392
National Review, 312, 335–336
National Rifle Association, 325
National Security Agency (NSA), 64, 85
National Television Systems Committee (NTSC), 191
Native American newspapers, 290
Native American Times, 290
Native Peoples, 331
Natural Born Killers, 512
Nazi Thieves (Edsel), 356
NBC (National Broadcasting Company), 4, 9, 160, 187, 188, 195, 222, 223, 270, 376, 443, 465
  challenging, 161
  General Electric purchase of, 447
  merger with Comcast, 458
  newsroom cultures of, 482–483
  partnership of, 201
  rights to special programming and, 193
NBC-Blue network, 160, 163
NBC.com, 110
NBC News, 468
NBC Nightly News, 33, 207
NBC-Red network, 160, 163
NBCSN, 223
NBC Universal, 200, 223, 443, 450, 455
  Comcast's stake in, 260, 451
  mass media and, 372
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
NCIS, 22, 203
Near v. Minnesota, 542
Need for Speed, 92
Negro Digest, 330
Negroponte, Nicholas, 66
Nelson, Ricky, 129
neo-noir, 244
Nestlé, 422
Net-a-porter, 326
Netflix, 13, 23, 36, 67, 110, 187, 188, 222, 376, 450
  comparison to Comcast, 201
  competition with, 462
  as data-heavy service, 67
  as digital distribution model, 251
  digital streaming services, 376
  distribution to mobile devices by, 260
  expanding global flow and, 460
  foreign-language films and, 248
  movie downloads on, 254
  parents groups and, 517
  production of "Amazon Originals," 60
  revival of canceled series on, 55
  screening of short films and film festivals on, 262
  streaming service of, 83, 201, 235
  two-speed Internet and, 67
  video-on-demand service of, 256–257
  video rental and, 200
  as video subscription service, 223
net neutrality, 43, 66–67, 471, 563
  Day of Action, 565
  FCC rules on, 66–67
network era, 195
network news, 207–208
networks
  building first, 158–159
  distributed, 42
neutrality
  in boosting credibility, 481–482
  partisanship and, 482
Nevermind, 134, 135
Neverwinter Nights, 88
Newcomb, Horace, 528
New England Courant, 272
New England Whalers, 198
Newfield, Jack, 282
New Girl, 201
  as niche-specific show, 221
  as situation comedy, 204
new journalism, 281
Newman, Paul, 205
New Orleans Daily Creole, 288
New Orleans *Times-Picayune,* 270
NewPages, 366–367
newpapers, operations of, 291, 293–294
New Pittsburgh Courier, 288–289
news
  bias in, 484
  characteristics of, 480–481
  defined, 479–481
  differences between print, TV, and Internet, 495–498
  "fake," 500, 502–505
  information services and, 435
  network, 207–208
  promoting publicity and business as, 434–435
  as satire, 504
News Corp., 270, 362
  CEO of, among highest paid, 453
  diversification and, 465
  founding of *Star* by, 331
  Murdoch, Rupert as head of, 157
  News of the World of, 486
  ownership of Twentieth Century Fox, 260
  owning of Fox network, 322
  selling of DirecTV, 224
  split if, 465
  success of MySpace and, 455
news doctors, 497
News for Chinese, 290
newshole, 291
newsies, 275
news media, ethics and, 485–489
News of the World, 486
newspaper(s), 12, 269–305. *See also* journalism
  advertising impact on, 381
  African American, 288–289
  Asian American, 290
  business and ownership of, 284–291
  chains in, 294
  challenges facing, today, 296–303
  college, 297
  colonial, 272–273, 274
  compiling models of modern print journalism and, 278–284
  decline in readership, 296–297
  democracy and, 303–304
  evolution of American, 271–278
  fall in readership, 269
  founding of *Associated Press (AP),* 275–276
  jobs in, 305

joint operating agreements, 295–296
move to digital, 298–300
national, 284
Native American, 290
ownership of, 294–295
partisan press and, 273–274
penny press era, 274–276
readers targeted by, 285–291
roles of, 285
Spanish-language, 289
underground press, 290–291
weekly, 284
wire services and feature syndication, 294
yellow journalism and, 276–278
Newspaper Association of America (NAA), 271
print ad sales and, 299–300
newsreels, 243, 248
Newsroom, The, 500
news/talk/information format, 170
New Super Mario Bros., 79–80
Newsweek, 266, 284, 318–319, 465
newsroom cultures of, 482–483
newsworthiness, 480
New York, Channel One contracts in, 401
New York Daily Graphic, 320
New York Daily News, 280
New York Dolls, 133
New Yorker, 314, 329
Web-enabled ads on, 333
New York Herald, 288
New York Journal, 276
Hearst's purchase of, 277–278
New York Metropolitan Opera, 258
New York Morning Herald, 274–275
New York Observer, 301
New York Post, 280
New York Sun, 274
New York Times, 4, 269, 286, 295, 450
availability of, in print, 11
charging readers for access to online content, 300
Citizens United case and, 470
democracy and, 32
ethics and, 485
evaluating fairness of reports in, 33
firing of Finkel, Michael, from, 488
hiring of journalists to blog, 298
"huge breach of secrecy" for those running the wars and, 506
integration of online and print operations of, 284
lens of, 321
merger and acquisitions of, 463
as national newspaper, 284
Ochs, Adolph's purchase of, 278–279
as official paper of record, 279
paywall experiments and, 300
ratings of, 496
success of, 279
supremacy of, 283
weekday circulation of, 280
wire services and feature syndication and, 294
New York Times v. Sullivan, 546–547
New York Tribune, 481
New York Weekly Journal, 273, 274
New York World, 276, 277, 310, 477
Nexium, advertising for, 405
Next Issue app, 333
Nexus 7, 333, 462
NFLevolution, 426
niche markets, 220
Nichols, John, 469, 471, 501
nickelodeons, 197, 211, 234, 237–238, 455
Nick Jr., 211
Nielsen Corporation, 220
rating systems of, 221
Nielsen Media rating service, 392–393
Night (Wiesel), 356
Nightline, 19, 436
Nightly Show, The, 23, 504
Night Ripper, 564
Night Trap, 99
Nike, 394
Nikon, advertising of, 397
1989, 114
Nine Inch Nails, 134, 144
Nine West, advertising of, 386
ninjas, 90
Nintendo 3DS, 83
Nintendo Entertainment, 76, 103, 104
competition between console makers and, 79–80
domination of, 100
motion-controlled games and, 99
popularization of handheld digital games by, 83
release of first, 79
release of Nintendo 64, 100–101
rivalry between Sony and, 101
video game business of, 78
Nipkow, Paul, 190, 191
Nirvana, 134, 135
Nixon, Richard M., 251
Watergate scandal and, 538
Noah, 249
Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth, 525–526
Nokia, advertising of, 397
noncommercial networks, creation of first, 173
nonprofit radio, 173–174
noobs, 90
Norris, Frank, 317
North Alabama White Citizens Council, 125
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 455
North American Review, 313–314
North by Northwest, 244
Northrup, Solomon, 247
North Star, 288
nostalgia, 25–26, 28
Notorious B.I.G., 135
NSFNET, 44
NSF Network, 42
Nut Job, The, 258

O: The Oprah Magazine, 325, 334
Oakley, Annie, 417
Obama, Barack, 354, 408
election of 2008, 499
historic candidacy of, 533
public relations and, 437
transparency of, 430–431
video of, playing basketball, 454
objective journalism, 279, 478
objectivity
in modern journalism, 278–280
scientific method and, 520
O'Brien, Conan, 193, 504
obscenity, 548–549
Occupy Wall Street movement, 284, 474, 482
Ochs, Adolph, 278–279
Ochs, Phil, 131
Oculus, 77, 258
Oculus Rift, 74, 462
Oculus Touch, 74
Oculus VR, 60, 74
O'Donnell, Lawrence, 498
Odyssey, 78, 100
release of, 78
Odyssey 100, 78
Office, The, 143, 218
off-network syndication, 217, 219
offset lithography, 345, 348
Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide, 385, 388
Ogilvy Public Relations, 422
Ohio, Channel One contracts in, 401
Ok!, 324
Oldboy, 245, 250
Old Time Spelling Bee, 163
oligopoly, 137, 223, 238, 446
Oliver, John, 23, 28, 33, 504
Olympics, 208
Omaha World-Herald, 295
Omnicom, 384, 391, 422
merger of Publicis and, 385
On Air with Ryan Seacrest, 180
Once Upon a Time series, 456
On-Demand, 13
O'Neal, Shaquille, 221
One Day, 245
OneDrive, 59
100 Balls, 104
Oneida Nation, 290
online advertising, trends in, 390–393
online fantasy sports, 82
online fraud, 64
online journalism, 283–284
online music stores, 117
online piracy, 140
Only Lovers Left Alive, 249
O & Os, 218
Open Road Films, 258
open-source software, 67–68
Opera (Web browser), 45
opinion and fair comment, 547
"Oppa Gangnam Style," 142
Oprah's Book Club, 356
Oprah Winfrey Show, 356
opt-in policies, 63
option time, 161
opt-out policies, 63
Ora, Rita, 92
oral communication, 12
oral culture, 9
oral era in communication, 6–7
Orange County Register, 280
Orange Is the New Black, 22, 188
Orbit, 457
Oregon Trail, The, 89
O'Reilly, Bill, 498, 503
Origin, 105
Orkut as social networking site, 49
Oswald, Lee Harvey, 321
Our Idiot Brother, 249
Out, 331
Outcault, R. F., 276
Outside, 328

Pacifica Foundation, 173
packaging, trademarks and, 380
Packard, Vance, 400
packet switching, 42
Pac-Man, 78, 79, 80, 86
Page, Clarence, 294
Page, Larry, 444
paid media, 392
Paine, Thomas, 313
Paley, William, 153, 161, 193, 467
Palin, Sarah, 363, 503

Palmer, Amanda, 144
Palmolive Hour, 163
Pamela (Richardson), 347
Pandora, 176, 177
  competition for young music fans, 177
  creation of individual stations, 177
  as distributor of sounds and images, 110
  launching of, 153
  planet of, in *Avatar,* 232
  radio industry and, 183
  royalties on, 141
  as streaming radio service, 140
Panera, wage gap and, 453
paparazzi, danger of, 549
paperbacks, 345, 347
papyrus, 344, 345
Paradise Lost (Milton), 541
paradox, willingness to accept, 28
Paramount Pictures, 234, 235, 238, 241
  current business of, 258
  merger between Publix and, 241
  Supreme Court's ruling against, 252
  theatres owned by, 240–241
Paramount Vantage, 251
Paranormal Activity, 262
parchment, 345
Parenthood, 216
Parents Latina, 326
Parents Television Council (PTC), 517
Paris, film screenings in, 234
Park, George, 419
Parker, Dorothy, 329, 351, 557
Parker, Edwin, 519
Parks, Gordon, 247, 319
Parks and Recreation, 204
Parquet Courts, 133
partisan model, 500
partisan press, 273–274
partisanship, neutrality and, 482
pass-along readership, 319
Patch, 304
patent medicines, advertising of, 380–381
Patton, Charley, 124
Paul, Ron, 488
Pavement, 143
Pawnbroker, The, 556
Pawn Stars, 14
Paxil, advertising for, 405
pay models, 104
Payne Fund Studies, 515–516
payola
  manipulating playlists with, 179
  as scandal in rock and roll music, 128
PayPal, 64
pay-per-view (PPV) programs, 197
paywall, 300
PCWorld, 324
Pearl Jam, 134, 135
Pearson PLC, 362
peer-to-peer (P2P) systems, 120
"Peggy Sue," 128
Peirce, Kimberly, 245
Peli, Oren, 262
Penguin Books, 362
Penguin Random House, 362
Penn, William, 380
Pennsylvania Gazette, 272
Pennsylvania Magazine, 313
Pennsylvania Railroad, 419, 420
penny arcade, 76, 91
Penny Arcade Expo (PAX), 91, 92
Penny Dreadful, 22, 197
penny press, 272, 274
Pentagon Papers case, 542–543
People, 313, 323–324, 331, 332, 334
People en Español, 324, 331
People StyleWatch, 324
Pepsi-Cola, 257
  advertising at Super Bowl, 395
Percy, Ethel, 329
Perkins, Anthony, 245
Perkins, Carl, 125, 126
Perot, Ross, 408
Perry, Katy, 126, 136, 138
  halftime show of, 55
Perry, Tyler, 245
personal computers (PCs), 43–44
  media convergence on, 53
Person of Interest, 203, 222, 517
Peter, Paul, and Mary, 131
Peter Pan, 193
Peters, Mike, 294
Peterson Milla Hooks (PMH), 386
Pet Rescue Saga, 83
Pew Internet & American Life Project, 65
Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, 288, 470, 493
Pew Research Center, 286
Peyton Place, 254
Pfizer, advertising by, 405
Philadelphia Inquirer, 295
Philadelphia Story, 243
Philadelphische Zeitung, 285
Philip Morris, advertising bans and, 404
Philip Morris Marlboro, 396
Philips, designing of digitally recorded disc and player, 119
Phillips, David Graham, 310
Phillips, Sam, 126
phishing, 64
phonograph, 116, 121, 161
Photobucket, 47, 48
photography, civil war, 315
photojournalism, 313, 317
  evolution of, 320–321
  National Geographic and, 328
  television, 320–321
Photoshop, 321
Piano, The, 245
Pickett, Wilson, 130
Pickford, Mary, 102, 239, 240, 554–555
Picture of Dorian Gray (Wilde), 353
picture radio, 115
Pilkey, Dav, 361
Pillsbury, 381
Pinball Construction Set, 102
pinball machine, 76
Pineapple, 326
Pineapple Express, 60
Pink, 138
Pink Floyd, 169
Pinkham, Lydia, 380, 406
Pinky, 254
Pinocchio, 456
Pinterest, 40, 49
Pirate Bay, The, 51
Pirates of the Caribbean, 250, 457
Pittman, Bob, 149–150
Pitts, Leonard, 294
Pittsburgh Courier, 288
Pittsburgh Dispatch, 477
Pixar, 232, 456, 457
  digital age and, 460
  Disney ownership of, 260
PK, 250
plain-folks pitch in advertising, 394
Plants vs. Zombies, 96, 102
platform games, 86, 88
Plato, 7, 15
Playboy, 322, 327
playlists, manipulating, with payola, 179
PlayStation, 77, 89, 101, 105–106, 200
  capabilities for music playing CDs, 100
  establishment of online community by, 80
PlayStation Move, 80
PlayStation Network, 80
PlayStation Portable (PSP), 83
PlayStation Vita, 83
Pliny the Elder, 354
Plumas Community Radio, 176
Pocket Books, 351, 354
podcasting, 153, 177–178
Podio, 48
Poehler, Amy, 221
Poitier, Sidney, 205
Pokémon, 91, 401
Pokémon Red/Blue, 83
political advertising, 408
political bias, 483
political broadcasts, equal opportunity and, 561–562
political cartoons, 293
political economy studies, 530
political pressures, on movies, 554
political speech, 400, 470
Politico, 208, 298, 301, 496
Polo, Marco, 346
Polygon, 85
Polygram, 137
Pong, 75, 76, 78, 79
Poor Richard's Almanac, 312
PopCap Games, 102
Pope, Alexander, 312
Pope, Generoso, 331
pop music, 122
  formation of rock and, 122–129
  impact of, 115
  reemergence of, 135–136
  reformations in, 129–136
  rise of, 122–123
Popov, Alexander, 153, 154
PopularMechanics.com, 324
Popular Party, 273
Popular Science, 324, 326
populism, 28
pop-up ads, 377
pornography, sexting as, 550
portable players, 83–84
portal, 57
Porter, Cole, 122, 242
Porter, Edwin S., 237
Porter Magazine, 326
Porter Novelli advertising agency, 385
Postal Act (1879), 312
Postman, Neil, 479
postmodern culture, 27–29
PowerBar, 427
Poynter Institute, 301
Precious, 247
precision journalism, 282
premium cable services, 197, 199
Prentice-Hall, 348
prescription drugs, advertising of, 405
presidential election of 2016, 3–4
Presley, Elvis, 126
  censorship of, on television, 128
  class bias and racism as basis of objections to, 15
  legacy of, 127
  pegged pants and gyrating hips of, 125
  popularity of, 15, 208
  record sales of, 127

press. *See also* media
origins of a free, 539–549, 551–552
tension between public relations and, 433–436
press agents, 416, 418
press releases, 424
PressThink, 506
pretty face and happy-talk culture, 496–497
Prevention, 335
Primary, 249
prime time, 169, 194
Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR), 211
Primettes, 131
Prince, 125, 134
Princess Bride, The, 24
Princess Peach, 88
Princess Toadstool, 88
Principles of Uncertainty (Kalman), 350
print communication, 12
printed text, digital versions of, 266
printing presses, 26, 344
in fostering nationalism, 8
invention and development of, 7, 272, 346–347
print journalism, reporting rituals and legacy of, 490–495
print media, 266
print revolution, 7–8
prior restraint, censorship as, 542–543
PRISM program, 85
Prisoners, 244
privacy
data mining and, 448
invading, 486
right to, 549, 551
Privacy Act (1974), 551
private research, 520
private sector monopoly, 156
pro-am model for journalism, 303
Procter & Gamble, 381, 388, 420, 422
advertising by, 376
product differentiation, 243, 380
production, 332
product placement, 257, 377
advertising in, 397, 399
product standardization, 243
professional books, 345, 350
professional friction, elements of, 433–435
Professor Quiz, 163
Pro Football Weekly, 328
program log, 168
programming, impact of ratings and shares on, 220
Progressive, 312, 335, 543
Progressive Era, 27, 310
Progressive Grocer, 325
progressive rock music, 168
Project Gutenberg, 357
Project Runway, 209
Prometheus Radio Project, 182
propaganda, 423
analysis of, 514
Propaganda Technique in the World War (Lasswell), 514
proprietary research, 520
ProPublica, 304
Proximity Worldwide, 391
PRWatch, 435, 437
PR Week, 435
PS4, 53
functioning also as DVD players, 83
pseudo-events, 427, 429
pseudo-polls, 515
Psy, 142, 444
psychedelic music, 129, 132–133
Psycho, 25, 244, 245
psychographics, 386
Public Broadcasting Act (1967), 173, 209
Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), 173, 191, 197, 200
public domain, 545
Public Enemy, 135
Publicis Groupe, 384, 385, 422
Omnicom merger with, 385
publicity, 418, 434–435
public journalism, 500, 502–505
Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Doemstick, 272
Public Opinion (Lippmann), 27, 416, 421, 514
public opinion research, 514–515
public relations, 413–439
adaption to the Internet age, 431
approaches to organized, 422
bananas and, 428
big business and press agents, 418
birth of modern, 418–421
community and consumer relations, 429
during crisis, 431–433
defined, 415
democracy and, 436–438
digital ecosystem for, 372
early developments in, 416–421
government relations and lobbying, 429–431
greenwashing and, 428
industry of, 437
invisible hand of, 437
media relations and, 425, 427
message in, 423–425
NFL's concussion crisis in, 426
performing, 423–425, 427
practice of, 421–425, 427, 429–433
shaping image of, 435–436
shaping of image, 435–436
social and cultural impact of, 415
special events and pseudo-events in, 427, 429
tensions between press and, 433–436
Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), 417, 435
Member Statement of Professional Values, 435
Public Relations Student Society of America (PRSSA), 422
Public Relations Tactics, 435
public research, 520
public service announcements (PSAs), 382, 398, 424
public sphere, 530–531
public TV, 190, 209
publishing houses, 345
formation, 348
origin of, in United States, 347–348
Publix, merger between Paramount and, 241
puffery, 406
PUGs, 90
Pulitzer, Albert, 277
Pulitzer, Joseph, 272, 301, 310, 477
New York World and, 276–277
pulp fiction, 347
punk rock, 133
Pure Food and Drug Act (1906), 317
"Push" (Sapphire), 247
Putnam, G. P., 348
Pyle, Ernie, 283

QR code, 324
quadraphonic or four-track sound, 118
Quake, 81
Quaker Oats, 380
qualified privilege, 547
Queen (musical group), 28, 169
Queen Latifah, 135
Quinn, Zoe, 96, 97
Quiz Kids, 163
quiz shows
rise and fall of, on television, 194
scandals involving, 190, 194–195

Rachel Maddow Show, 208
racing games, 75
Radam, William, 380
radio, 8, 11–12, 116, 149–183
advertising on, 178–179
AM/FM, 177
authority of, 164–165
building first networks, 158–159
commercial, 152
comparing commercial and noncommercial, 174
convergence and, 175, 177–178
democracy and, 182–183
early technology and development of, 151–157
economics of broadcast, 178–182
evolution of, 157–165
golden age of, 153, 163–165
HD, 175
Internet, 175, 177
music formats of, 172–173
news, 170
news, talk, and information, 170
nonprofit, 173–174
portable, 166
reinvention of, 165–169
relationship between records and, 121–122
rise of format and top 40, 167–168
satellite, 175
sounds of commercial, 169–170, 172–175, 177–178
talk, 9, 153, 170, 171
Radio Act (1912), 156, 162
Radio Act (1927), 153, 161–162
Radio Advertising Bureau, 183
Radio Corporation of America (RCA), 12, 156
formation of, 156
General Electric's purchase of, 161
radio group and, 159
radio group, 159
radio industry, jobs in, 183
radio ownership, 179–181
radio programming, 163–164
radio suffers, 153
radio waves, 152, 166
discovery of, 152
as natural resource, 156
Radio Zero, 176
Radway, Janice, 528, 530
railroads, public relations for, 416, 418
Rain, 142
Rainey, Ma, 124
Raising Hell, 135

Raitt, Bonnie, 123
Ralph Radio, 176
Ramones, 133
random assignment, 521
Random Family (LeBlanc), 282
Random House, 348, 362, 549
Ranger Rick, 329
Rappe, Virginia, 555
"Rapper's Delight," 135
Rasmussen, Bill, 198
Rather, Dan, 31, 207
  Watergate scandal and, 437
rating, 220
Ray Donovan, 30
Ray, Johnnie, 124
Ray, Satyajit, 246
Ray, William J., 225
Rayman, 102
Razorfish, 391
RCA, 160, 443
  Bernays, Edward, and, 420
  charges with violations of antitrust laws and, 160–161
  manufacturing of equipment of, 156
  monopoly power of, 158
  portable reading devices from, 357
  Zworykin's innovations for, 191
RCA/NBC
  General Electric's purchase of, 450
  government scrutiny in ending, 160–161
RCA Records, 118
RCA Victor, 160
Rdio, 121, 136
  ad-support of, 140
  as streaming service, 141
reader-response research, 528
Reader's Digest, 318
  circulation of, 335, 336
  commercial success of, 319
  competition to, 329
  launch of, 313
  rivalry of, 322
  supermarket sales and, 323
Reading on the Rise, 367
Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature (Radway), 528, 530
Reagan, Ronald, 4, 171, 252, 450, 562
Real Housewives, 14
reality TV, 3, 4, 208–209
real-time strategy game (RTS), 88
Real World, The, 28, 209
Rear Window, 244
Reasoner, Harry, 207
Rebel without a Cause, 253
receivers, 9
records, relationship between radio and, 121–122
Red, 114
Redbox
  as discount rental kiosk, 256
  distribution to mobile devices by, 260
Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television, 557
Red Dead Redemption, 98
Redding, Otis, 127, 130
Redford, Robert, 205
Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 559
Reed, John, 283
Reed, Lou, 133
Reese's Pieces, 257
  product placement and, 399
reference books, 354–355
reformations in popular music, 129–136
Reformer, 329–330
Regal Cinemas, 257, 258
regional editions, 333
regulation, 449
Reid, Wallace, 555
Reiner, Carl, 204
Relativity Studios, 258
reliability, scientific method and, 520
religious books, 349, 354
R.E.M., 134
REO Speedwagon, 133
Report of the Warren Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, The, 354
Republic, The (Plato), 15
reruns, 219
Resident Evil, 28, 88, 92, 93
responsible capitalism, 482–483
retention, 524
retransmission consent, 188
retransmission fees, 218
Reuters wire services and feature syndication and, 294
revenue, collecting, in media industry, 446
Revere, Paul, 312
Review, 311–312
review boards, 554
Review of General Psychology, 95
Revlon, 194
  advertising by, 394
Reynolds, Frank, 207
Reynolds, R. J., 402
Reynolds, Ryan, 549
R/GA, 391
Rhapsody, 121, 139, 144
rhythm and blues (R&B) music, 124
Richardson, Samuel, 347
Right Media, Yahoo! purchase of, 391
right to privacy, 549, 551
"right versus left" narratives, 4
Rihanna, 136, 138, 413
Riis, Jacob, 320
Ring, 331
Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus, 417
ringtones, 140
Ringu, 250
Ringu 2, 250
rituals, reporting, and legacy of print journalism, 490–495
Rizzoli & Isles, 219
RKO, 234, 241
  Supreme Court's ruling against, 252
Roanoke Times, 295
Roberts, Jim, 298
Roberts, Nora, 351
Robinson, Edward G., 515
Robinson, Jackie, 288
Robinson, Max, 208
Robinson Crusoe (Defoe), 311–312
rockability, 125
rock and roll music, 16, 115, 117, 123–129
  battles in, 126–129
  payola scandals in, 128
Rock Band, 81, 89, 90, 102
Rock Bank, 96
Rockefeller, John D., 316, 419, 420, 449
Rockford Files, The, 206
rock music, 122
  progressive, 168
Rockstar Games, 98, 104
Rockwell, Norman, 318
Rocky, 255
Roc Nation, 138
Roc the Mic Studios, 138
Rodale, 335
Rodale's *Organic Life,* 326
Rodger, Elliot, 529
Rodriguez, Robert, 263
Rodriquez, Michelle, 413
Roger and Me, 249
Rogers, Buddy, 239
Roku, 53, 202
  television device for downloading, 254
role-playing games (RPGs), 75, 88
Rolex, 394
roll film, 234
Rolling Stones, 20, 89, 125, 127
  as "bad boys" of rock and roll, 130
  drug arrests of, 132
  on top charts, 129
Rolling Stone, 282, 283, 328
"Roll Over Beethoven" (song), 28, 124, 125
Romanowski, William, 29
Rome, Jim, 169
Romney, Mitt, 454, 499
  public relations and, 437
Ronaldo, Christino, 413
Rooms To Go, advertising of, 386
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 156
  fireside chats of, 163, 164
Roosevelt, Theodore, 427
  muckrakers and, 317
Roots, 206
Rose, Derrick, 393–394
Roseanne, 13
Rosen, Jay, 507
Rosenblatt, Roger, 14
Rosenstiel, Tom, 23, 482
Rosing, Boris, 190–191
Ross, Diana, 130, 131
Ross, Harold, 329
Ross, Lillian, 329
Rossellini, Roberto, 555–556
rotation, 167
Roth, Veronica, 356
Roth v. United States, 549
Roundhay Garden Scene, 235
Rovio, 102, 106
Rowdy Journal, 275
Rowling, J. K., 356, 361, 363
Royal Pains, 188
royalty rate, 140
Royko, Mike, 490
RTVE.es, 176
rugged individualism as American ideal, 6
Run-DMC, 135
Runyon, Damon, 310
Rushdie, Salman, 360
Rush Limbaugh Show, 171, 180
Rushmore, 249
Russell, David O., 249

Saatchi & Saatchi, 385
Sabu, 51
Safari (Web browser), 45
Safe Haven, 258
St. Louis Blues, 124
St. Louis Dispatch, 276–277
St. Louis Post, 276–277
St. Martin's Press, 367
St. Petersburg Times, 301
St. Vincent, 143
Saints Row: Red Faction, 102
sales magazines, 332–333

Salon, 208, 313, 324
salsa music, 16
Salt-N-Pepa, 135
same-sex marriage, 514
Samoff, David, 153
Sam's Club, bookstore business of, 364
Samsung, 422
  advertising of, 384
  App for, 141
  competition in expanding markets and, 334
San Andreas, 452
Sandbox (or open-world) role-playing games (RPGs), 88
Sanders, Bernie, 563
San Diego Union Tribune, 286
San Francisco Examiner, 277, 324
San Jose Mercury News, 280, 295
Santa Barbara, 32
Santos, Romeo, 413
Sapkowski's saga, 93
Sapphire, 247
Sarkeesian, Anita, 96–97
Sarnoff, David, 159–160
  as head of RCA/NBC, 193
  negotiation in using Farnsworth's patents, 191
  predicting of radio's demise, 166–167
  proposal of company to buy shares of RCA, 160–161
Satanic Verses, The (Rushdie), 360
satellite radio, 175
satire, news as, 504
satiric journalism, 503–505
"Satisfaction," 127
saturation advertising, 389
Saturday Evening Post, 318
  circulation of, 323, 336
  failure of, 322, 323
  launching of, 312
  as longest-running magazine, 314
Saturday Night Live, 22, 23, 33, 142, 503
  preempting of Sharpton, Al, on, 562
  sketch comedy of, 204
  "Weekend Update" segment on, 23
Saturn, 396
Savan, Leslie, 396
Sawyer, Diane, 208
Scalia, Antonin, 106–107
Scandal, 216
scanning disk, 190
Scarface, 233
Scarlet Letter, The (Hawthorne), 360
Schenck, Charles T., 544–545
Schenck v. United States, 544–545
Scherfig, Lone, 245
Schoofs, Mark, 298
"School Day," 125
schools, advertising in, 401–402
Schorr, Daniel, 494
Schramm, Wilbur, 519
Schudson, Michael, 301, 302, 397, 434, 542
Schultz, Connie, 294
Schwarzenegger, Arnold, 250, 562
Schweitzer, Albert, 320
Scientific American, 543
scientific method, 520–521
Scorpion, 203, 216
Scorsese, Martin, 245
Scott, Ridley, 29
Scott de Martinville, Édouard-Léon, 116
Scribner's, 348
Scripps, Edward Wyllis, 294
Se7en, 142, 244
Seacrest, Ryan, 169
Seal Island, 456
Sean Hannity Show, 208
search engines, 46–47
Sears, 78
  advertising of, 397
Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 270
Second Life, 82
Sedition Act (1798), 542, 544
seditious expression, 544–545
seditious libel, 273
seductive advertising, 21
Seeger, Pete, 131, 291, 557
See It Now, 495
Sega, 102, 104
  as console maker, 101
Sega Dreamcast, 79, 81
Sega Genesis, 79
Sega Saturn, 89
Seierstad, Asne, 282
Seinfeld, 24, 187, 214, 376
  as situation comedy, 204
Seinfeld, Jerry, 356, 374–375, 376
selective exposure, 10, 519
selective retention, 519
self-regulation, 76
  in movie industry, 554–556
Selma, 246
semantic Web, 56–57
Sendak, Maurice, 24
senders, 9
"separate but equal" laws, 124
Sephora, advertising of, 386
September 11 terrorist attacks (2001), 64, 189
  Internet censorship after, 65
serialized TV shows, 206
serial programs, 163–164, 206
Serling, Rod, 511
Sesame Street, 209
Seven Beauties, 245
Seven Cities of Gold, 102
7-Eleven, advertising of, 397
700 Club, 562
Seven Samurai, 246, 250
7-7-7 rule, 458
Seven Stories Press, 353
Seventeen, 324, 329, 330
78-rpm records, 118
Sex and the City, 205
Sex and the Single Girl (Brown), 310
Sex Pistols, 133
sexting as pornography, 550
sexuality, women's magazines and, 327
"Sexy Ways," 124
Shadow, The, 163, 165
Shaft, 247
"Shake, Rattle, and Roll," 125
"Shake It Off," 113
Shakespeare, William, 17
Shakira, 413
Shakur, Tupac, 135
"Shame of the Cities" (Steffens), 316
Shanghai Disney Resort, 457
Shangri-Las, 129
share, 220
Sharpton, Al, 562
Shaw, Irwin, 557
"Sh-Boom," 127
She & Him, 143
shellac discs, 117
Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft, 17
Sheppard, Sam, 551
Sherlock, 206
Sherlock Jr., 241
Sherman Antitrust Act (1890), 446, 449
Sherrod, Shirley, 492
shield laws, 552
shooter games, 75, 86, 88
  first-person, 98
"Shop Around," 130
Showtime, 188, 197, 356
  release of films and, 257
Shrek, 233
Shrek 2, 256
Shuster, Joe, 352
Shyamalan, M. Night, 246
Siegel, Jerry, 352
signal scrambling, 199
Silence of the Lambs, 244
Silent Spring (Carson), 367
Silly Symphonies series, 456
SimCity, 88–89, 94
Simon, Neil, 204
Simon & Schuster, 348, 362
Simpson, O. J., 552
Simpsons, The, 17, 23
Sims Social, The, 93
simulation games, 75, 88–89
Sinatra, Frank, 161
  music-variety shows hosted by, 193
  parlaying of music and radio into movie stardom, 123
Sin City, 244, 258, 263
Sinclair, Upton, 317, 565
Sinclair Broadcast Group, 19, 459
Singing Fool, The, 234, 242
Singleton, John, 245, 247
Siouxsie, 133
Siri, 56–57
Sirius, 175
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
Sirius XM, 175, 177
sitcoms, 204, 206
Sitting Bull, 417
situational ethics, 486
situation comedy, 204
16 and Pregnant, 28
Sixth Amendment, First Amendment versus, 551–552
60 Minutes
  evaluating fairness of reports of, 33
  investigative model of journalism and, 495
  media literacy and, 32
  melodrama and, 22
  news credibility ratings and, 496
  shedding of light on major events, 208
$64,000 Challenge, 194
$64,000 Question, 194
sketch comedy, 204
Sky Broadcasting, 208
Skype, net neutrality and, 67
skyscraper model, 16, 17, 20, 21
Slacker, 177
  determining royalties on, 141
slander, 546
Slate, 313, 324
Sleater-Kinney, 134
Sleep Number, advertising of, 386
Sleepy Hollow, 216
slogans, 383
Slouching Towards Bethlehem (Didion), 282
Small Farmer's Journal, 336
small-town pastoralism, 483
smartphones, 202
  use of, 65
smartwatches, 54

Smashing Pumpkins, 68
"Smells Like Teen Spirit," 134
Smiley, Tavis, 169
Smith, Bessie, 124
Smith, Gordon, 176
Smith, Patti, 133
Smith, Sam, 113
Smith, W. Eugene, 320
Smith, Will, 413
Smith Brothers, 380
Smithsonian, 68, 328
Smithsonian's *Journeys,* 326
Smokey Robinson, 130
Smokey the Bear campaign, 382
snail mail, 9
Snake Pit, The, 254
Snapshot, 188
Sneak King, 93
SNK as console maker, 101
snob-appeal approach in advertising, 394
Snosh, 444
Snowden, Edward, 64, 85, 249, 474, 499, 504
Snow Flower and the Secret Fan, 246
Snow White, 24
Snow White and the Huntsman, 263
Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, 456
soap operas, 163–164, 206
  Spanish-language, 209
social change, role of advertising in, 381–382
social issues in media economics, 463–465, 467
social learning theory, 524
socially responsible press, 541
social media, 9, 40
  advertising in, 392–393
  defined, 47
  democracy and, 49, 52
  emergence of, 9
  finding real happiness and, 569–575
  rise of, 10
  types of, 47–49
social networking, 47, 49
social pressures on movies, 554
social psychology studies, 515–516
social reform, muckrakers and, 316–317
social responsibility, 505, 540
social viewing, 55
society, role of media in, 10–16
Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics, 486, 487
Socrates, 7, 14
software
  costs of, 217
  open-source, 67–68
Sokal, Alan, 532–533
Soldevilla, Jeremy, 369
Solitaire, 80
"Someday We'll Be Together," 131
Song of Solomon (Morrison), 356
Son House, 124
Sonic the Hedgehog, 91, 102
Sonic Youth, 134, 143
Sony, 137, 422. *See also* PlayStation
  competition between console makers and, 79–80
  court ruling in favor of, 200
  designing of digitally recorded disc and player, 119
  domination of, 100
  Foxconn's electronic devices for, 452
  introduction of pocket radio, 166
  merger of BMG and, 137
  ownership of Columbia, 260
  portable reading devices from, 357
  rivalry between Nintendo and, 101
  syndication and, 217
  3-D cameras of, 232
  video game business of, 78
Sony and Bertelsmann, 467
Sony Music Entertainment, 137
Sony Pictures Classics, 251
Sony Project Morpheus, 74
Sony Walkman, 118
Sopranos, The, 188
soul music, 130
sound bite, 497
SoundCloud, 144
Sounder, 247
SoundExchange, 141
Soundgarden, 134, 135
sound in movies, 234, 242–243
sound recordings
  business of, 136–141, 143–144
  development of, 115–122
  free expression and democracy, 144–145
  in Internet age, 119–121
  reformations in popular music, 129–136
  U.S. popular music and formation of rock, 122–129
Source, The, 328
Sousa, John Philip, 122
South by Southwest festival, 251
South Carolina Gazette, 274
South Park, 23, 94
space brokers, advertising agencies as, 379
Space Invaders, 79, 80
space shuttle disaster, 499
Spades, 80
spam, 379, 390
Spanish-American War, sinking of *Maine* in, 320
Spanish International Network, 209
Spanish-language newspapers, 289
Spanish-language radio, 172
Spanish-language soap operas, 209
Spanish-language television, 209
Speak Now, 114
Spears, Britney, 142
special events, 427, 429
"special interest" money, 3
specialization
  in magazines, 325, 327–331
  rise of, 455
specialty reporters, 293
Spectator, 312
Spector, Phil, 138
speech
  commercial, in regulating advertising, 399–403, 405–407
  political, 400
Speedy Ortiz, 133
Spider-Man, 93, 104, 260, 457, 460
Spiegelman, Art, 353
Spielberg, Steven, 22, 243, 245, 250
Spike TV, 92
Spin, 328
Spinutech, 69
spiral of silence theory, 525–526
Splenda, 422
Splinter Cell: Chaos Theory, 93
split-run editions, 333
SpongeBob SquarePants, 401
sponsored stories, 393
Spore, 91
sports games, 75, 89
  ESPN and, 198
Sports Illustrated, 311, 327–328, 333, 334
sports magazines, 327–328
Spotify, 114, 136, 139
  ad-support of, 140
  competing for young music fans, 177
  expanding global flow and, 460
  as streaming service, 141
Springsteen, Bruce, 133, 175
Sprout, 211
Spy Kids, 263
spyware, 62
Square Enix, 102
Staehle, Albert, 318
Stained Class album, 511
Standard Oil, 446
  breaking up of, with Sherman Antitrust Act, 449
  monopoly practices by, 277
Stanton, Edwin M., 279
Star, 324, 331
Starbucks, 422
  as naming sponsor, 397
StarCraft, 88, 92, 102
Starflight, 102
Stargate, 138
Starr, Ringo, 400
Star Trek, 25, 206
start-up companies in digital age, 462
Star Wars, 20, 102, 103, 104, 231–232, 233, 245, 255, 256, 460
  Force Awakens, The, 232
  Lucasfilm's control of, 260
  Phantom Menace, The, 232
  Return of the Jedi, 232
  Revenge of the Seth, 232
  success of, 259
Star Wars: The Old Republic, 103
state model, 540
State of the News Media, 296
  2010 report of, 297
Statham, Jason, 413
Stauber, John, 437
Stax, 137
Steam, 105
Steamboat Bill Jr., 241
Steffens, Lincoln, 283, 316, 317
Steiger, Paul, 298
Steinem, Gloria, 327
Stephens, Ann, 347
stereo, 118
Stern, Howard, 175
  indecency fines and, 561
Stewart, Cara, 439
Stewart, Martha, 175
Stockham, Thomas, 118
Stoker, 250
Stoller, Mike, 122
Stone, Emma, 394
Stone, I. F., 291, 292
Stone, Oliver, 511, 512
Stone Temple Pilots, 135
Stooges, 133
"Stop! In the Name of Love," 130, 131
stories
  balancing conflict, 494
  comfort of familiar, 24
  covering difficult, 491

getting first, 491–492
getting good, 490
TV and state of, 210
storyboard, 388
story-driven model, 278
Story of Frozen*, The: Making a Disney Animated Classic,* 456
Storz, Todd, 167
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 314, 355–356, 367
Strand Theatre, 241
strategy games, 75, 88
streaming, 121, 141, 144, 175, 202
Street Fighter, 86, 93
Streisand, Barbra, 245
Stuart Saves his Family, 204
StubHub, 57
studio system, 239
stunt journalism, 478
Stverak, Jason, 478
Styx, 133
subconcussion, 426
subliminal advertising, 383
subscription streaming, 256
subsidiary rights, 363
suburbs, moving to, 252–253
Sugarhill Gang, 135
Sullivan, Ed, 130
Sullivan, L. B., 547
Summer, Donna, 134
Summit Entertainment, 258
Sun, 137
Sun Also Rises, The (Hemingway), 349
Sundance Channel, 25
Sundance Film Festival, 249, 251
Sunday Night Football, 203
Sunday Times of London, 320
Sun Records, 126
Sunset Boulevard, 244
Super Bowl, 20, 187, 208
advertising in, 395
Super Fly, 247
Superman for DC comics, 352, 353
Super Mario Bros., 79
bundling of NES console with, 100
as platform game, 86, 88
supermarket tabloids, 331
Super Monkey Ball, 102
super-PACs, 538
Super Size Me, 249
superstations, 197
Supremes, 130, 131
Surface tablet, 59, 462
survey research, 521–522
survival horror games, 88
Survivor, 209
Swallow, Erica, 439
Swayze, John Cameron, 207
"Sweet Little Sixteen," 125
Swift, Taylor, 113–114, 122, 136, 137, 177, 393, 413
Syfy, 188
Sympathy for Mr. Vengeance, 250
synchronization fees, 140
syndication, 218–219
synergy, 259, 260, 455
"synths," 138

tablets, 99
Tainter, Charles Sumner, 116–117
Tales from the Crypt, 352
talkies, 242
talking heads, 133, 498
Talking Points Memo, 298, 301
talk radio, 9, 153, 171
Talladega Nights: The Ballad of Ricky Bobby, 399
Tamla label, 131
Tampa Bay Times, 301
Tangled, 456
tap lines, 196
Tarbell, Ida, 283, 419, 565
exposés of oil corporations, 478
"History of the Standard Oil Company" of, 316–317
investigative journalism and, 317
Target, 105, 139
advertising by, 386
book store business of, 364
graphic branding ad campaign for, 386
undercutting of small local stores by, 381
wage gap and, 453
targeted advertising, data mining and, 60, 62
Tattler, 312
Taxi Driver, 245
Taylor, William Desmond, 555
TBWA Worldwide, 385
TechCrunch, 48
Technicolor, 254
technology, electronic, 190–193
TechRadar, 74
Teen Mom, 209
Teen Vogue, 324, 329
Tejano music, 16
Tekken, 102
Telecommunications Act (1996), 149, 450, 458, 559
consequences of, 180
consolidation in radio ownership and, 153
defined, 215
elimination of most radio and television ownership rules, 162
overhaul of nation's communications regulations and, 57
passage of, 68–69
paving way for television consolidation and, 191
radio ownership and, 179–180
telegraph, 8, 115, 151–152
Telemundo, 197, 209
telenovelas, 209, 468
"Telephone" (2010 song), 9–10
telephone group, 159
telephones, 115
teleplays, 205
Teletubbies, 25
television (TV)
advertising on, 333
anthology dramas on, 205–206
assigning frequencies and freezing licenses to, 192
cable, 187–188
changes in viewing habits, 199–202
children's, 209, 401
color, 192–193
controlling content on, 193–195
democracy and, 225–227
economics and ownership of, 216–221, 223–225
effects of, in post-TV world, 517
electronic technology and, 190–191
episodic series, 206–207
ESPN on, 198
as final link to true mass communication, 187
first transmissions on, 190
future of, 227
influence on books, 356–357
jobs in, 227
measuring viewing, 220–221
media convergence on, 53
miniseries in, 206
origins and development of, 189–195
photojournalism and, 320–321
programming trends in, 203–211
public, 209
quiz shows on, 194–195
reality, 3, 4, 208–209
regulatory challenges to, 211–215
setting technical standards, 191–192
specials on, 193
storytelling and, 210
technology in, 190
Telstar, 190, 196
Temple Run, 104, 106
Temptations, 130
Ten Commandments, The, 242
Tennessean, 294
Tennis World, 323
tenure, 355
Tesla, Nikola, 152, 154, 155
testimonials, famous-person, 394
Tetris, 78–79, 83, 84, 89
Texaco Star Theater, 204
Texas, Channel One contracts in, 401
Texas Instruments, 166
Texas State Board of Education, 350
text, 90
textbooks, 345, 350–351
textual analysis, 528
thaumatrope, 234
theater chains, 257–258
Them on American Top 40 charts, 129
They Are Us (Hamill), 367
Thicke, Robin, 172
ThinkProgress, 48
third-person effect, 526
third-person perspective, 87
third screen, 200–202
This American Life, 54
"This Land Is Your Land," 131
Thomas, Dylan, 133
Thomas, Evan, 483
Thompson, Hunter S., 282
Thoreau, Henry David, 314
Thornton, Willie Mae "Big Mama," 125
THQ, 102
3-D cameras, 232
3-D graphics, 81, 89
3-D movies, 73–74, 254
3-D sports games, 89
3-D television, 74
"Thriller" video (Jackson, Michael), 14
Thug Life, 135
Thurber, James, 329
Thursday Night Football, 203, 216, 376
Tidal, 177
Tikkun, 331
Timberlake, Justin, 393–394
Time, 33, 193, 313, 318–319, 333, 335
Bernays, Edward, and, 420
extending reach of, 324
on iPad, 334
as media corporations, 334, 468
newsroom cultures of, 482–483
Time, Inc., 249, 327, 334, 335
Timecode, 262
Time-Life Books, 365
time shifting, 200

Time Warner Cable (TWC), 45, 120, 218, 224, 334, 443, 444
closing of Warner Independent by, 251
Comcast merger with, 467
control of broadband access, 66
on demand service of, 233
dispute over retransmission fees, 224
diversification and, 465
as HBO's parent company, 188
Internet service provider and, 45
making programs available for downloading, 201
mass media and, 372
as media giant, 445
merger and acquisitions of, 447, 451, 463
as owner of many cable systems, 223
reducing of holdings, 334
releasing of iPad apps by, 202
splitting of newspapers from TV interests, 270
Warner Brothers division of, 353
Timothy, Elizabeth, 274
Tin Pan Alley, 122, 123, 129
Tiny Wings, 106
Tip Top Weekly, 347
Titanfall, 80
Titanic, 156, 233, 256
TiVo, 377
TiVo Premiere, television device for downloading, 254
TMZ, 562
TNT, 188, 465
"To Apple, Love Taylor," 114
tobacco, advertising of, 379, 402–403, 407
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 513–514
Today Show, 142, 194, 455
competition between *Good Morning America* and, 496
To Kill a Mockingbird (Lee), 360
Tokyo Disney Resort, 457
Tokyo Game Show, 92
Tolkien, J. R. R., 356
toll broadcasting, 158
Tomb Raider, 28
Tomlinson, Ray, 43
Tom Thumb, 416
Tonight Show, 193, 208
Top 40 format, 135, 138, 168–169
Top Chef, 14, 55, 209
To Pimp a Butterfly, 136
Tornillo, Pat, Jr., 559
Torvalds, Linus, 67
Toshiba, 61, 200
Total Request Live, 135
Tough Guise, 529
Townsquare Media, 181, 458, 459
Toy Story, 232, 456
TPM Muckraker, 48
trade books, 349, 362, 363
trade magazines, 325
trademarks, packaging and, 380
Trainwreck, 452
Tramp, The (Riis), 320
Transformers: Dark of the Moon, 92
transistors, 166
Transparent, 60, 188
Travel & Leisure, 328
travelogues, 248
Treasure Island, 456
Triangle, 239
Triangle Publications, 322
Tribeca Film Festival, 251
Tribune Company, 269–270, 293, 294, 465
Chicago Tribune and, 266, 270, 293
Los Angeles Times and, 27, 270, 294
merger and acquisitions of, 463
triode, 154
triple play, 215
Trip to the Moon, A, 237
Troggs, 129
trolls, 90
Tron, 92
Tropes vs. Women in Video Games, 96
True Detective, 22, 188, 197, 206, 460
True Grit, 244
True Story (Finkel), 488
Truffaut, François, 246
Truman, Harry S., 124
Trump, Donald, 3–4
trunk cables, 196
Trust, 238
trusts, 449
Truth or Consequences, 163
Tucker, Ken, 133
Tucker, Sophie, 123
Tulsa World, 295
Tumblr, 40, 47, 48, 413
as organizational tool, 284
Yahoo!'s purchase of, 447
Turner, Big Joe, 125
Turner, Frank, 143
Turner, Ike and Tina, audiences of, 130
Turner, Ted, 196
CNN as brainchild of, 208
Turner Broadcasting, 208
merger and acquisitions of, 463
Time Warner's purchase of, 451
"Tutti-Frutti," 127
TV. *See* Television
TV: The Most Popular Art (Newcomb), 528
TV ad time, 379
TV Guide, 313, 319, 322, 323
circulation and population of, 336
competition to, 329
TV Guide Network and TVGuide.com, 322
TV information, 207–208
TV on the Go, 191
TV parental guidelines, 516
Twain, Mark, 281, 314, 360
12 Years a Slave, 233, 246, 247, 248–249
Twentieth Century Fox, 234, 238, 241
current film business ruled by, 258
News Corp. ownership of, 260
Supreme Court's ruling against, 252
syndication and, 217
YouTube and, 260
20/20, 495
21st Century Fox, 372
diversification and, 465
future of television and, 188
24/7 news cycle, 498
24/7 Media and Xaxis, 391
Twenty-One, 194
Twilight, 245, 258, 356
Twilight Zone, 205
Twitch, 92
Twitter, 7, 9, 29, 31, 33, 40, 305, 413
blocking of, 52
Cairo protesters connection to, 52
Feminist Frequency followers on, 97
introduction of Vine App by, 48
as key organizational tool, 284
late-breaking TV stories and, 321
live blogs on, 55
mass media and, 474
near-constant use of, 261
news story of, 425
public relations and, 431
start-up of, 462
trending hashtags on, 431
Twitter Analytics, 423
2 Broke Girls, 216, 517
2001: A Space Odyssey, 195
Tylenol, 1982 tragedy involving, 432–433
Tyler the Creator, 172
U2, 134
Uber, 326
Ubisoft, 80, 85, 102
Ultrasurf, 52
Ulysses (Joyce), 360, 548–549
Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt, The, 55, 222, 450
Uncle Tom's Cabin (Stowe), 355–356, 367
underground press, 290–291
Unilever, 391, 422
UniMás, 181
United Arab Emirates, 422
United Artists, 234, 239, 241
United Features, 294
United Fruit, 428
United Independent Broadcasters (UIB), 161, 443
United Mine Workers, 420
United Negro College Fund, 382
United Press International (UPI), wire services and feature syndication and, 294
U.S. *News & World Report,* 318–319
Universal Music Group, 137, 143
merger and acquisitions of, 463
Universal Studios, 137, 188, 224, 234
as attempt to divert attention from YouTube, 260
current film business ruled by, 258
forming of oligopoly by, 241
General Electric's ownership of, 260
Theme Park of, 259
Vivendi's ownership of, 260
Universal Uclick, 294
University Press Books, 355
Univision, 209
Univision Online, 181
Univision Radio
settlement of payola and end of FCC investigation and, 179
takeover of Hispanic Broadcasting by, 181
Unsafe at Any Speed (Nader), 417, 429
Up, 232, 456
Updike, John, 329
urban contemporary, 172
Urban Outfitters, 364
USA Network, 197, 200
USA Patriot Act (2001), 64, 551
USA Today, 54, 280
Gannett's ownership of, 294
as national newspaper, 284
online service of, 300
print landscape and, 283
ratings of, 496

representing first successful U.S. daily newspaper, 283
starting of, by Gannett Company, 282
uses and gratifications model, 520
Usher, 444
US Weekly, 324, 331
Utne Reader, 336

vacuum, 154
Valens, Ritchie, airplane death of, 128
validity, scientific method and, 520
Vallée, Rudy, 123
values
cultural, of modern period, 26–27
in postmodern culture, 27–29
role of advertising in, 381–382
Values and Lifestyles (VAL) strategy, 386–388
Valve Corporation, 91, 105
Vampire Weekend, 134, 139
VandeHei, Jim, 298
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 449
Van Doren, Charles, 194, 195
Vanidades, 331
Vanishing Lady, The, 237
Vanity Fair, 329
advertising in, 383
as part of Condé Nast division, 334–335
Web-enabled ads on, 333
Vann, Robert C., 288
Vargas, Elizabeth, 208
variables
dependent, 521
independent, 521
vaudeville, 163
Vaughan, Stevie Ray, 123
Vazquez, Betzy, 172
VCRs, 254
vellum, 346
Velvet Underground, 133
Venice Classic Radio, 176
Verizon, 120
control of broadband access, 66
development into competitor for cable and DBS, 224
as Internet service provider, 45
purchase of AOL, 451
Vermeer, Johannes, 73
Verne, Jules, 277, 310
vertical and side scrolling, 87
vertical integration, 238, 252, 259–260
Vertigo, 244
Vevo, 110, 121
ad-support of, 140
music videos licensed for use on, 143
popularity of, 144
video service of, 141
V for Vendetta, 50
VHS (Video Home System), 200
Viacom, 202, 452
diversification and, 465
Viagra, advertising for, 405
Victor Talking Machine Company, 11–12, 117, 160, 161
Victrolas, 116, 117
videocassette recorders (VCRs), 200
video games
conventions for, 87
first, 78
genres of, 84, 86–88
jobs in, 107
stores for, 105
violence in, 76
video news releases (VNRs), 417, 424
video-on-demand (VOD), 199, 256
video services, 141–142
video-style ads, 383
video subscription services, 223
Vietnam War, photographic coverage of, 321
View-Master devices, 73
Village People, 134
Village Voice, 291
Vilsack, Tom, 492
Vimeo, 48, 51
screening of short films and film festivals on, 262
Vine, 40, 48
violence
electronic gaming and, 94–95
video game, 76
Vioxx, advertising for, 405
viral marketing, 388
Virginian-Pilot, 500
Virginia Slims cigarettes, advertising campaign for, 402
virtual communities, 90
virtual game worlds, 49
virtual reality, 73–74, 75
virtual social worlds, 49, 75
Virtue Rewarded (Richardson), 347
Visa, 60
global marketing brand of, 396
VistaVision, 254
visual design, influence on advertising, 383–384
visual language, power of, 499
vitascope, 234, 237
Vivendi, ownership of Universal Studios by, 260
Vogue, 310
advertising in, 383
as part of Condé Nast division, 334–335
Web-enabled ads on, 333
voice, 90
Voice, The, 55, 202, 203, 216, 220, 376
as reality-based program, 209
Voice of San Diego, 304
voice-track, 150
VOID, 74
Volkswagen, 388
advertising for, 394
Volvo, 406
Vox media, 298
Vudu
as digital movie stores, 260
video-on-demand service of, 256

wage gap, 452–453
Wagner-Hatfield Amendment to Communications Act (1934), 173
Wake Up and Live (Brande), 351
Waldenbooks, 364
Wales, Jimmy, 431
Walker, John Brisben, 309–310
Walker, Paul, 413
Walker, Stanley, 433
Walking Dead, The, 20, 188, 203, 207, 222
"Walk This Way," 135
Wallace, Christopher (a.k.a. Biggie Smalls), 135
Wallace, Dewitt, 318
Wallace, Lila Acheson, 318
Wall Street Journal, 4, 33, 280, 286
as national newspaper, 284
online content of, 300
ratings of, 496
Walmart, 105, 120, 139
book store business of, 364
sale of DVDs, 200
undercutting of small local stores by, 381
use of wholesale prices to lure customers, 140
Walt Disney World, 456
Walters, Barbara, 208
Walton, Mary, 478
Waltons, The, 517
Wang, Wayne, 246
war, media coverage of, 18–19
War Advertising Council, 382
Warhol, Andy, 28, 545
Warhol, Andy, Foundation for the Visual Arts, 545
"War Logs," 506
Warner, Jack L., 251
Warner Brothers, 137, 234, 241–243, 251, 443
current film business ruled by, 258
as one of most dominate media corporations, 468
partnership with Hardee's, 405
Supreme Court's ruling against, 252
Warner/Chappell Music, 546
Warner Music Group, 137
War of the Worlds (Wells), 164, 165, 310, 518
Warren, Robert, 543
Warren Report, 354
Washington, George, 312
Washington Post, 270, 280, 283, 465
Bezos's purchase of, 56
hiring of journalists to blog, 298
Politico started by reporters from, 301
purchased by Bezos, Jeff, 301
Wasikowska, Mia, 250
Wasteland, 102
Watch Dogs, 85
Watchmen, 349
Watergate scandal, 499
Waters, Muddy, 123, 124
wax records, 117
Way, Way Back, The, 249
Wayne's World, 204
WBAI, 560–561
WEAF, 158
"We Are Never Ever Getting Back Together," 113
Weather Channel, 188, 197
Weaver, Sigourney, 193
Weaver, Sylvester "Pat," 193
Weavers, 131
web browsers, 43
Webcaster Settlement Act (2009), 153, 177
Weber Shandwick, 385, 422
Webkinz game, 82
Webkinz Jr., 82
webzines, 324–325
wedding day, meaning of perfect, 523
Weebly (blogging platform), 48
Weekly, 292
Weekly Bangla Patrika, 290
weekly newspapers, 284
Weigel, David, 488
Weinstein Company, 256–257, 258

Welles, Orson, 22, 164, 557
as radio voice of *The Shadow,* 165
Wells, H. G., 164
War of the Worlds and, 310
Wells, Ida, 292
Wells, Mary, 130
Wenner, Jann, 328
Wertham, Fredric, 352
Wertmüller, Lina, 245
Wesker, Albert, 93
West, Kanye, 20
West, Mae, 560
Westar, 196
Westergren, Tim, 177, 183
Western Union, 8
Westinghouse, 156, 157, 158, 160
radio stations owned by, 158
RCA's competition with, 161
Zworykin's innovations for, 191
Westboro Baptist Church, 51
Westwood One, 179, 180
WFMU, 176
WGCB, 559
WGN, 163, 197
WGY, 159
Wharton, Edith, 310
What Liberal Media?, 484
WhatsApp, 60, 62
What's My Line?, 207, 495
Wheeler, Tom, 67, 459
Wheel of Fortune, 211, 219
"Where Did Our Love Go," 130, 131
Where the Wild Things Are (Sendak), 24
Where to Invade Next, 249
whistleblowers, 474
White, E. B., 329
White, Jeff, 263
White Album, The (Didion), 282
"White Christmas," 123
white cover music, 127–128
Whitman, Walt, 360
Whittle Communications, 401–402
Who Framed Roger Rabbit, 456
Whole Booke of Psalms, The (Daye), 347
Whole Foods Market, 431
Whole Foods Market Magazine, 335
Who on American Top 40 charts, 129
Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?, 556
Who Wants to Be a Millionaire, 195
Wichita Eagle, 500
Wiener, Anthony, 413
Wiesel, Elie, 356
Wii, 53
Nintendo's release of new kind of console, 79–80
Wii Fit, 80, 94
Wii Sports, 79, 80
Wii U, 80
wiki, 48
WikiLeaks, 48, 85, 474, 485, 506, 545
Wikimapia, 48
Wikipedia, 355, 431
Wikitravel, 48
wiki Web sites, 48
Wild at Heart (Gifford), 353
Wilde, Olivia, 394
Wilde, Oscar, 353
Wildmon, Donald, 181
Wild Strawberries, 246
"Wild Wild Young Men," 124
Will, George, 294
Willams, Wendy, 172
William (Prince), 354
will.i.am, 135
Williams, Alex T., 439
Williams, Brian, 22, 207
Williams, Serena, 405
Williams, Tennessee, 25
Williamson, Sonny Boy, 124
Wilmore, Larry, 504
Wilson, Woodrow, 156, 420, 492
Windows 7, advertising for, 394
Wind Rises, The, 250
Winfrey, Oprah, 175, 356, 448
Wings of the Dove, The, 263
Wintergirls, 531
Winter's Bone, 245
"Wire, The," 143
Wired, 324
Web-enabled ads on, 333
Wired.com, 324
wireless cable, 199
Wireless Ship Act (1910), 152, 156, 162
wireless technology, use for, 152
wireless telegraphy, 8, 115, 152–154
Wireless Telephone Company, 154
wire services, 275, 294
Witcher, The, 93
Without a Trace, 465, 561
Wix (blogging platform), 48
Wizard of Oz, The, 233
Wiz Khalifa, 172
WJZ, 159
WNBC, 158
Wolfe, Tom, 281–282
Wolf of Wall Street, The, 557
Wolfram Alpha, 57
Wolverine, 93
Woman's Day, 322, 323, 327
Woman's Home Companion, 319
women
as directors, 246
magazines for, 311, 314
media ownership by, 458–459
Women's Lunatic Asylum, 477
Wonderwall, 324, 325
Wonder Years, The, 205
Woo, John, 250
Wood, Natalie, 253
woodcuts, 320
Woodruff, Bob, 208
Woods, Tiger, 394
Woodstock (1969), 132
Woodward, Bob, 283, 480
Woodward, Joanne, 205
Wooga, 102
Woozworld, 82
Worcester Telegram & Gazette, 269
WordPress (blogging platform), 48
blocking of, 52
Words with Friends, 89
World Association of Newspapers (WAN), 297
World Book Encyclopedia, The, 354
World Journal, 290
World of Warcraft, 94, 104
collective intelligence and, 91
competition of, 102
as multiplayer online game, 94
as popular massively multiplayer online role-playing games, 82
in stage of script and film development, 28
as subscription game, 81
as top franchise, 92
World Trade Organization (WTO), 455
World War I
impact of, 156
photography of, 320
World War II
photography of, 320
propaganda in, 423
World Wide Web (www), 44–45
search engines in organization of, 46–47
semantic, 56–57
Wozniak, Steve, 59
WPP Group, 384, 385, 391, 422
Wreck-It Ralph, 245, 456
written era in communication, 6–7
WTBS, 196, 208
Wu, Briana, 96, 97
WURV-FM, 183
WWD, 338
Xbox, 53, 59, 61, 86, 101
Electronic Entertainment Expo (E3) streamed to, 92
establishment of online community by, 80
functioning also as DVD players, 83
representing commitment from Microsoft, 101
streaming programming from, 83
success of, 462
Xbox 360, 105–106
Xbox Kinect, 89, 93, 99
Xbox LIVE, 77, 80
connection to online service of, 101
revival of generation with, 92
Xbox One, 80
X-Files, 25, 28, 207
Xfinity, 201, 260
Xlibris, 367
XL Recordings, 137, 139
XM, 175
merger and acquisitions of, 463
X-Men, 102, 260, 349, 353, 460

Yahoo!, 46, 66, 67, 304, 305
advertising and, 390
digitizing of books with expired copyrights, 360
as leading force on Internet, 57
purchase of Right Media by, 391
purchase of Tumblr by, 447
putting Amazon near the top in it's searches, 365
supporting of net neutrality by, 67
Yahoo! Messenger, 46
Yahoo! News, 546
Y'all, 336
Yammer, 462
Yang, Jerry, 46
Yardbirds, 129
Yeah Yeah Yeahs, 133
Yeats, William Butler, 24
Yeerum, Tatchakorn, 413
yellow journalism, 272, 276–278, 316
Yellow Kid, The, 276
Yelp, 57, 62
Yeoh, Michelle, 250
Yo La Tengo, 143
"You Belong with Me," 113
"You Can't Hurry Love," 131
Young-adult (YA) books, 341–342
Young and the Restless, The, 206
Young Frankenstein (Brooks), 17
Young & Rubicam, 385, 386
Your Show of Shows, 204

Youth's Companion, 314, 329
YouTube, 67, 121, 188, 413, 444
  ad-support of, 140
  aggregation of video footage from, 302
  as biggest revenue game changer, 221
  Black, Rebecca, on, 400
  blocking of, 52
  Cairo protesters connection to, 52
  competition with, 110, 177, 462
  as content community, 48
  as data-heavy service, 67
  "Gangnam Style" on, 142
  Google's acquisition of, 444
  instant success of, 59
  mass media and, 474
  merger and acquisitions of, 463
  music videos licensed for use on, 143
  near-constant use of, 261
  parents groups and, 517
  popularity of, 41, 144, 201, 260
  public relations and, 431
  screening of short films and film festivals on, 262
  Sony's licensing of video on, 143
  successful start-up of, 462
  trend of, 31
  TV channels of, 223
  uploading of video mash-up to, 10
  videos on, 47, 93, 141, 200, 372, 462

Zappos, 60
Zelda, 88
Zell, Sam, 294
Zenger, Anna Maul, 274
Zenger, John Peter, 272, 273, 274
Zephyr Press, 367
Zero Dark Thirty, 246
Zhang, Yimou, 250
Zhang, Ziyi, 250
Zimatore, Carolyn, 369
Zimmerman, Robert Allen, 133
zines, 336
Zippy the Pinhead (Griffith), 353
zoeltrope, 234
Zombies, 26, 129
Zqorykin, Vladimir, 190–191
Zuckerberg, Mark, 55, 74
  settlement with FTC by, 62
Zukor, Adolph, 238, 239, 240–241
Zworykin, Vladimir, 191
Zynga, 102, 462
Zynga Poker, 102

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Chapter 1: Mass Media and the Cultural Landscape
Agenda Setting and Gatekeeping (see p. 15)
The Media and Democracy

Chapter 2: The Internet, Digital Media, and Media Convergence
The Internet in 1995: *The Net* (see p. 47)
Net Neutrality (see p. 66)
User-Generated Content
The Rise of Social Media

Chapter 3: Digital Gaming and the Media Playground
Video Games at the Movies: *Resident Evil* (see p. 92)
Tablets, Technology, and the Classroom

Chapter 4: Sound Recording and Popular Music
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Alternative Strategies for Music Marketing (see p. 141)
Streaming Music Videos (see p. 144)

Chapter 5: Popular Radio and the Origins of Broadcasting
Going Visual: Video, Radio, and the Web (see p. 175)
Radio: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow (see p. 178)

Chapter 6: Television and Cable: The Power of Visual Culture
Television Networks Evolve (see p. 199)
Television Drama: Then and Now (see p. 206)
What Makes Public Television Public? (see p. 211)
Reality on *Project Runway*
Changes in Prime-Time
Wired or Wireless: Television Delivery Today

Chapter 7: Movies and the Impact of Images
Breaking Barriers with *12 Years a Slave* (see p. 246)
More than a Movie: Social Issues and Film (see p. 262)
Technology in *Gravity*

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Newspapers and the Internet: Convergence (see p. 284)
Community Voices: Weekly Newspapers (see p. 298)
Newspapers Now: Balancing Citizen Journalism and Investigative Reporting

Chapter 9: Magazines in the Age of Specialization
Magazine Specialization Today (see p. 327)
Narrowcasting in Magazines (see p. 332)

Chapter 10: Books and the Power of Print
Based On: Making Books into Movies with Tom Perrotta and Anne Rice (see p. 356)
Books in the New Millennium: Anne Rice and Others Discuss the Future of the Publishing Industry (see p. 357)
Turning the Page: Books Go Digital

Chapter 11: Advertising and Commercial Culture
Advertising in the Digital Age (see p. 391)
Advertising and Effects on Children (see p. 401)
Product Placement in the Movies: *E.T.*
Blurring the Lines: Marketing Programs Across Platforms

Chapter 12: Public Relations and Framing the Message
Give and Take: Public Relations and Journalism (see p. 434)
Filling the Holes: Video News Releases
Going Viral: Political Campaigns and Video

Chapter 13: Media Economics and the Global Marketplace
Disney's Global Brand: *Frozen* (see p. 456)
The Impact of Media Ownership (see p. 465)
The Money behind the Media

Chapter 14: The Culture of Journalism: Values, Ethics, and Democracy
The Contemporary Journalist: Pundit or Reporter? (see p. 498)
Fake News/Real News with Joe Randazzo of *The Onion* (see p. 499)
Journalism Ethics: What News Is Fit to Print?
The Objectivity Myth
Shield Laws and Non-Traditional Journalists

Chapter 15: Media Effects and Cultural Approaches to Research
Media Effects Research (see p. 518)

Chapter 16: Legal Controls and Freedom of Expression
Bloggers and Legal Rights (see p. 562)
The First Amendment and Student Speech
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